

Eva Maria Wilden

Manuscript, Print and Memory

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Eva Maria Wilden

Manuscript, Print and Memory

Relics of the Caṅkam in Tamilnadu

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To the memory of
T. V. Gopal Iyer and T. S. Gangadharan,
men of deep learning and dedication,
two in the long line of
Tamil Brahmin scholars and teachers

Preface

After more than ten years of searching, digitising and editing manuscripts the series of critical editions published by the *Caṅkam* project of the École Française d'Extrême Orient in Pondicherry is now complemented by an introductory volume of historical studies into the transmission of the texts and their witnesses. A three-years stay, from July 2008 to June 2011, in the Hamburg Research Group entitled "Textual Variance in Dependence on the Medium", graciously funded by the German Research Association, enabled me to win the necessary distance from my ongoing labour in the jungle of actual textual variation to try to give an outline of the larger picture for one instance of a phenomenon known in cultural history, namely the formation, deformation and reformation of a literary canon over a period of almost two thousand years.

Numerous are the people and institutions I have to thank for support and encouragement in this undertaking, beginning with the EFEO Pondy, where all the available primary material could be brought together, and Hamburg University with the former Research Group and current Special Research Laboratory that provided and provides a congenial and intellectually stimulating multi-disciplinary environment for working on and discussing manuscript-related subjects. Special thanks to Michael Friedrich, the head of both Research Group and Laboratory, who followed this work over many years and suggested its publication in the Hamburg manuscript series.

I have to thank the curators, librarians and staff of the many libraries visited by the EFEO photo team with N. Ramaswamy and G. Ravindran, and especially those libraries that gave permission for the publication of illustrations, that is, the U. V. Swaminathaiyar Library and the Government Oriental Manuscript Library in Ceṇṇai, the Tiruvāṇṇam's Caracuvati Makāl Library and Research Centre and the British Library.

Special thanks go to all my colleagues from the *Caṅkam* project: to G. Vijayavenugopal for reading colophons and mnemonic stanzas with me, to T. Rajeswari for providing me with information about the manuscripts of the *Kalittokai*, the text she has been editing for the last ten years, to Thomas Lehmann for his list of *Caṅkam* editions and particulars about the *Aiṅkuṇūru* manuscripts perused by him for editing, to Emmanuel Francis, prospective editor of the *Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai*, for details about the still growing number of manuscripts and the paratextual material they enshrine, and, last but not least, my husband Jean-Luc Chevillard for reading Pēṛācīriyar, Nampi and Parañcōti with me, for constant discussions of the problems that were on my mind and for providing many passages and articles that otherwise would have escaped my notice. Thanks also go to my colleague Dominic Goodall and the team of Sanskrit scholars at

the EFEO Pondy for reading the Sanskrit versions of the *Caṅkam* legend with me.

Many ideas were first tested by me by presenting them at various meetings in the Hamburg Research Group. Many other colleagues and friends took part in discussing concepts and material and provided me with further textual references and secondary literature, or read draft versions of chapters, among them Mita Arp, Giovanni Ciotti, Whitney Cox, Daniele Cuneo, Victor D'Avella, Alexander Dubianski, Sascha Ebeling, Elaine Fisher, Camillo Formigatti, Rich Freeman, Valérie Gillet, Christina Muru, K. Nachimuthu, Claudius Nenninger, Leslie Orr, T. Rajarethinam, Sumathy Ramaswamy, S.A.S. Sarma, Charlotte Schmid, Takanobu Takahashi, Torsten Tschacher, Jaroslav Vacek, Vincenzo Vergiani and Katherine Young. My English has been polished by Cynthia Peck-Kubaczek. A number of manuscripts photos have been improved by my son Malte Nenninger. I am grateful to all of them and any other I might have forgotten.

Eva Wilden, Pondicherry, June 2014

List of Abbreviations

1.1 Literary Texts, Treatises and Commentaries

<i>AiN</i>	<i>Aiṅkurunūru</i>
<i>AiN Ti.</i>	<i>Aiṅkurunūru Tiraṭṭu</i>
<i>AN</i>	<i>Akanāṇūru</i>
<i>AV</i>	<i>Akapporuḷ Viḷakkam</i>
<i>AV Nampi</i>	Nampi's commentary on <i>Akapporuḷ Viḷakkam</i>
<i>Caṅk.</i>	Caṅkara Namaccivāyar's commentary on <i>Naṇṇūl</i>
<i>Cēṇ.</i>	Cēṇāvaraiyar's commentary on <i>Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram</i>
<i>Cīrup.</i>	<i>Cīrupāṇārruppaṭai</i>
<i>HM</i>	<i>Hālāsyā Māhātmya</i>
<i>IA</i>	<i>Iraiyaṇār Akapporuḷ</i>
<i>IA Nakk.</i>	Nakkiraṇ's commentary on <i>Iraiyaṇār Akapporuḷ</i>
<i>IK</i>	<i>Ilakkaṇakkottu</i>
<i>Il.</i>	Ilampūraṇar's commentary on <i>Tolkāppiyam Eḷuttu + Collatikāram</i>
<i>IV</i>	<i>Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam</i>
<i>IV poruḷ</i>	<i>Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam, Poruḷatikāram</i>
<i>KK</i>	<i>Kaḷaviyal Kārikai</i>
<i>Kali</i>	<i>Kalittokai</i>
<i>Kall.</i>	Kallāṭaṇār's commentary on <i>Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram</i>
<i>Kūḷ.</i>	Kūḷaṅkaiṭ Tamparaṇ's commentary on <i>Naṇṇūl</i>
<i>Kuṛiṇcip.</i>	<i>Kuṛiṇcippāṭṭu</i>
<i>KT</i>	<i>Kuruntokai</i>
<i>Malaip.</i>	<i>Malaipaṭukaṭām</i>
<i>Maturaik.</i>	<i>Maturaikkāñci</i>
<i>May.</i>	Mayilainātar's commentary on <i>Naṇṇūl</i>
<i>Mullaip.</i>	<i>Mullaippāṭṭu</i>
<i>NA</i>	<i>Narriṇai</i>
<i>Nacc.</i>	Nacciṇārkkiniyar's commentary on <i>Tolkāppiyam</i> or <i>Caṅkam</i> text (specified)
<i>Neṭunal.</i>	<i>Neṭunalvāṭai</i>
<i>N.Vir.</i>	<i>Naṇṇūl Virutti</i>
<i>Pari</i>	<i>Paripāṭal</i>
<i>Pari Ti.</i>	<i>Paripāṭal Tiraṭṭu</i>
<i>Pati</i>	<i>Patirruppattu</i>
<i>Paṭṭiṇap.</i>	<i>Paṭṭiṇappālai</i>
<i>Pattup.</i>	<i>Pattuppāṭṭu</i>

<i>Perump.</i>	<i>Perumpāṇāruppaṭai</i>
<i>PN</i>	<i>Puraṇānūru</i>
<i>Porun.</i>	<i>Porunarāruppaṭai</i>
<i>PP</i>	<i>Periyapurāṇam</i>
<i>Puratti.</i>	<i>Purattiraṭṭu</i>
<i>PV</i>	<i>Pirayōka Vivēkam</i>
<i>TA</i>	<i>Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram</i>
<i>Tēv.</i>	<i>Tēvāram</i>
<i>Teyv.</i>	Teyvacilaiyār's commentary on <i>Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram</i>
<i>Tirum.</i>	<i>Tirumurukāruppaṭai</i>
<i>TNV</i>	<i>Tamiḷneri Viḷakkam</i>
<i>TP</i>	<i>Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram</i>
<i>TPi</i>	<i>Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram</i> counted after Iḷampūraṇar
<i>TP Iḷ.</i>	<i>Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram</i> , Iḷampūraṇar's commentary
<i>TPn</i>	<i>Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram</i> counted after Nacciṇārkkiniyar
<i>TP Nacc.</i>	<i>Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram</i> , Nacciṇārkkiniyar's commentary
<i>TPp</i>	<i>Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram</i> counted after Pēraciriyar
<i>TP Pēr.</i>	<i>Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram</i> , Pēraciriyar's commentary
<i>TVP</i>	<i>Tiruvīlaiyāṭarpurāṇam</i>
<i>VC</i>	<i>Viracōḷiyam</i>
<i>YK</i>	<i>Yāpparuṅkalakārikai</i>
<i>YV</i>	<i>Yāpparuṅkala Virutti</i>

1.2 Libraries of Origin and Other Institutions

AUL	Aṇṇāmalai University Library University
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
BL	British Library, London
EFEO	Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient
GOML	Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Ceṇṇai
IAS	Institute of Asian Studies, Ceṇṇai
IFP	Institut Français de Pondichéry/French Institute Pondicherry
IGNCA	Indira Gandhi National Centre of Arts
MSSML	Mahārājā Serfoji Sarasvatī Mahāl Library, Tañcāvūr
NLK	National Library, Kolkatta
ORIML	Oriental Research Institute and Manuscript Library, Kerala
RMRL	Roja Muthiah Research Library, Ceṇṇai
STABI	Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg

TAM	Tiruvāṇṇaiyāṭṭuṟai Āṭṭiṇam, Caracuvati Makāl Library and Research Centre
TU	Tamil University, Tañcāvūr
UVSL	U. V.Cāminātaiyar Library, Ceṇṇai

1.3 Handbooks, Editors and Publishers

Cām.	U.Vē. Cāminataiyar
DEDR	Dravidian Etymological Dictionary, Revised Edition, Burrow/ Emeneau 1984
Kaḷakam	Caivacittānta Nūṟpatippuk Kaḷakam
KOHD	Katalogisierung der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland (Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts)
TL	Tamil Lexicon, University of Madras
T. S.G.	pandit T. S. Gangadharan
T. V.G.	pandit T. V. Gopal Iyer

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I Introduction

Wandelt sich rasch auch die Welt
wie Wolkengestalten,
alles Vollendete fällt
heim zum Uralten.
(Rilke, *Sonette an Orpheus*)

I.1 Sources, Methods and Aims

What causes the transmission of a song, a story, or a text to vary? Why is the passing on of knowledge, from generation to generation, never a stable process, but fraught with all kinds of hazards? What are the factors, apart from the williness of the human mind and the elements of improvisation inherent in the course of human history, that account for the flexibilities in such processes? One set of important factors lies, no doubt, in the very objects that form the material basis for any transmission, be it the human voice, manuscripts– in all the multifarious meanings that word can assume in different cultural contexts –, books, not to mention more modern media, such as films, computer files or the internet. It was the goal of the Hamburg Research Group, of which the present study is part, to investigate “textual variance in dependence on the medium”, that is, to follow up and arrive at a more precise idea of the role that changes of media, or the fluctuation between different media such as those of orality, script and print, has played in particular cultural contexts of transmission.

The Tamil classical corpus of the so-called *Caṅkam* anthologies lends itself as an ideal candidate for a study of this type, because in its roughly two thousand years of transmission, it has undergone a fair number of media changes as well as shifts in evaluation. From a fluid body of oral poems it was transformed, during a period of cultural restoration after political upheaval, into written lyrical anthologies which some centuries later were canonised and supplied with a commentarial tradition. Through a few more centuries of mixed fortunes, these anthologies were gradually supplanted by a new canon of a more religious-devotional orientation and finally reduced to being an object of study for a learned poetogrammatical tradition. In the second half of the 19th century, when printing began to massively change the intellectual scene in Tamilnadu, manuscripts of the older texts were rediscovered as a testimony to former (not only pre-colonial, but also pre-Sanskritic) Tamil glory. Manuscripts of different kinds, on palm-leaf and on paper, document both premodern neglect and the slow process of resurrection. This has culminated in a prolific print production of fresh editions until today,

of which the most recent are “critical” and “definitive” editions. Sadly, manuscripts and prints survive from little more than the last three hundred years of the process just delineated. However, it is precisely the context of manuscript studies that changes the angle of looking at transmission history.

Even if no material sources are available, the idea that a text must have been transmitted in the form of a manuscript alters our perspective. It must have been the responsibility of someone, or rather of many people, as a physical object to be held, handled, kept, preserved, copied, and, finally, to be handed down through the generations. Of course philologists are, in their hearts of hearts, Platonists. They believe, even if they do not say so nowadays, that a great work of art is something absolute, unadulterable if not unalterable, something that, in some mysterious way, is capable of looking after itself and not subject to the laws of time. Under the patina of centuries, or even millennia, its living texture shines, and only a barbarian would call such a thing, or the language it is written in, dead. This is as it may be. For the people who are part of the chain of transmitters, it is also an object, sometimes a cause of pride, sometimes a cause of puzzlement, or of worry, and they will voice their anxiety or their joy. Thus the successive embodiments of a text will leave a trail in the thickets of time they have travelled, a trail that it is possible to recover, even if its traces are few and far between, and at times elusive.

What are the sources we have available, in addition to the manuscripts themselves? Firstly, manuscripts of course preserve a far greater spectrum of information than just the texts they are supposed to transmit. Handwritten texts appear surrounded by a variety of paratexts,¹ such as titles, colophons, glosses, commentaries, invocations, blessings and mnemonic stanzas, all terms that will be examined in more detail in the course of this introduction. Secondly, closer to us on a temporal axis, come the documents left behind by those who collected, handled and edited the manuscripts, that is, the manuscript descriptions in catalogues and in the prefaces and/or introductions to the early editions. Manuscripts are referred to in studies of history and literary history, in letters, in diaries and in autobiographies. The editing process itself is documented on the one hand in the secondary annotation of manuscripts, especially those on paper, on the other hand, naturally, in the editions that have been published after much toil.

On the further end of the temporal axis we find a variety of textual testimonies that cover roughly a period from about the 8th to the 18th century. A signifi-

¹ In the manuscript-adapted sense of the term, as coined by Genette 2002 [1987], that is now being explored by project area A of the new Collaborative Research Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures in Hamburg.

cant, though in extension minor role is played by inscriptions, which occasionally report on literature, quote, or employ recognisable literary forms. Much more voluminous is the net of cross-references that exists in the commentarial tradition, with its centuries of poetic discussion. An even bigger bulk of material we find in what began as legends of origin of the literary academies (= *Caṅkam*), which in the Tamil case is coextensive with a legend of cultural origins still very much alive. The narrative drive of these early legends created a virtual literary sub-genre of academy stories which have been re-evoked and re-arranged in many contexts, some at liminal points in the fate of the corpus itself. A link between these legends and the textual tradition manifested in the still existing manuscripts is formed by stanzas from an oral tradition, often transmitted with the poems, which allow glimpses at earlier schemes of what we might term literary historiography.

With such a variety of sources from a huge range of temporal and cultural contexts, it is necessary to employ a number of different methods. The early period of corpus formation and the complementary variability is best described in terms of an oral-formulaic-poetry model, modified for the particularities of the Tamil language.² A number of indications show that orality continued to play a role in the life of the corpus even after it had long been submitted to writing, an important factor being the underdetermined notation system which required an active knowledge of the sound body of the poem.³ Thus central issues must include the study of textual practices and systems of education, performance, patronage and inheritance on the one hand, and of copying, storing and preserving on the other hand.⁴ This must be supplemented by studying the exegetical practices that were part of the same oral teacher-student culture, a culture that is reported to have also resorted to writing by about the 10th century. All of these factors played a paramount role in safeguarding the texts, even if often in ways that amounted to multiple safeguarding (in cases where there is more than one

² This concept was first employed with regard to early Tamil poetry by Kailasapathy 1968, and taken up and refined by Vacek 2001, as well as Wilden 2006.

³ The classical Tamil case in this respect has to be seen as a ripple within a ripple within a ripple, because even in the Tamil culture itself, several parallel memory cultures existed, most notably several religious-sectarian ones. These again have to be seen in the wider context of Pan-Indian traditions of memorisation that famously started with the Vedic schools (Michaels 2001, Scharfe 2002), which in turn can be contrasted to their European counterparts (as recently depicted in Carruthers 2008).

⁴ For the practices of the 19th century, see Ebeling 2010, with material important firstly as a testimony for the sort of customs that framed literary production and dissemination, secondly as depicting the environment out of which the first and second generation collectors and editors grew; for the next period of the late 19th and early 20th century, see Venkatachalapathy 2012.

commentary). Moreover, their written incarnations, especially their individual, handwritten ones which have not yet been subjected to printed standardisation, have also become a repository for reactions to and opinions about the texts, and thus form a privileged access to these texts' reception.⁵

One fairly problematic term that is freely used in this study is "classical". This brings with it the danger of getting caught up in the net of the classicism debate which has been raging in Tamilnadu since 2004 – the year Tamil was officially declared the country's second classical language in addition to Sanskrit. In 2008 this was followed by Canarese and Telugu. This honour (with corresponding financial backing) is now being demanded by more and more of India's local languages, a debate that is predominantly being fought with regard to age and merit. This danger may be avoided by simply saying that a classical corpus of texts is a corpus that has become, is, or was part of a literary canon at a given point in time. Now, canon seems to be a word that is as problematic as classical, although discussions of the concept and the corresponding process – canonisation – have in recent years taken place in the field of theology rather than that of literature.⁶ Ironically, while all the specialists of Indian religions beg to differ or, at the very least, to modify, for the poetic *Caṅkam* corpus, Assmann's famous canon formula works fine: "Ihr sollt nichts wegnehmen und nichts hinzufügen." ("You shall not omit or add anything.")

Textual practices as such do not grow out of thin air. They have to be seen as embedded in a literary culture which, in its turn, is embedded in a historical context, an observation that has become commonplace since Pollock (2003). Modelling "literary cultures in history" has proved fruitful enough for largely accessible periods such as the 19th century. The drawback for earlier periods is that, in the South-Indian case, we very often do not know very much, either about the period in question or about the author, place or time of a particular work. This incurs a certain danger of projecting backwards and thus more or less retranslating meagre data into a more fashionable idiom. Moreover there seems to be a particularly water-tight division between the disciplines dealing with hard-core history and those that deal with literature. While Indian historians in general have a limited and selective access to literary sources, many literary scholars are all too focused on the intricacies of their textual tradition.⁷

5 The most tangible aspect of this is the commentary tradition whose development is outlined in Wilden 2009.

6 See Deeg/Freiberger/Kleine 2011; for recent debates concerning the status of the *Caṅkam* corpus, see Venkatachalapathy 2006 and Rajesh 2008 and 2013, to be discussed below.

7 For some recent attempts of bridging this gulf, see Champakalakshmi 2011 and Rajesh 2008.

The late stages of the transmission process, that is, the period of collecting and deciphering manuscripts as well as preparing actual editions, gain by being assessed in terms of recent research on colonial knowledge production and print culture.⁸ For all the progress that has been made in this area, it remains remarkable that although a wide range of documents is perused – studies, catalogues, early prints, biographical material both printed and unprinted, press clippings, etc. – at the same time the most obvious source, the manuscripts that exist in great numbers and are after all the main transmitters of the text as well as the primary witnesses to the editing process, are at best referred to, but rarely read, let alone studied.

One reason why this is so is the restriction of access, although things have become much easier in the age of electronic reproduction, at least with texts that have already been published. Another reason is that manuscripts are difficult to read and tedious for anyone who is not a philologist. One of the major contributions of the present study will be an analysis of primary material. The sophisticated arsenal of traditional textual criticism, both lower and higher, customarily employed to establish the different strata of a text being edited, can also be put to service to document variability in a collection of witnesses. Instead of reducing the number of variants by elucidating their probable origin, it is possible to determine the liminal factors responsible for the creation of variants. Such a reversal of the traditional *stemma codicum* will proceed from the simple but ambiguous palm-leaf graphemes, document their development into a multiplicity of readings in the new notation system, a multitude gradually reduced in the various processes of editing, ending with the extreme case of a singular text constituted by a modern “definitive” edition.⁹

The very term “definitive edition” highlights one of the problems when dealing with today’s most classical corpus, namely the danger of getting mixed up in postcolonial Tamil identity politics.¹⁰ It is not easy to steer clear of the already mentioned classical language discourse, obsessed with antiquity and major exponents such as the Indus Valley heritage (the decipherment of the famous Indus-Valley seals as proto-Dravidian) and Lemuria (the lost continent

⁸ See Blackburn 2003, Trautmann 2009 with further literature, Mangamma 2010, Venkatachala-pathy 2012.

⁹ This term was coined by Cemmaḷi, the Centre of Excellence for Classical Tamil – “established by the Government of India with a view to promoting the cause of Classical Tamil” (<http://www.cict.in>), founded in 2005, and seated in Cennai since May 2008 – in order to pinpoint their concept of a classical text fixed once and for all by an authoritative team of scholars.

¹⁰ For the late colonial period, see Nampi Arooran 1980, for the postcolonial period, Ramaswamy 1997.

between Africa and India that was the homeland of the Pāṇṭiyas).¹¹ A side issue here is the problem of a double dialogue, in English and in Tamil, where Tamil seems to be perceived as a safe medium in which opinions can be voiced that would sound extremist in English. While indigenous academic discourse at least in part overtly avoids being caught up in these highly emotionally charged fields, quite a lot of corresponding sentiment is still subliminally present in the form of a marked anti-Brahmin bias and a general hostility towards Sanskrit.

As the preceding remarks will have shown, I am far from being able to present a theory of textual coagulation, canon formation, transmission and re-evaluation, and in my humble opinion we are rather running the danger of theorising ahead of our data. What is needed on the one hand is a decompartmentalisation of knowledge: the elements of information currently locked up in the various sub-disciplines should be brought together. On the other hand, the obvious task is to reassemble the huge amount of forgotten or half-remembered bits and pieces of the larger picture that are lying dormant in archives, in manuscript collections and on library shelves, or that are, in some cases, locked away in cupboards with at best privileged access. Thus the aim of this study is to write a source book of materials for envisaging a complex historical process: the composition and compilation, the reinterpretation and canonisation of a corpus, the canon's decline into near-oblivion and its re-installment under a new political configuration. As such the volume is meant to be complementary to the series of critical editions of the corpus being brought forth by the *Caṅkam* project in Pondicherry.

I.2 The Corpus

I.2.1 Its Constitution

South India has a special position in the literary traditions of the subcontinent, since Tamil is, apart from Sanskrit, the oldest language for which there is written evidence. Inscriptions go back as far as the second century B.C.E.,¹² while the great literary tradition may be roughly dated to the beginning of the Common Era.¹³ It is constituted by two voluminous lyrical anthologies that, according to

¹¹ A fair idea of the range of discussions is found in Thiagarajan 2010: *Tamil as a Classical Language. Collected Papers of the First International Symposium on Tamil as a Classical Language*.

¹² This corpus known as Tamil Brahmi inscriptions is documented, commented and translated in Mahadevan 2003.

¹³ Rather unsurprisingly there has been a long-running debate about dating, which has become a veritable mountain of secondary literature. The earlier debates (including some of the weirder

legend, originated in a literary academy (Tamil *Caṅkam*, from Skt. *saṅgha-*, “community”) at the court of the Pāṇṭiyas in the city of Maturai, whither the somewhat incongruous designation “*Caṅkam* texts”. The two hyper-anthologies of *Caṅkam* literature, the Eight Anthologies (*eṭṭuttokai*) and the Ten Songs (*pattuppāṭṭu*), form the matrix for large parts of the later literary production, including devotional poetry. They arise out of a tradition of bardic poetry, erotic and heroic in genre, called Akam and Puṇam, with highly formulaic oral predecessors.

The literary history of the first millennium is controversial and its chronology very uncertain. Suggestions as to the beginning of the tradition vary between the 3rd century B. C. E. and the 8th century C. E.¹⁴ An issue that complicates the discussion is the role these texts play on the political level. Virtually fallen into oblivion by the end of the 19th century, they were “rediscovered” in the wake of the newly strengthening Tamil national consciousness and the gradual emancipation from colonial rule, and were edited, commented upon and re-included into the canon of Tamil literature (Zvelebil 1992, Venkatachalapathy 2006, Rajesh 2013). Today they are counted, especially since the classicism debate gained wider attention in the year 2004 (as mentioned above, the year Tamil was officially declared the second classical language of India in addition to Sanskrit), as a cornerstone of Tamil identity against the culturally dominant, Sanskrit-oriented North, a fact that does not help when attempting to view the material objectively.¹⁵ The dating proposed here is based on an analysis of the inner chronology of the texts, which has been gained in the process of text-critical, morpho-syntactical and poetic comparison. The coincidence between the start of the literary tradition and the beginning of the Christian era must be regarded as a mere “date of convenience”. To this day no hard facts establishing a connection between the inner, literary and the outer, historical sequence have been convincingly shown to exist. Nothing that is of relevance to the following argument can be regarded as securely dated, before the Pāṇṭiya inscriptions of the 9th century. Consequently, all the dates pro-

attempts at dating on the basis of astronomical calculations) are followed up in Zvelebil’s two voluminous accounts of 1973a and 1992, interesting to compare also for his own changes of opinion, for example with respect to the famous Gajabāhu synchronism. Still commendable for its sound common sense is Vaiyāpurip Pillai 1956; see also Marr 1985 [1958], and for more recent considerations, see Tieken 2001, Wilden 2003 and 2009a+b.

14 The first date is the one officially promoted by Cemmoḷi, the recent Ceṇṇai “Centre of Excellence for Classical Tamil”. But also academic historians, such as Champakalakshmi (1996a), subscribe to similar opinions. The latter extreme date is based on a recent controversial study, Tieken 2001.

15 For an extensive documentation and analysis of the modern and early pre-modern sources for the Tamilian preoccupation with Tamil, see Ramaswamy 1997, 1998, 2004. For its roots in the first millennium, see Wilden 2009c.

posed in Table 1 must be viewed in the first place as relative dates: important is the position a text holds with respect to the other texts, not the actual century attributed to it in this network of correlations.

Table 1: Rough chronology of the *Caṅkam* corpus

Time	Text traditions of the Eight Anthologies and the Ten Songs					Pāṇṭiya, Cōḷa, etc. Mixed
	Pāṇṭiya, Cēra, Cōḷa, etc. Akam	Puṇam	Cēra Akam/Puṇam	Akam	? mixed	
1 st –3 rd c.	<i>Kuṟuntokai</i> <i>Narriṇai</i> <i>Puṇanāṇṇūru</i> <i>Akanāṇṇūru</i>					
4 th c.	↓	↓	<i>Aiṅkuṟunūru</i> <i>Patirruppattu</i>			<i>Neṭunalvātai</i> <i>Porunarārruppaṭai</i> <i>Ċirupāṇārruppaṭai</i> <i>Perumpāṇār- ruppaṭai</i>
5 th c.	↓	↓				<i>Malaipaṭukaṭām</i> <i>Kuṟiṇcippāṭṭu</i> <i>Paṭṭiṇappālai</i> <i>Mullaippāṭṭu</i> <i>Maturaikkāñci</i>
	KT 1					
6 th c.	↓	↓		<i>Kalittokai</i>	<i>Paripāṭal</i>	<i>Tirumuru- kārruppaṭai</i>
7 th c.	invocation → verses		→	→	?	
	Pāṇṭiya			Pāṇṭiya		?
11 th –14 th c.	<i>tokaiyum</i> “ <i>Eṭṭuttokai</i> ”					“ <i>Pattuppāṭṭu</i> ” <i>pāṭṭum</i>

Around the beginning of the first century C. E. the southern tip of India (the areas of modern Tamilnadu and Kerala) was nominally under the control of the three kings (*mūvar*) Cōḷa, Cēra and Pāṇṭiya. In fact it was divided into a great number of small chiefdoms that were engaged in more or less permanent war with one another. Bards wandering between the royal residences created lyrical compositions of variable length in the two basic genres of erotic poetry (Akam) and heroic poetry (Puṇam). It is not clear when these songs or poems were collected into anthologies for the first time, or when they were written down. The first indication for the existence of an anthology (and *mutatis mutandis* of a written version)

is the poem that today is considered the first verse of the *Kuṛuntokai* (*KT*; the collection of 400 short poems).¹⁶ When read without the prejudice of the traditional interpretation, it turns out that this poem is not a love poem, but an invocation stanza to a deity (in this case Murukaṇ), a type of verse later on found as a prelude to most texts.¹⁷

A strong argument for this explanation is the form of the poem, which has parallels in several others of the oldest theistic poems in the Tamil tradition, most notably those of the *Cilappatikāram*.¹⁸ There the deity is not being addressed directly, often not even named with its proper name, but the description focuses on a place connected with the god, while at the same time there is an evocation of attributes which are sufficient for identifying the deity in question. This is well in accordance with notions evident in early *Caṅkam* poems (where the main topic is never religious), namely a tangible lack of personal individuation in spiritual or non-corporeal beings, who usually appear in groups and are very often connected to a particular location such as a tree or a mountain. As for the technique of avoiding proper names or at least embedding them in a series of epithets and allusions to various divine deeds, one would be tempted to call this a constitutive element of the poetic game for the entire tradition that is to follow. A comparison with other early theistic songs makes a date around the late 5th century plausible, that is, if we concede as conceivable the traditional chronology of the *Cilappatikāram* being older than other early texts in the devotional corpora, namely, on the Vaiṣṇava side, the early *Antātis*, and on the Śaiva side, the songs of Kāraikkālammaiṃār (both dated to the 6th c.).

An additional argument for such an interpretation of *KT* 1 lies in the fact that the *Kuṛuntokai* does not contain four hundred poems, a figure familiar from several other *Caṅkam* anthologies, but four hundred and one. An easy explanation might be that the *KT* already existed as a collection with an invocation verse when it was chosen to be included in a first hyper-anthology. Instead of discarding the original invocation, the compiler simply prefaced it with another of his own composing (or choosing).

Perhaps around the beginning of the 7th century (or at any rate prior to the major works of the bhakti canon), a series of invocation stanzas written by an author named Pāratam Pāṭiya Peruntēvaṇār (“Peruntēvaṇār, who has sung the

¹⁶ See chapter III.1 with text, translation and discussion of the invocation stanzas.

¹⁷ This Pan-Indian tradition is called in Sanskrit *maṅgala*, “auspicious verse”, and in Tamil *kaṭavuḷ vāḷttu*, “praise of the deity”. For the Sanskrit tradition of *maṅgala*, see Minkowski 2008.

¹⁸ See especially *Cilappatikāram* 12.2–4, 17.19–21, 24.8–10, poems dealing with the temple front yard of the goddess, Kṛṣṇa’s flute, and the spear of Murukaṇ, respectively (cf. ch. III.1.1, p. 147 f.).

Mahābhārata)¹⁹ shows that a number of other anthologies must have existed, several of them presumably compiled under the patronage of the Pāṇṭiyas.²⁰ Here we are no longer dealing with the legendary Pāṇṭiyas of *Caṅkam* times, but a young dynasty ascending to power and seeking reconnection with past glory and cultural restitution; in some 9th- and 10th-century copper-plate grants, they ascribe to their as yet nameless forefathers the setting up of a Tamil academy (*Caṅkam*) in Maturai²¹ and a translation of the *Mahābhārata* into

19 The two crucial questions regarding this series of invocation stanzas are: 1) Were they actually written by a single author and can they thus indeed be seen as a series (which undoubtedly is a necessary precondition for accepting them as evidence of the existence of a larger *Caṅkam* collection)? 2) Where can they be placed in a chronological scheme, in this case obviously not a scheme primarily connected with the *Caṅkam* texts, but vis à vis other early devotional poetry? The first question will be answered in chapter III.3, which contains the entire texts and translations of all five verses. In brief, they all correspond to each other in metre and poetic outlook and in fact they can be shown to be redolent with intertextual references to each other. Moreover, negative evidence exists in form of one further invocation stanza, that of the *Kalittokai*, which according to a single manuscript is ascribed to the same author Peruntēvaṇār (see Rajeswari 2009) and which can clearly be shown not to be part of the same series.

As for the second question, the matter is trickier. For the time being I am inclined to argue the following: the metre employed in the *kaṭavuḷ vālttu*-s is Akaval of the old type, that is, Akaval that still counts with *niraipu* and *nērpū*, whereas the later revivalist Akaval adopts the post-*Caṅkam* system that no longer accords a special status to the overshort –u. This is an indication of a fairly early date. However, one remarkable feature about the poems is the prominence given to Śiva, a god virtually absent not only from the six earlier anthologies of the *Caṅkam* corpus, but still not in a position of supremacy even in the late *Caṅkam* devotional works, the *Paripāṭal* and the *Tirumurukāṇṇuppaṭai*. These considerations would place Peruntēvaṇār in a period still close to the original *Caṅkam* works, but well within the surge of devotional poetry testified by the later *Caṅkam* works and the early works of the bhakti corpus, in a position, let us say, between *Paripāṭal*/*Tirumurukāṇṇuppaṭai* and the *Tēvāram* with its highly sectarian Śaivism, i.e. the early 7th century.

20 Additional evidence exists here with respect to *Akanāṇṇūru* (AN) and *Puṇanāṇṇūru* (PN): Both anthologies contain, alongside poetic material that certainly goes back to the earliest transmitted strata, a considerable number of later poems, recognisable by morphologically later forms and by Indo-Aryan loan words they do not share with the earlier parts of the corpus, but with *Pattuppāṭtu*, *Paripāṭal* and *Kalittokai*. It is thus highly improbable that the anthologies as such could have been compiled before the late 6th or even early 7th centuries.

21 The two most important inscriptions in this context are Taḷavāyppuram (910 C.E.) and Ciṇṇamaṇūr II (926–27 C.E.); for a presentation and discussion of the material, see Wilden 2009c: 111–114. The two passages read:

(Taḷav. 97 f.) *teṇ-maturā puram ceytum*
 aṅk'ataṇiḷ arum-tamiḷ / nal Caṅkam iriūt tamiḷ vaḷarttum
 “founding the city of Southern Maturai and fostering Tamil by establishing
 a good *Caṅkam* for difficult/precious Tamil there in that place”

(Ciṇṇa. II, 102 f.) *mahābhāratam tamiḷp paṭuttum madhurāpuric ca/ṅkam vaittum*
 “having the *Mahābhārata* brought into Tamil and establishing a *Caṅkam* in Maturai”

Tamil.²² Moreover, the colophons of some anthologies name the Pāṇṭiya kings that were patrons for their compilation.²³ Corroboration comes from an unexpected side, namely from the *Tēvāram*, the 7th-century main work of the devotional Tamil Śaiva canon, a text basically focused on the Cōḷa region and not at all concerned with Maturai. There we find in one stanza Śiva praised as *am taṇ maturai tokai ākkiṇān*, “he who brought into being the anthologies in beautiful cool Maturai” (*Tēv.* 3.54.11).²⁴

Tokai is the traditional designation of a *Caṅkam* anthology, as seen in the name of the later hyper-anthology called *Eṭṭuttokai*. Maturai is the legendary town of the academy and the seat of the Pāṇṭiyas. All versions of the later *Caṅkam* legend make the god Śiva into a founder and patron of the literary academy in Maturai, a development that will be discussed in great detail in chapter IV. Thus our slightly elliptical *Tēvāram* verse can be read as a first testimony for the Śaivatisation of the *Caṅkam* tradition, which would become so prominent in the transmission of the second millennium. A 7th-century date for such an allusion is surprisingly early, since no datable evidence of a *Caṅkam* legend involving

22 This *Pāratam* text has not been transmitted. However, there are quotations in the medieval poetological commentaries from a text identified as *Pāratam* (Tamil for *bhārata* = *Mahābhārata*), which based on its language and poetic outlook might well fit the corresponding period. Another perhaps slightly younger text with the name *Pāratavenpā* (“*Mahābhārata* in *Veṇpā* metre”), likewise incompletely preserved and also ascribed to an author named Peruntēvaṇār, associates itself in one of the dedication verses with the Pallavas (verse 4 praises the victor in the battle of Teḷḷāru, i.e. the Pallava Nandivarman III, 9th c.; see Francis (forthcoming): 108 ff.). The *Tolkāppiyam* commentators might already be confusing these two works (unless there was originally one large text with portions in various metres and perhaps composed over a longer period). Pērācīriyar refers two times to a text called *Pāratam* (*TPp* 485+278), the second time with the specification *Peruntēvaṇār pāṭappaṭṭa Pāratam*, “*Bhārata* that was sung by P.”, but he does not quote the text. Nacṇākkiṇiyar quotes two *Veṇpas*, one identified as *Peruntēvaṇār Pāṭṭu*, “song of P.” (*TPn* 72), the other simply as *Pāratam* (*TPn* 76), and five longer passages in Ācīriyappā identified as *Pāratappāṭṭu*, “*Bhārata* song” (all in *TPn* 72), which from the point of view of metre seem older than the Akaval passages found in the *Pāratavenpā* in that they contain a number of old-type *cir* based on the counting of *niraipu* and *nēru*.

23 For a discussion of colophon evidence, see Wilden 2003, for the colophon wording, see chapter III.2; the obvious cases are the *Narriṇai* (*NA*) with Pāṇṭiyaṇ Māraṇ Vaḷuti for a patron and the *AN* with Pāṇṭiyaṇ Ukkirapperuvalūti. The patron of the *KT* is not mentioned in the colophon. Peruntēvaṇār is often considered the compiler of the *PN*, but in fact for all we know he might be only the author of the invocation stanza; the end of the *PN*, along with its colophon, is sadly among the lost bits, and in order to have four hundred poems in the anthology, the invocation had to be counted as No 1, as seems to be the case already for the vast majority of the manuscripts in the tradition.

24 This interpretation has already been considered by Aravamathan 1932: 284.

the agency of Śiva on Pāṇṭiya side is found before the 9th century.²⁵ Inside the *Tēvaram*, however, this verse is not completely isolated, as will be seen in chapter III.4.3, which deals with the integration of the *Caṅkam* into the Śaiva corpus.

Going back to the anthologies and their invocation stanzas, the anthologies with the oldest core are, on the Akam side, the already mentioned *Kuṟuntokai*, the *Narriṇai* and the *Akanāṇūru*, the collections with short, medium and long love poems. Their heroic counterpart is the *Puraṇāṇūru*. While the *Kuṟuntokai* and *Narriṇai* are largely homogenous (although both also contain later poems), both the *Akanāṇūru* and *Puraṇāṇūru* include a lot of evidently later material. One reason for this might have been the difficulty involved in transmitting long poems through the centuries intact, in other words, new material had to be added in order to arrive at the standard number of four hundred poems. Two further anthologies are close in content and form to the four already enumerated, though from the aspect of language and thematic development they must be considered further advanced,²⁶ namely the *Aiṅkuṟunūru* (five hundred very short love poems) and the *Patirruppattu* (once ten decades of heroic poems, of which eight have survived). These two anthologies were not originally Pāṇṭiya texts, but Cēra, as we are taught in one case by the colophon, in the other by the fact that the text sings exclusively about Cēra kings.²⁷ Since the *Aiṅkuṟunūru*, too, is furnished with an invocation verse by Peruntēvaṇār, the conclusion at hand is that these verses signal the existence of a first hyper-anthology that stood under Pāṇṭiya aegis, as is claimed by the tradition for the later *Eṭṭuttokai*. It is true that in the case of the *Patirruppattu* the beginning and end are missing and so are both the invocation verse and the colophon, but it is so close to the *Aiṅkuṟunūru* in language and style

25 The first Pāṇṭiya inscription with a clear verbal echo of the legend, via a reference to the famous bench of judgement, is Erukkaṅkuṭi (dated to 829 C. E.), l. 11 f.:

*ñālaṅkaḷiṟ pukaḷum cīr ālaṅkuṭi-atark' īraivaṇ
coṇ māt taṇ ṭamiḷk kūṭar kaṇ māt tiṇ palakai micai*

“the lord of excellent Ālaṅkuṭi that is praised in [all] the worlds,
on the firm big bench of stone in Kūṭal with cool Tamil great in words”

I do not, however, believe that this inscription presupposes the existence of the famous full-fledged narrative version; it seems rather more likely that it was the author of the preamble to Nakkiraṇ's commentary (on which see below), who took up motifs already available in the folk tradition.

26 Although the *Aiṅkuṟunūru* (AiN) is an exponent of the Akam genre and the *Patirruppattu* (Pati) is of the Puṇam genre, they have a number of points in common, such as the decadic structure seen here for the first time in Tamil literature.

27 The colophon names the Cēra king Yāṇaikkaṇ Cēymāntaram Cēral Irumporaiyār as the patron of the AiN, while in the case of the *Pati*, the Patikam of each group of ten gives information about the Cēra king to whose exploits the group is devoted.

that one can argue for the hypothesis that there was once such a verse and that the *Patiruppattu* was also part of a preliminary collection of six texts.²⁸

Until here there is no reason at all to suspect that these six texts were associated with two others that share in part a number of conventions but that, from the point of view of their contents, language and form, are not really close. The *Kalittokai* (a collection of a hundred and fifty love poems in Kali metre) and the *Paripāṭal* (a collection of originally seventy poems in mixed metre named *Paripāṭal*, of which twenty-two and some fragments have survived) are linked by the fact that they are the first texts whose names are based on their metre. They also share a limitation of their geographic horizon, for the most part the region of the Pāṇṭiyas, as well as a number of linguistic innovations, such as the first plural forms in *-kaḷ* or the negative absolutive in *-āmal*.²⁹

Moreover they are often mentioned together as a pair in the poetological tradition.³⁰ It is only in the first version of the narration that became famous as the *Caṅkam* legend – the story of the three successive literary academies (*Caṅkam*) at the Pāṇṭiya court in Maturai – that all eight texts contained in today's *Eṭṭuttokai* are listed together in one row. This legend is found recounted for the first time in a supplement to the preamble of one of the oldest poetological commentaries, namely Nakkīraṇ on the *Irāiyaṇār Akapporuḷ*, in perhaps the 11th century.³¹ While, according to this version, the literary production of the first two academies was lost except for the grammatical treatise known as *Tolkāppiyam*, our eight texts are

²⁸ There might be a small corroboration to be found in the transmissional situation, although alas our sources are too fragmentary to be certain. In the serial manuscripts that are still available there is no hint that *Kalittokai* and *Parippāṭal* were included into a single series with the other six, whereas there are fragments that suggest the existence of collective mss. for *KT*, *NA*, *AN*, *PN*, *AiN* and *Pati*. This seems to be confirmed by Cāminātaiyar 1950, who in his autobiography (chapter 92, *vēru paḷaiya tamīl nūlkaḷ*, par. 3) describes the serial manuscript of Tiruvāvaṭuturai. Today it contains only three texts, but Cāminātaiyar had still seen six, but not *Kali* and *Pari*. He makes the same observation about a manuscript he found in Tirunelveli in the house of Kaviṛāca Īcuvara Mūrttiyaṭ Pīḷḷai (ibid. chapter 104, *Koṅkuveḷ Mākkatai*, § 1).

²⁹ For the plural forms, see *Kali* 25.3 26.6 39.42(2) 77.14 81.13 100.23 125.2 146.40 141.4 149.8 and *Pari* 2.39 7.52 10.92, for the negative absolutive, see *Kali* 1.3 19.12 38.13 38.17 39.41 109.25 121.21 145.19 and *Pari* 11.126 20.74. The list could be continued with causative forms of the type *aṟivittu* (*Kali* 136.15, see further *Kali* 142.2, 145.57, *Pari* 12.74, 20.110).

³⁰ The first mention of this intimate relation is a late additional *sūtra* in the *Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram*, *Akattiṇaiyiyal* (*TPi* 1.55), about the metres called *Kali* and *Paripāṭu*. In the commentary tradition, both Pērācīriyar (on *TPp* 526) and Naccīṇārkkīṇiyar (on *TPn* 242) refer to the two texts as a pair.

³¹ This narration (and the mountain of secondary literature dealing with it) will serve as a starting point for chapter III.4, which is concerned with the numerous successive versions of the *Caṅkam* legend.

listed as survivors from the third academy. All of this might indicate that, in fact, the *Kalittokai* and *Paripāṭal* were products of the revival movement that by some has been called the first Tamil Renaissance,³² the restoration of literary activities at the Pāṇṭiya court, which led to the anthologisation of the earlier works and which, incidentally, is also attested in works such as the *Pāṇṭikkōvai*.³³ The name of the hyper-anthology that is current today, i.e. *Eṭṭuttokai*, is attested even later, namely for the first time in the reverse form *tokaiyeṭṭu* in Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar's commentary on the *Ceyyūḷiyal* of the *Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram* (on TPn 236), in about the 14th century.

Even less certain is the genesis of the second hyper-anthology, the *Pattuppāṭṭu*. In the absence of text-critical groundwork, the sequence of songs that is suggested in Table 1 can only be regarded as a very vague preliminary attempt.³⁴ It is clear that the Ten Songs differ widely from each other and thus cannot really be attributed to one and the same period. Scholars have long agreed on putting the *Tirumurukārruppaṭai*, the only text that is devotional in character, at the end of the series. All in all, however, it has to be stated that, in spite of deviating in genre, the songs show a greater affinity to the earlier six anthologies than to the two later ones, especially with respect to metre, still the old Akaval. Metre is one of the preconditions for the continuation of the formulaic repertoire.³⁵

The colophons that follow each individual song, and not the anthology as such, associate the texts either with one of the old houses Cōḷa or Pāṇṭiya, or

32 Thus for example Hardy 1983: 167 f. and passim; Kulasekaran 2006 prefers the expression “Fourth Sangam” for this period.

33 The *Pāṇṭikkōvai* is a panegyric on the Pāṇṭiya king. It is transmitted as illustrative material in the commentary just mentioned. Innovative as a genre that was to survive until well into the 19th century, the *Kōvai*, in which the familiar scenes from the life of an Akam couple are strung into a kind of narrative sequence, while at the same time the patron (to begin with, the king) is praised in every stanza, also seeks affiliation to the early conventions of love poetry. It abounds in intertextual allusions, thus testifying to the active knowledge of *Caṅkam* literature at the Pāṇṭiya court, and must be seen as the most important link between *Caṅkam* and bhakti poetry.

34 The most current sequence is briefly argued for in Vaiyāpurip Pillai 1956 on the basis of the relationships between poets and kings; for the same sequence see also Zvelebil 1973a, still reproduced in Rajamani 2009: 1. *Porunarārruppaṭai*, 2. *Perumpāṇārruppaṭai*, 3. *Paṭṭiṇappālai*, 4. *Kuṇṭicippāṭṭu*, 5. *Malaipaṭukaṭam*, 6. *Maturaikkāñci*, 7. *Neṭunalvātai*, 8. *Mullaippāṭṭu*, 9. *Cirupāṇārruppaṭai*, 10. *Tirumurukārruppaṭai*. Detailed argument, however, would be difficult to supply without first working on manuscripts, quotations and the commentary. My own suggestion is based on some punctual observations concerning lexicon and morphology and in some instances on what I termed “meta-poetic games” in Wilden 2009d.

35 Kailasapathy, in his famous 1968 book, chose a *Pattuppāṭṭu* passage – *Mullaippāṭṭu* 1–31 (p. 147f.) – for demonstrating the extent of formulaic use in *Caṅkam* poetry. He was able to point out parallels all across the corpus.

with a few smaller chiefs. They are mentioned, however, not as sponsors but as addressees. It is not clear who was responsible for compiling the ten separate texts into one collection. Their commentator, Nacciṇārkkiniyar, hails from Maturai, that is, the Pāṇṭiya region, but this is a testimony only from the 14th century. In the already mentioned enumeration of texts from the third *Caṅkam*, the Ten Songs are absent.³⁶

The name *Pattuppāṭṭu* for the hyper-anthology is attested for the first time in a poetological commentary of the 11th century, namely Iḷampūraṇar on *TPi* 459. From the 12th century onwards we find in the same commentary tradition the dual designation *pāṭṭum tokaiyum*, “Songs and Anthologies” (Pērāciriyar on *TPp* 392 and 649), referring very probably to our two big collections. The commentary tradition of the *Tolkāppiyam* is confirmed by that of the *Naṇṇūl*, a 12th-century grammatical treatise. Mayilainātar on *Naṇṇūl* 387, perhaps slightly earlier than Nacciṇārkkiniyar, enumerates as works, or rather corpora, of literature (*ilakkiyam*): the Five Great *kāvyas* (*aiṁperuṅkāppiyam*), the Eight Great Anthologies (*eṇperuttokai*), the Ten Songs (*pattuppāṭṭu*), and the Eighteen Minor Works (*paṭiṇeṅkiḷkkaṇakku*).³⁷ The variations in these titles seem to show that the texts as such were known, and, judging from the numerous quotations found in the commentaries, roughly in the form that is known to us today. Nonetheless, the texts’ designations were still fluid.³⁸

I.2.2 Its Fate

If we want to establish the transmission history for the corpus through the second millennium, we cannot exactly complain about a lack of sources (of which many are still not very securely dated), but they are not the sources one would like to see in every respect. Direct textual evidence is almost completely absent.³⁹ None

³⁶ This fact has been used as an argument to dismiss the *Pattuppāṭṭu* from the list of *Caṅkam* works proper (see Marr 1985 [1958]: 7 f.; cf. Tieken 2001: 196 f.), but the exegetical tradition often mentions the *Eṭṭuttokai* and *Pattuppāṭṭu* as a pair, even though the latter is quoted from less frequently. The strongest argument in favour of this tradition may be the *Pattuppāṭṭu*’s evident and wide participation in the formulaic repertoire.

³⁷ This enumeration is absent in the later *Naṇṇūl* commentaries on the same *sūtra*, that is, Caṅkara Namaccivāyar (17th c.), Civañāṇa Muṇivar’s *Virutti* (18th c.) and Kūḷaṅkai Tampirāṇ (18th c.).

³⁸ This is true also with respect to the individual texts. Both the commentaries and manuscripts exhibit quite a range of designations for the same work (see reference tables in Wilden 2009b).

³⁹ Epigraphic records are, in fact, as one would expect them to be, mostly nonexistent. However, Nagaswamy (2004) adduces and discusses in detail two remarkable instances of Cōḷa

of the manuscripts that can still be found can be dated earlier than perhaps the late 17th century; we do not even know whether our texts were notated from the beginning in Tamil script, although thanks to numerous literary references we can be fairly certain that the medium of transmission was already the palm-leaf manuscript. If one accepts that the earliest indication for a compilation and written fixation of single anthologies, i.e., the original invocation stanza of the *Kuṟuntokai*, points to the late 5th century, there are two possibilities for the original script, namely besides Tamil also Vatteluttu, attested in inscriptions all over the area up to the 8th century (one might take as an example the Pāṇṭiya Vēlvikkuṭi copper-plate grant) and in Kerala even far beyond that date. To be sure, a hypothetical later change from Vatteluttu to the Tamil script of the manuscripts still extant would be about comparable to the European switch from majuscule to minuscule. As such one would expect it to have left major traces in the material by the way of characteristic copying mistakes.⁴⁰ However, an investigation into this has yet to see the light of day.

We are thrown back on indirect textual evidence from commentaries and various types of literature, especially puranic literature. By the turn of the first millennium the development of an exegetical tradition was already well on its way. The compilation of the corpus had been completed, the invocation stanzas had been written, and probably some of the texts composed in emulation had been integrated into it. The subsequent arrangement into hyper-anthologies was accompanied by two other traditions: on the one hand, the emergence of a twofold commentary tradition,⁴¹ one literary and the other grammatical, and on the other hand, by a sort of secondary life for the collection in the form of a fluid set of legends connected with the literary academy or academies (*Caṅkam*) at the

inscriptions (Rājarāja in Tirukkōyilūr, Virattāṇeśvara temple, dated to 1012, and Chengam, Rīṣabhēśvara temple, 12th c.). The first is composed as an *Āṟruppaṭai* (where one poet guides the other to a patron), a genre going back to the *Puṟaṇānūru* and in full swing at the time of the *Paṭṭuppāṭṭu* songs, of which no less than five are *Āṟruppaṭai*. It makes use of the old metre Ācīriyappā (as is the case for a number of “retrograde” texts, such as the *Kallāṭam*) and of the formulaic end phrases found in four of those *Paṭṭuppāṭṭu* songs: x (a land with its attributes) *kīlavōṇē*. Moreover, it alludes to an episode known from *Puṟam*, that is, the poet Kapilar’s taking, upon the death of his patron Pāri, responsibility for the latter’s two unmarried daughters. The second inscription (no ruler mentioned, dated on palaeographical grounds) is so far the only one that makes direct reference to a text of the *Caṅkam* corpus, namely the *Malaipaṭukaṭām*, the last of the group of ten songs in the *Paṭṭuppāṭṭu*, there referred to under as *Malai kaṭām pāṭṭu*, which might reflect the fact that this was known as part of that anthology of *pāṭṭu*, “songs”.

⁴⁰ For an outline of this process with respect to the transmission of antique Greek and Latin literature, cf. Pöhlmann 2008.

⁴¹ On the Tamil traditions of commentary, see the collective volume Wilden (ed.) 2009a.

Pāṇṭiya court in Maturai. This is attested in a wide-ranging body of secular and religious literature from about the 7th to the 19th centuries; indeed, such legends are still being spun forth today.

The grammatical tradition mentioned above that developed parallel to the literary one was an important aspect. Grammar, in Tamil *ilakkaṇam*, has been, just as in the case of Sanskrit *vyākaraṇa*, one of the most fruitful theoretical domains in the Tamil sphere. But unlike its sister tradition, *vyākaraṇa*, it comprises not only phonetics (*eḷuttu*) and morphology, syntax and semantics (*col*), but also poetics (*poruḷ*), part of which is metrics (*ceyyuḷ*, later *yāppu*, which became an independent discipline by about the 9th century). Still later, a fifth sub-discipline emancipates itself from poetics, namely *aṇi*, the theory of poetic embellishments, a counterpart to Sanskrit *alaṅkāra*.⁴² The oldest transmitted treatise on threefold grammar is the above-mentioned *Tolkāppiyam*. Although its linguistic presentation of Tamil does not concur in every respect with the language we find in the anthologies (Natarajan 1977), at the latest the third part, poetics (*poruḷ*), clearly describes many conventions that are mirrored in poetry. Another treatise of immediate relevance here is the *Iṟaiyaṇār Akapporuḷ* referred to above, a small specialised grammar only on Akam poetics.

The first obvious links between poetry and poetics are, in the case of Akam, the so-called *kiḷavi*-s, literally the “speech[-situations]”, that is, a sort of miniature commentary attached to each individual poem. The basic information they contain pertains to the speaker, listener(s) and the occasion of the poem. Thus they can be seen as the beginning of an exegetical tradition, and indeed they have something to tell about the developing relationship between theory and practice, which also has an impact on chronology.⁴³ However, their textual history is

⁴² The dependence is obvious, not only because the terminology already in the *Tolkāppiyam* *Poruḷatikāram* is heavily sanskritised, but also from the very name of the treatises dealing with *aṇi*. The corresponding chapter of the first five-fold grammar, the 11th century *Viracōḷiyam*, is called “*alaṅkāram*”, while the following two independent treatises are called *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram* (12th c.) and *Māraṇalaṅkāram* (16th c.).

⁴³ One of the truly tricky questions is whether the poet names (that in manuscripts invariably follow the *kiḷavi* at the end of the poem) form part of the *kiḷavi* transmission or whether they are earlier. While it is true that these names are just as fluid as the *kiḷavi*-s themselves, varying from source to source not only in orthography or with respect to epithets and localities, but also with respect to the identity of the poet, nonetheless, one might argue that this is at least partly due to the hazards of transmission and recopying from partly illegible palm-leaves. But another argument for cautioning against blind trust in tradition are the author ascriptions of the two later Akam anthologies *Aiṅkuruṇūru* and *Kalittokai*, both sorted according to *tiṇai* and both endowed with a series of five authors (one per *tiṇai*), who are almost exclusively chosen from among the old and well-known poets of the earlier anthologies.

complex, just as that of the treatises they make use of. First of all, we can discern three distinct groups of *kiḷavi*-s, namely those of the three old Akam anthologies *Kuruntokai*, *Narriṇai* (NA) and *Akanānūru* (AN), those of the *Aiṅkurunūru*, and those of the *Kalittokai*.⁴⁴

The first group is the least homogenous, and matters are complicated by the fact that *kiḷavi*-s seem to have been treated with a considerable amount of liberty even by the late copyists: often *kiḷavi*-s differ in various manuscripts, not only in the phrases themselves but also in the general interpretation of the poem's situation. Sometimes such differences of opinion have been preserved in the form of double (in rare cases even triple) *kiḷavi*-s, though some of the double occurrences in the modern editions might go back to the editor's perusal of deviating manuscripts.⁴⁵ Now, what makes them so interesting is the fact that they participate in the poetological idiom, and also the fact that there is a set of exegetical phrases common to the *kiḷavi*-s, the *Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram* (TP) and the *Iraiyaṇār Akapporu!* (IA).⁴⁶ This repertoire might go back to a period before the first fixation of the treatises, perhaps around the 5th to early 6th centuries.⁴⁷ However, both *kiḷavi*-s and treatises grow. While the supposedly oldest specimens consist in brief phrasal clauses that really only name the speaker (say, the girl), the listener (the confidante) and the occasion (long-term separation), later layers tend to be longer and occasionally make it possible to identify the exact line of aphorism in one of the treatises which they rely on, in other words, there is a movement from a common set of phrases to exact quotations. It is this layer that clearly presupposes

⁴⁴ A full analysis of the speech situations based on treatises and *kiḷavi*-s is found in Takahashi 1995.

⁴⁵ Another problem is that it seems to have been felt early on that the *kiḷavi*-s needed additional elucidation. The scribes/editors have not always distinguished between the original *kiḷavi* and its gloss. Consider the *kiḷavi* printed with AN 12, where quite obviously the second part, starting with “in this song” (*ippāṭṭiṇu!*), has to be regarded as a gloss of the first: *pakaṟkuri vārāniṇṟa talaimakaṇ tōliyār ceripp’ arivurukkappattu iravukkuri vārā varaivaleṇṇārku atuvum maruttu varaivukaṭāyatu[.] ippāṭṭiṇu! nivarin enṟatu varavu maruttatu. cīraṭi civappa enṟatu ceripp’ arivurūiyatu*. “The confidante asking for marriage by informing HIM, who kept coming for day-time trysts, of [HER] confinement [in the house and] by refusing him, who said ‘without coming for night trysts I shall marry [her],’ also the latter [kind of tryst]. In this song the words ‘if you come’ (= AN 12.13) refuse coming. The words ‘so that [her] little feet turn red’ (= AN 12.2) inform of confinement.”

⁴⁶ This paragraph is a summary of the more extensive investigations of this group of *kiḷavi*-s found in Wilden 2000, 2001 and 2006a.

⁴⁷ While it is evident that the TP has been remoulded several times in order to accommodate new poetic and theoretical developments, most notably the *Kalittokai* and the extension of the *tiṇai* concept from five to seven, the IA rather seems to represent a stage between the poems of the early anthologies and the later accretions to the corpus.

the existence of written treatises being used for reference. An even later layer, far less frequent in number, is even longer, often comprising several lines. Here we do not find only a poetological embedding, but also first minimal paraphrases of the contents of the poem, which foreshadows the elaborate *kiḷavi*-s of the *Kalittokai*.

Interesting to note also is that *kiḷavi*-s are, apart from rare exceptions, free of any reference to *tiṇai*.⁴⁸ It is reasonable to suppose that endowing a poem with a *kiḷavi* had become customary at some point before the hyper-anthologisation, because otherwise it would be difficult to account for the intrinsic differences between the groups that also correspond to our layers of text. Likewise, had the bulk of the *kiḷavi*-s only been written at the time Peruntēvaṇār's invocation stanzas were added, that is, at the point of first putting together a group of anthologies, one would expect the *kiḷavi*-s of the *Aiṅkuruṇūru* not to be different from those of the three older Akam texts. As it is, one would expect that the distinct group of *KT*, *NA*, and *AN*, i.e. the old Pāṇṭiya collections, already had rudimentary *kiḷavi*-s at the time of their compilation and that the *Aiṅkuruṇūru* followed suit when it was added to the corpus, let us say in the early 7th century. It is quite close to the three earlier ones, but is adjusted to the decade principle⁴⁹ and uses a number of terms not found in any of the other three. Slightly more tricky is the *Kalittokai*. Usage of the same group of phrases can still be observed, but on the whole its *kiḷavi*-s correspond only to the long and elaborate type that is very rare in the earlier set. In fact they may have been written at any time between the *Kali*'s composition and the commentary period. I would think it likely that the commentator, Nacciṇārkkīyar, elaborates on material that had already been transmitted.

Similar traditions exist for the *Puṇam* poems, although on the whole they give the impression of being later and more systematised. The *Puṇanāṇūru* does not only come with a specification of *tiṇai*,⁵⁰ but also with a *tuṇai*, a short phrasal

48 Why this should be so is self-evident in the later cases of *AiN* and *Kali*, since these are anthologies ordered according to *tiṇai*, but for the three early Akam anthologies the probable explanation is that the group of scholars who wrote the *kiḷavi*-s were not interested in the five landscapes. The inner structure of the *Akattiṇaiyiyal* betrays that it was an independent treatise before its integration into the *Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram*.

49 That is to say, the *kiḷavi* may be the same for the whole or at least part of a decade, in which case it is not repeated.

50 The *tiṇai*-s of *Puṇam* appear to be a late system based on topic, mirroring the *tiṇai*-s of Akam at a stage when there was already a set of seven. Accordingly late must be the corresponding chapter in the *Tolkāppiyam*, TP 2, the *Puṇattiṇaiyiyal* (cf. Takahashi 1995: 23 ff.). In any case, *Puṇam* as a category is less fluid than Akam, since unlike in the case of Akam, where there is a lively development of new, specialised treatises with varying concepts, the only other explicit *Puṇam* treatise is the *Puṇapporuḷ Venṇāmālai* (before the 10th century?); for a history of poetics, see Manuel 1997.

notation of a sub-theme belonging to a particular *tiṇai*. This is followed by the names of the king being sung and the poet who is singing. The *Patirruppattu* is even more elaborate in this respect, adding prosodic categories to the *tuṇai* and, to the decade, a *patikam* that elucidates the historical context and adds notes about the life and exploits of the respective king.⁵¹ The age and the pertinence of this ancillary material for historical studies on the period have been debated.⁵²

One short paragraph has to be devoted here to the Tamil tradition of literary commentaries, whose role in the transmission of the corpus will be discussed in connection with the transition from manuscript to print (chapter IV.2). The literary commentaries are reputed to have started considerably later than the theoretical ones, namely, in the 12th century. All the ones linked to the *Caṅkam* corpus are supposed to have been produced in the peak period before the 15th century.⁵³ This tenet, however, seems dubious, in the light of manuscript evidence. Anyway, for a large portion of the corpus no commentary prior to the 19th century revival period is available in print. Old anonymous commentaries exist for part of the *Puṇaṇṇūru* (1–250), *Akaṇṇṇūru* (1–90) and *Aiṅkuṇṇūru* (300 selected verses out of 500), as well as for the *Patirruppattu*. *Paripāṭal* has been commented on by Parimēlaḷakar (13th c.), the *Kalittokai* and *Pattuppāṭṭu* by Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar. The only *Caṅkam* text to have received more than one commentary is the first song of the *Pattuppāṭṭu*, the devotional *Tirumurukārruppaṭai*, with as many as five printed commentaries and a great deal of unpublished material (see II.1.1.3).

While the theoretical texts give only an indirect testimony of the existence of the *Caṅkam* corpus,⁵⁴ the commentaries on them that began to be written by the end of the first millennium, make, as we have already seen at the end of the last section, explicit reference to them, as single texts, as corpora of texts and as genres of literature. These references range from the earliest commentary on poetics, Nakkīraṇ on the *Iṇaiyaṇār Akapporuḷ*, before the end of the first millennium, right up to the early 18th-century *Ilakkaṇakkottu*. That these references, for the better part, were more than mere lip-service or hear-say is attested by the

51 The *Puṇaṇṇūru* *tuṇai*-s and *patikam*-s have been analysed in detail by Marr 1985 [1958].

52 For a sceptical voice, see Tieken 2003: 253 f.

53 For lists of the literary and theoretical commentaries transmitted, see Lehmann 2009, appendixes.

54 One rare exception is the *Yāpparuṇkalakārikai* (YK), as was pointed out to me by Jean-Luc Chevillard, where some examples are integrated (in the form of *pratika*-s) in the *sūtra*-s themselves, as matrixes of a particular metrical pattern, among them three from the *Caṅkam* corpus (AiN 255 in YK 9, AiN Ti. 501 in YK 11, KT 1 and Kali 11 in YK 21). Further examples, if they are not anonymous, come from the *Kīlkaṇakku* and the *Cūḷamaṇi*.

thousands of quotations from classical poems that are found in the commentaries, meant to illustrate the poetic rules enunciated by the treatise and/or used by the commentators in their arguments about the interpretation of those rules. Again, these quotations start with Nakkīraṇ, spread from poetics through the whole range of grammatical literature, and reach their high tide between the 11th and 14th century. After the peak of Nacciṇārkkīṇar on the *Tolkāppiyam* the number of quotations decreases, but even in the commentary on the last of the great fivefold grammars, Vaittiyanāta Tēcikar's *Iḷakkaṇa Viḷakkam* of the 17th century, several hundred *Caṅkam* poems are still quoted (for details, see chapter III.5.1).

To be sure, other texts besides the *Caṅkam* classics and their immediate successors found entry into the commentaries. But a look at the figures shows that, with two exceptions, for the bulk of the tradition such quotations were fairly negligible. Already the minor classics are, apart from the *Tirukkuraḷ* with its handy short distiches, far less prominent than the *Caṅkam* texts. A certain presence has to be attributed to the epic texts in the wider sense. The whole of devotional literature, beginning with the Tamil bhakti corpora of the first millennium (the twelve Śaiva *Tirumurai* and the four thousand Vaiṣṇava *Tivyappirapantam*) is practically absent from the commentaries.⁵⁵ As for the *pirapantam* genres (from Sanskrit *prabandha*-, “composition”), a voluminous list of mostly smaller literary genres painstakingly described in the later *Pāṭṭiyal* grammars, some of them are quoted in small numbers, but the only important one among them is the *Kōvai*. As a genre its life span ranges from about the 8th or 9th to the 19th century.⁵⁶ It is an Akam-Puṇam poem (often) in four hundred stanzas, in which every verse praises the patron (a king or god or even a revered poet colleague; thus Puṇam) while at the same time it recounts the love relationship of a poetic couple as a sort of serialised verse drama (thus Akam). Since it was supposed to contain every single speech situation conceived of by the theoreticians, in a sequence canonised with the *Nampi Akapporuḷ* in the 13th century, the *Kōvai* was early on perceived as the ideal candidate for illustrative purposes. Some *Kōvais* probably were written with that intent. Thus often a single commentary may give several hundred quotations from a single *Kōvai*, because most or even all the stanzas were applicable.

It is the other exception that reminds us of the caution necessary in drawing any conclusions from the material at our disposal, namely the anonymous

⁵⁵ The exception are here grammars with an overt religious or sectarian affiliation like the *Viracōḷiyam*, which contains some quotations of otherwise lost Buddhist verse, or the Vaiṣṇava *Māraṇ Akapporuḷ* (16th c.), which comes with a *Kōvai* dedicated to Viṣṇu (the *Tiruppatikkōvai*) as its main illustrative text.

⁵⁶ For a discussion of some late examples, see Ebeling 2010: 90 ff.

poems, verses from works that have been lost, of which very often not even the title has been transmitted.⁵⁷ In addition to the *Caṅkam* classics and the *Kōvais* they constitute the biggest part in any statistics of quotations. The exact figure is impossible to glean at the moment, because very often the same or similar verses have been handed down from commentary to commentary, and thus adding up the figures from the different texts would give us only the overall number of times they have been used, not the actual number of additional poems (and some come from longer, epic texts, such as the Tamil *Pāratam* – the *Mahābhārata* – not from single-verse anthologies). Still one would roughly guess them to be more than a thousand in number, which might represent a corpus or corpora just as big or bigger than the one that has been preserved.

However, the pride of place given to the *Caṅkam* works in such a great number of commentaries over such a long time span justifies the conjecture that, in a canon of classical Tamil literature, they were given a very prominent position. This fact has recently been contested by Venkatachalapathy (2006), who justly reminds us of the contingency of canon as a category and who claims that the position held by the *Caṅkam* today is concomitant to its resurrection in the 19th century and due, among other things, to the role it came to play in Tamil identity politics. The real Tamil canon before the renaissance would have comprised mostly religious and didactic works. While this is very true, it holds good only for the period immediately preceding the Tamil Renaissance, possibly the 15th to 17th centuries and definitely the 18th century. What happened in this period?

Occasionally we hear voices of criticism against the grammarians' one-sided emphasis on the classical heritage. The first text disclaiming the corpus, at least implicitly, that has come to my knowledge is the late 14th-century Kerala grammar *Lilātilakam*, written in Sanskrit, the founding text of the Malayāḷam grammatical tradition, although the word *malayāḷam* is not yet used as a designation of the language.⁵⁸ There *Pattuppāṭṭu* and *Eṭṭuttokai* appear to be subsumed under what is called the Cōḷa and Pāṇṇiya language (*bhāṣā*), with the implication that they are not of concern for the language of Kerala, a view that seems by and large to have been shared by scholars in Kerala up to this day. For the most part, they have not put forward the *Caṅkam* corpus as their legitimate heritage, to which they would have been every bit as entitled as the Tamilians. Better known is the late Śaiva advice against reading earlier secular literature found in the commentary on the *Ilakkaṇakkottu*. That attitude, however, did not induce its author to

⁵⁷ Here it should be kept in mind, however, that in fact it is often difficult to distinguish between verses from vanished texts and those produced by the commentator to suit his purpose.

⁵⁸ This passage was very kindly brought to my attention by Rich Freeman. For the text and a more detailed discussion, see chapter III.5.2.

remove the admittedly small number of fragmentary *Caṅkam* quotations from his commentary, all of which had been handed down as standard examples in grammatical literature.⁵⁹

What is true is that enthusiasm seems to be waning from the 15th century onwards. Apart from a thin trickle of standard examples in the commentaries on grammar in the strict sense, that is, excluding poetics, the main testimony for the active mastery of our poems is the already mentioned commentary on the *Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam*. There is one more source, though of a somewhat different category, namely the *Purattiraṭṭu*, a collection of older poems mostly dealing with moral issues, brought together from a wide range of sources, to begin with the *Puraṇānūru* (of which alone it quotes more than a hundred verses), the *Patiruppattu* and the *Paripāṭal*, continues with quite a number of quotations from the *Kiḷkkaṇakku*, epics, and several lost texts otherwise known only from commentary quotations,⁶⁰ and ends with *Kampan* (12th c.), dated by its first editor, Vaiyāpurip Pillai (1938), to the late 15th century.

It is these centuries of relative dearth that are the heyday of yet another type of source, namely the legends. Their well-explored starting point was the founding legend of the Tamil literary tradition, the oft-repeated story of the three successive academies, called *Caṅkam*, at the court of the Pāṇṭiyas in Maturai. The third of these is said to have produced, among other works, the texts of today's *Eṭṭuttokai*. Already in its first narrative version, in the preamble to Nakkīraṇ's commentary on the *Iraiyaṇār Akapporuḷ* (10th/11th c.?), the originally secular tradition appears to have been absorbed into the sectarian Śaiva fold.

The centuries after this spin out the story of the academy in Maturai, under the aegis of Śiva himself, into a series of distinct episodes mostly concerned with the exploits of particular academy poets.⁶¹ That already before the turn of the

⁵⁹ A special case in need of detailed investigation is the *Muttuvīriyam*, a fivefold grammar of the early 19th century (printed in 1881 in a partial edition and in a complete one in 1889). This text still demonstrates an intimate knowledge of the poetics of Akam and Puṇam, even if its commentary (which is not an author commentary) no longer gives the corresponding quotations. Its author, Muttuvira Upāttiyāyar, is reported to have been one of the teachers of the poet Miṇāṭcicuntaram Pillai, who in his turn was the revered teacher of U.Vē. Cāminātaiyar, and thus would stand in direct *param-parā* to our famous editor.

⁶⁰ It is also the chief witness for another important first-millennium work, namely the *Muttollāyiram*, an anthology of probably once nine hundred verses in praise of the three royal houses Cōḷa, Cēra and Pāṇṭiya that is often found in the vicinity of the *Kiḷkkaṇakku* and which is clearly based on *Caṅkam* conventions. One might even be tempted to call it the Puṇam counterpart of the *Kalittokai*.

⁶¹ The entire network of legends and the secondary literature concerned with them will be discussed in chapter III.4. The narrative versions, text and translations, form a volume in them-

millennium the *Caṅkam* as such had become a literary topos is indicated by a curious bit of evidence provided by the earliest *Nikaṇṭu* (a lexicon of synonyms, that is, a thesaurus, for the use of poets), the *Tivākaram*, where under 2.12 we find “the academy” (*Caṅkam*) enumerated among the various words used to refer to poet-scholars (*pulavar*). The first traces of legendary episodes are already found in the *Tēvāram*, the most important Śaiva bhakti collection. As well, three of the well-known poets from earlier times, Kapilar, Paraṇar and Nakkīraṇ, even have second lives as producers of devotional poems that have been incorporated into the 11th *Tirumurai*, the last-but-one book in the Śaiva canon, containing miscellaneous material. The only old poem that has found entry there is the *Tirumurukārruppaṭai*, a poem in praise of lord Murukaṇ who is the son of Śiva, first of the *Pattuppāṭṭu*. It is ascribed to Nakkīraṇ (not the commentator, but the tradition begins to mix up the two). The body of poets from the academy has even been celebrated as one of the group of Nāyaṇmārs, the Śaiva saints, as is attested in Nampi Āṇṭār Nampi’s *Tirutoṇṭarantāti* (11th c.), where the academy is still located in Maturai, as well as in the *Periyapurāṇam* (PP; 12th c.), where the seat of the academy is no longer named. A number of episodes is mentioned in the *Kallāṭam* (12th c.), an Akam poem that contains the first transmitted version of what is known as the sixty-four sports of Śiva in Maturai.⁶²

The first fullfledged narrative about Śiva in the temples of that city and the Pāṇṭiyas who rule it, then, is Puliyūr Nampi’s *Tiruvilaiyāṭarpurāṇam* (somewhere between the 12th and the 14th centuries?), followed by the first Sanskrit adaptation in the *Hālāsyā Māhātmya* (15th c.?), in its turn followed by the second *Tiruvilaiyāṭarpurāṇam*, that of Parañcōti (17th c.). In all three texts, no less than six episodes of the sixty-four are connected with the *Caṅkam*, and the only new poet figure that makes an appearance is Iṭaikkāṭaṇ (possibly a poet whose lost work is quoted in the *Yāpparuṅkala Virutti*⁶³). Still based on the same set is the poetically much more sophisticated abridged version of Nilakaṇṭha Dikṣita (17th c.), again in Sanskrit. Remnants of yet another Tamil version are contained in the fragmentary *Cuntarapāṇṭiyam* (17th c.).⁶⁴ A late prose version of Nakkīraṇ’s encoun-

selves and hopefully will be published soon as an additional book of materials in the same series as the present work.

62 Not surprisingly there are quite a number of allusions to the academy as the seat of poetical excellence in all the varieties of Tamil poetic texts (for a no doubt sadly incomplete collation of passages, see the supplementary volume).

63 This information was provided by Jean-Luc Chevillard.

64 The last two texts were kindly brought to my attention by Elaine Fisher, who also gave me access to her unpublished article on the *Śivalilāṇava* (taken up in chapter 4 of Fisher forthcoming). I was as yet unable to examine the Telugu version of the events that she has also discovered. Another Telugu version, the *Śrī Kālahasti Māhātmyamu*, is mentioned in Shulman 2001a: 124.

ter with Śiva, deviating in some details from the established template, is found in the *Cikāḷatti Purāṇam*.⁶⁵ The narrative richness and freedom show more than anything else that the original, literary *Caṅkam* had become the stuff legends are made of, retold and elaborated on for their own sake, but no longer connected to a real and legible (or even remembered) body of literature.⁶⁶

As for the 18th century and early 19th century, sources seem to fade out, unless we surmise that yet another strand of the legend was elaborated in that period, namely the one centred on Tiruvalluvar, the author of the *Kuraḷ*, and how he was received into the fold of the academy (see chapter III.4.5). This branch of the legends is attested mainly in several 19th-century accounts in English, based on oral accounts preserved in the Mackenzie collection (Blackburn 2000), one of the earliest being Wilson 1882 [1828], though a germ of it seems already contained in the *Kallāṭam* and the *Tiruvalluva Mālai*. There is a Tamil version possibly going back to the 18th century that I could recently photograph, the *Maturaic Caṅkattār Carittiram*, a manuscript preserved in paper form in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library in Ceṇṇai (GOML R.977), going back to the Mackenzie collection.

However, by now we are in possession of a different type of source, one that provides a much more direct type of evidence, namely the manuscripts. Older than most surviving specimens are some lists of texts that were received, copied and studied by a small number of missionaries in South India, the most prominent among them being Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg (1682–1719), who left behind a “Bibliotheca Malabarica” with some 119 entries. Among them figure a *Tolkāppiyam* and a *Tirukkuraḷ*, but not a single *Caṅkam* text. Sadly, in consequence of his untimely death, a common story, almost all of his manuscripts were lost or destroyed.⁶⁷

Nevertheless, we still have a number of actual *Caṅkam* manuscripts, and these bear witness not only to the texts themselves, but also to intermittent work

⁶⁵ For part of the story (the occasion of composition for the *Tirumurukāṟruppaṭai*) there is a precursor in Nampī’s *Tiruvilaiyāṭṭarpurāṇam*, not taken up by the later version, as already noted in Aravamuthan 1931: 120, n.11; see also Shulman 2001a: 123 f.

⁶⁶ This state of affairs seems to be confirmed by the 17th-century *Maturaic Cokkanāta Tamil Viṭutūtu*, a poem mostly in praise of the Tamil language that recently has been called back into consciousness by Ramaswamy 1998 (see also chapter III.5.2).

⁶⁷ On the Bibliotheca Malabarica and the identification of its entries, see Sweetman 2012: *The Bibliotheca Malabarica. Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg’s Library of Tamil Texts. An annotated edition and translation*. Rajesh (2013: 39 ff.) also provides some evidence concerning the Tamil texts known to the missionaries prior to the 19th century, of whom also Beschi (1680–1747) has left behind a list of texts. No reference to an actual *Caṅkam* text is found there, a fact that, however, might be no more than a testimony to the compartmentalisation of knowledge.

on the text in the form of, for one thing, glosses and rudimentary commentaries. This shows that the art of writing commentaries was not dead. They also come with colophons, and in the colophons we often find mnemonic stanzas preserving information that is useful or even necessary for reading the texts (chapter III.3). If they were not produced during the period in question, at least they were still memorised and handed on with the text. The sheer number of witnesses that have survived up to our days and the even higher numbers that are testified to by descriptions in the early editions clearly show that tradition, if dormant, cannot have been all dead, although the protagonists of the revival movement give a vivid picture of the hazards involved.

1.3 Research History and Programme

The period of rediscovering early classical Tamil literature in the second half of the 19th century, which coincided with the first philological “*Erschließung*” of the corpus and its language, can be presented as an early phase of research history; at the same time it remains an independent topic for historical research with which recent historical scholarship has been concerned. “It is my contention that the ‘rediscovery’ concept has been overemphasized while engaging with the question of the reproduction of [the] Sangam corpus in the late 19th century, and it is essential to understand how these texts were preserved and transmitted in the Tamil literary tradition before it was put into print. It is pertinent to take a long-term historical understanding of this process, which then necessitates an enquiry into canon formation and anthologization,” writes Rajesh (2008: 134; repeated in Rajesh 2013: 22).

The current study hopes to shed fresh light on this topic from a philologist’s perspective: On the one hand this will be done by seriously examining the wealth of premodern sources, as have been enumerated in the preceding sections. Many of these have hardly been taken into account, mostly because so many texts are no longer read. On the other hand it will go back to those sources that actually bear witness to the process of decipherment, the physical manuscripts, on palm-leaf and on paper. This task would be impossible for anybody who is not an editor and has not, so to speak, crossed by foot at least some of the expanses of textual material.

1.3.1 The Tamil Renaissance of the Late 19th Century

As we have seen, by the early 19th century at the latest the academy in Maturai had become a half-remembered story.⁶⁸ The actual *Caṅkam* texts had gradually vanished from public consciousness, although there must have been some transmissional niches, which we will come to in time. In order to understand the significance of the events that opened the period called the “Tamil Renaissance”, however, it is necessary to look at the situation – political, social and cultural – of Tamilnadu in the middle of the 19th century when this literature was re-discovered with much excitement. As anywhere in India, and not only India, this was a transitional period into modernity, partly furthered or even enforced, and partly obstructed by a colonial government. For the majority of Tamil speakers in what was known as the Madras presidency, the conflict took a special shape, since they had to hold their own not only against the British, but also against what was perceived as the overwhelming influence of the Indian North. To put it in a nutshell, the political and economic power was in the hands of the British colonial government. A significant part of the moral-religious power had gone over from the Śaiva *mutts* into Christian hands, insofar as they were the mouthpiece of the rulers. In other words, they had the power of discourse. This is a point of extreme importance. Although Christianisation in Southern India, as in India in general, was only moderately successful, the missionaries are key figures in the discourse. The beginnings of Dravidian philology and almost all the early dictionaries and grammars were undertaken by them. This is why their expectations, their criticism, and their perception could shape the nascent Tamil understanding of what is Tamil and Tamilian so fundamentally. The first description of a Dravidian family of languages comes from the hand of F. W. Ellis [1819].⁶⁹ In general historical consciousness, however, the ground-breaking formulation goes back

⁶⁸ Accounts of this story in early historiographical writing on Tamil literature have been traced by Venkatachalapathy (2006: 93 f.). The first among them might be the *Tamiḷ Nāvalar Caritai* (“Biographies of the Tamil poets”; 18th c.(?), ed. by Turaicāmp Piḷḷai in 1949), which renders the flood legend following Nakkīraṇ nearly verbatim and gives poems composed by various poets. A number of *Caṅkam* poems are quoted there, although identified only by author, not by text, and mixed up with later material, namely apart from *KT 2* (important for the puranic legends) at least nine *Puṛaṇ* poems (*PN 109, 121, 164, 45, 47, 46, 82, 91, 140* – thus far the quotations for the *Caṅkam* poets). All of them are either preserved in the *Puṛattiraṭṭu* or quoted in the grammatical/poetological commentaries. Another beautiful example is found in the preface to Casie Chitty’s *Tamil Plutarch* (1859), the first presentation of Tamil literary history in English via the “biographies” of Tamil scholars and poets beginning with Akattiyaṇ (for both works, see chapter III.4.4).

⁶⁹ For a recent reassessment of Ellis’ work (including an appendix with Ellis’ text on “the Dravidian Proof”), see Trautmann 2006.

to Bishop Caldwell and his first *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Family of Languages* (1856).⁷⁰ The third force experienced as a foreign element were the Brahmins, guardians of the North Indian, Sanskrit-oriented, let us call it “high religion and culture”, and moreover, because of their education and position in the system, they were often seen as collaborators with the British.

It is in this phase of fermenting forces that the Tamil Renaissance takes place, the official rediscovery of the oldest Tamil literature, that which is now called “classical”.⁷¹ Of course there is a political dimension to this whole process. It is closely connected with the emergence of the Tamil nationalist movement and the “pure Tamil” movement (Arooran 1980). However when speaking of Tamil intellectual history, one must also mention that in this period, thanks to the introduction of the printing press and the entirely new possibilities of dissemination it brought, ideas of social modernisation were being developed along with new literary genres and a new style of Tamil prose (Blackburn 2003, Ebeling 2010, Venkatachalapathy 2012). But at the same time a part of the Tamil intelligentsia was occupied with the arduous task of searching for and deciphering odd bundles of palm-leaf manuscripts.⁷² They were struggling to find the entry into a hermetic and in parts even linguistically nearly incomprehensible universe, a universe they discovered and/or declared to be Tamil’s own. Suddenly Tamil history appeared to have tangible documents of what so far had been a legendary past. It was a past not only of literary excellence, but of a Pre-Indo-Aryan, autochthonous Tamil culture. Perhaps the most important text in this connection is the *Puṛaṇāṇūru*, the collection of heroic songs about the deeds of the kings from the three great Tamil dynasties, the Cēra, the Cōla and the Pāṇṭiya. History has been rewritten and royal genealogies have been created on the basis of these poems.

One of the most curious instances of amalgamation between the two currents of modernisation and resurrection is the connection of the oldest *Caṅkam* legend, the one about the three academies of the Pāṇṭiyas of which two were taken by a flood, with the European theorem from the natural sciences about Lemuria,

70 See Caldwell 1974 [1856]. For other early contributions, see Mohanavelu 1993.

71 The standard representation of events is found in Zvelebil 1992.

72 The *locus classicus* illustrating this process is the autobiography of the “grandfather of classical Tamil” (*tamiḷ tāttā*), U.Vē. Cāminātaiyar, with the title *Eṇ Carittiram* (“My Life”) translated into English by K. Zvelebil (cf. Cāminātaiyar 1950). His account of the first discoveries is in itself the stuff legends are made of: He roamed Tamil Nadu far and wide, and mostly by foot, looking for manuscripts. They were often on the verge of obliteration, had been eaten by insects, neglected, even burned or left in water by the heirs of earlier men of the word. In a language he barely understood, he made use of what he could find in the way of old commentary material in order to produce, for the first time, editions.

the lost land bridge between Africa and India.⁷³ This is how Lemuria became the lost homeland of the Pāṇṭiya kings, another Atlantis to be mourned and to be searched for. To be sure, it was not the textual scholars like Cāminātaiyar, nor the historians of the first generation like Kanakasabhai⁷⁴ who introduced what is today part of the curriculum in Tamil primary education.

Parallel to the gradual transition from a manuscript culture into one of printed texts, we can observe a transformation in the perception of knowledge and its transmission, tangible in the education and status of its transmitters. This was in part a surprisingly asymmetrical development. At the outset of the 19th century, the idea of a scholar is still encapsulated in the ancient concept of the *pulavar*, the scholar-poet who was sponsored by a court or temple and who produced highly sophisticated poetic works of praise (both worldly and religious), following conventions that had been established over centuries. His literary goal was an oral performance in front of an audience – a manuscript was to him an *aide-mémoire* – and he had a number of apprentices or students following him whom he instructed in the art of their trade. A *pulavar* was constantly on the move and on the lookout for support, until he was fortunate (or famous) enough to receive a permanent position in a monastery or at a court. Older literature was taught as a basic fund of erudition and a model for further production. Of this literature, only certain texts were performed, such as the *Kampa Rāmāyaṇam*, and for religious rather than literary reasons. It is this background that explains why knowing a text meant knowing a text by heart.⁷⁵

The other end of the development, visible by the beginning of the 20th century, although by no means pervasive, is represented by the modern academic culture based on books and university education. In a transitional phase pandits, the Sanskritised – predominantly erudite and no longer productive – version of the *pulavar*, were appointed to colonial institutions such as Fort St. George in Madras, which in its turn became the embryo for Madras University (Ebeling 2009b). Colonial ideas about native scholarship were strongly influenced by Brahmin-based northern traditions. Little is known about the status of mere scholars, say grammarians, in the early period. One such person is U.Vē. Cāminātaiyar (1855–1942), who came from a family of performing musicians and was a pupil of the famous *pulavar* Miṇāṭcuntaram Piḷḷai. He himself however became a collector of manu-

⁷³ This process has been studied and documented in detail by Ramaswamy 2004.

⁷⁴ V. Kanakasabhai was the author of the first Old Tamil history to be published in English, “The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago”, that appeared in book form in 1904 and is still reprinted until today (Kanakasabhai 1966 [1904]).

⁷⁵ For a presentation of the life of a *pulavar*, based on the case study of Miṇāṭcuntaram Piḷḷai, see Ebeling 2010.

scripts and an editor, i.e. a textual scholar. He was in the service of the monastery of Tiruvāṇṭuṭurai, known as the Tiruvāṇṭuṭurai *mutt*,⁷⁶ before taking a teaching post at Kumpakōṇam College in 1880. The background of this legacy was oral performance, however, and so mastering a text was coextensive with memorising a text. Thus, retrieving the lost literary heritage took the form of recommitting it to memory, in which books merely played the role of a more convenient type of manuscript. Until today, this form of scholarship, surviving in niches of financial independence, some libraries, and rare postcolonial institutions such as the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient in Pondicherry, is the most prestigious in Tamilnadu, although it is dying out quickly.⁷⁷

Leaving aside sentiment and ideology, the facts seem roughly to be the following: By the early 19th century, the bulk of early Tamil literature (i.e. the *Caṅkam* corpus itself, the *Kīlkaṇakku* texts with the exception of *Tirukkuṛaḷ* and *Nālaṭiyār*, and to a less certain degree the early epics) had faded away from common consciousness (Venkatachalapathy 2006). For the better part of the 19th century the celebrated Tamil classics were the *Tirukkuṛaḷ* (a 6th-century collection of didactic verse) and the *Kampa Rāmāyaṇam* (a 12th-century poetic epic). Oblivion, however, cannot have been complete. In the grammatical tradition at least, fragments and quotations of individual poems had survived. And while it is certain that the early grammatical texts were also much less studied than before, here the number of surviving manuscripts is revelatory: while in the case of early literature usually between one and five manuscripts are still extant, in exceptional cases up to eighteen manuscripts, for the *Tolkāppiyam* (the earliest Tamil grammar) there are still more than a hundred.⁷⁸ Moreover the situation of texts

76 On the *mutt* as a religious monastic institution, see Champalakshmi 2011, chapter 8; on the Śaiva *mutts* in Tañcāvūr area, see Nampi Arooran 1981 and 1984 and Oddie 1984.

77 See Wilden 2009a for the biography (both in Tamil and in English) and bibliography of one such scholar of the 20th century, T. V. Gopal Iyer. He was an employee of the EFEO for more than 30 years, author of some 30 books, among them text editions, many endowed with modern Tamil commentaries. He also produced the most important Tamil dictionary of the grammatical tradition in 16 volumes.

78 And moreover almost all of them were published before the literary texts (thus absurdly reciprocating the situation depicted in the first *Caṅkam* legend, where grammar [the *Tolkāppiyam*] is made the sole survivor of the second *Caṅkam*). The pertinent questions to be asked here are: In the 19th century prints of the great grammatical works, were the quotations identified? If so, by whom and how did they do it? In general only a very small number of texts are named in the commentaries, and when, then only by the name of the text, not by the number of the verse. Moreover, often only the first metrical foot or half-line is quoted. Does the identification go back to annotations in the manuscripts? Is it a collaborative effort? Or was it in fact only done in later editions?

with a religious affiliation was different. The Jain epic *Cīvaka Cintāmaṇi* was still read and taught in the Jain community, a fact Cāminātaiyar to his great astonishment and relief discovered at some point during his editing process, and his commentary benefited greatly from the instruction he received.⁷⁹

Also a brief look at early printing history seems to relativise the picture. It remains true that the “Madras School of Orientalism”, whose formation has recently received quite a lot of scholarly attention (Trautmann 2006 and 2009), does not seem to have been aware of the *Caṅkam* classics. The two great projects of that school were the documentation of South Indian history by Colonel Mackenzie and his team, and the college Fort St George, where Indian languages were taught to prospective British civil servants arriving in the colony. It was established in the year 1811 under the direction of F. W. Ellis in Madras. The college owned its own printing press and also collected manuscripts, printing, among other things, Tamil texts. Among the enormous mass of materials preserved in the Mackenzie collection (the basic stock of today’s Government Oriental Manuscript Library in Cennai), not a single *Caṅkam* manuscript has been found. That collection represented the first systematic effort at locating and buying or copying palm-leaf manuscripts. This was done predominantly of those with historical value, but also of literary texts in South Indian languages (cf. catalogues Wilson 1882 [1828], Taylor 1835 and 1862, Mahalingam 1972). However, according to Murdoch (1968 [1865]: 93), at least one classic, namely the *Tirumurukārruppaṭai*, was known to Ellis, and the reprint’s additional notes list no less than four printed editions dating to before the turn of the 19th century.

A recent study, Rajesh 2013, asserts, on the basis of quotations in the notes to an unpublished translation of the first part (*aṟattup pāl* 1–12)⁸⁰ of the *Tirukkuraḷ* from the hand of Ellis, that the author must have known (and studied from palm-leaf manuscript) “a wide array of Tamil works including classical works like *Purananuru*, *Patinenkilkanakku*, *Tolkappiyam*, *Cilappatikaram* and *Tirumurukarruppati* apart from works like *Civakacintamani*, *Cutamani*, *Kampa Ramayanam*, *Tiruvacakam* and numerous *Puranas*” (Rajesh 2013: 100 and 161). Even if quotations can be located, this conclusion is unfounded; in fact it seems more likely that Ellis perused one or even several of the impressive row of commentaries transmitted with the *Kuraḷ* that the pandits who worked for and with Ellis certainly had at their fingertips.⁸¹ However, a certain confirmation underlaying the basic notion

⁷⁹ In his autobiography he devotes a whole chapter (no. 89) to his encounter with the Jains (cf. Cāminātaiyar 1950).

⁸⁰ Today kept in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, as No 18D25 (Rajesh 2013: 100fn).

⁸¹ As far as these quotations can be gleaned from the edition of Ellis’s *Kuraḷ* commentary published at an unknown date and without title page at Fort St George (Ellis [1819], republished in

of Rajesh's claim that the classical texts were still around, comes, more than half a century later but still before the era of widespread publishing, in the form of a London manuscript of the *Kuruntokai* (BL Or.2726), a paper manuscript with a watermark dated to 1874 and with a colophon that states it had been copied in Maturai for A. C. Burnell. Burnell's signature proves that he had received the copy in 1878. What did he believe the *Kuruntokai* to be?⁸²

In the same study Rajesh gives several tables listing Tamil books produced in the 19th century, among them those printed between 1834 and 1839 by the Kalviviḷakka Accukkūṭam in Madras (Rajesh 2013: 102 ff.; cf. Ebeling 2009b: 306). This list contains a *Tiruviḷaiyāṭarapurāṇam* (presumably that of Parañcōti, with its six chapters of *Caṅkam* stories), but also the *Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai*.⁸³ A further set of tables (Rajesh 2013: 107 ff.) lists the editions of Ārumukanāvalar⁸⁴ between 1851 and 1860, and after 1860. Among the books he printed before 1860 is the *Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai* with commentary, of which at least reprints are still available. One of the extant manuscripts professes to be a copy of that cherished edition (see chapter II.1.3.2, p. 81). More as a surprise comes the list of books after 1860, where we find not only twelve grammatical treatises, in fact the bulk of the early grammatical tradition beginning with the *Tolkāppiyam* and four of its commentaries, but also the three survivors of the five great epics (*Cilappatikāram*, *Maṇimēkalai* and *Cīvaka Cintāmaṇi*), a number of *Kiḷkkaṇakku*, starting with the *Kuṛaḷ*, and in addition two *Caṅkam* works proper, namely the *Kalittokai* with com-

1955 by R. P. Sethu Pillai and reprinted in 2011), the *Caṅkam* part is restricted to some lines from the *Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai* (lines 126–37 = Ellis [1819], p. 56), still well known as a devotional poem and among the earliest works to be printed, and two poems from the *Puṛaṇāṇūru*, 34.1–7 and 188 (Ellis [1819], pp. 288 and 208). The former is part of the *Puṛattiraṭṭu* and the latter quoted by Parimēlaḷakar on *Kuṛaḷ* 64. These quotations are identified in Ellis's notes, although it is not clear where he received this information. But this is a question concerning the transmissional history of the *Kuṛaḷ*. The *Kuṛaḷ* itself was printed for the first time in the year 1812 (Ebeling 2009a: 239).

⁸² A. C. Burnell (1840–1882), Sanskritist and author of the *Handbook of South Indian Palaeography*, is known as an avid collector and cataloguer of manuscripts, but his relation to Tamil is not prominent. After Burnell's untimely death his miscellaneous manuscript collection was bought by the India Office Library, and apparently this *Kuruntokai* was among them.

⁸³ In a further list of books planned for publishing after 1839 by the same press, the *Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai* figures again, this time accompanied by a commentary. Moreover, three important grammatical works are mentioned, the *Tolkāppiyam*, *Pirayōka Vivēkam* and *Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam*. But it is not clear whether any copies of the printed books have survived or even whether these plans were carried out.

⁸⁴ Ārumukanāvalar (1822–1879), a Christian from Jaffna reconverted to Śaivism, is the first in the trio of famous classical editors. He is mostly famed, however, for the Śaivite revivalism movement he started, and accordingly most first editions he carried out are the canonised Śaiva texts.

mentary and the *Puṛaṇāṇūru* with commentary. It is not clear whether any copy of these early prints has survived, but nonetheless both the manuscripts and reported editions seem to indicate that there was a certain awareness of the classical heritage by not only Indian but also Western scholars.

The first in the known series of *Caṅkam* first editions, then, is Tāmōtaram Piḷḷai⁸⁵ with the *Kalittokai* in 1887. Cāminātaiyar was the scholar who prepared the greatest number of first editions; *Pattuppāṭṭu* in 1889, *Puṛaṇāṇūru* in 1894 and 1923 (after acquiring new manuscript material), *Aiṅkuruṇūru* in 1903, *Paṭiṟupattu* in 1904 and *Paripāṭal* in 1918. But there is a second reason that he received almost all the praise and all the fame, namely the fact that he grew to be very old and left behind a voluminous autobiography, entitled *Eṇ Carittiram* (“My Life”), which is still in print and has even been translated into English by Zvelebil (cf. Cāminātaiyar 1950). The three old Akam anthologies all came out in the early 20th century, namely the *Kuṟuntokai* with Cauripperumāl Arankaṇ⁸⁶ in 1915, the *Narriṇai* with Nārāyaṇacāmi Aiyar⁸⁷ in 1915, and the *Akanāṇūru* in two instalments, first *Kaḷiṟriyāṇainirai* with Rā. Irākavaiyaṅkār in 1918, and then *Maṇimiṭaiṭaipaṇṇam* and *Nittilakkōvai* with Rā. Irākavaiyaṅkār and Rāja Gōpālāyaṇ in 1923/24.⁸⁸

The extensive list of editors in the later history of *Caṅkam* editions lacks names connected to independent efforts at textual criticism. The *Kuṟuntokai* received repeated attention, with editions by Irāmarattiṇa Aiyar in 1930, Aruṇācala Tēcikar in 1933, Cāminātaiyar in 1937 and Rā. Irākavaiyaṅkār in 1946.⁸⁹ For the *Kalittokai*, there is Aṇantarāmaiyaṛ 1925+1931, which includes two new manuscripts received from Cāminātaiyar. Otherwise the most important milestone is

85 Ci.Vai. Tāmōtaram Piḷḷai (1832–1901) was another Jaffna scholar, Christian and by worldly profession a lawyer. His main interest was grammar and not literature, and a number of first editions in that field are to his credit, such as *Irāiyaṇār Akapporuḷ* and *Viracōḷiyam*.

86 I have as yet not been able to discover the life dates for Cauripperumāl Araṅkaṇ.

87 Piṇṇattūr A. Nārāyaṇacāmi Aiyar (1862–1914) was a Tamil professor at Kumbakonam College; unfortunately he died while his *Narriṇai* edition was still in press. He left behind an unfinished edition of the *Akanāṇūru*, which I found in the form of a beautiful, well-preserved paper manuscript in three volumes (according to the printed title page, based on the collation of several mss.) It is today stored at the UVSL; after it came there, apparently no one ever looked at it again.

88 Rā. Irākavaiyaṅkār (1870–1946), cousin of the famous Mu. Irākavaiyaṅkār, Tamil professor in Madurai and Trichy, was one of the editors of the important research journal *Centamiḷ*. His first publisher seems to have been Vē. Irājakōpalaiyaṅkār at Kamparvilācam. For the second and third part it is Irājakōpalaiyaṅkār who has written the more elaborated commentary on AN 91–160, in addition to bits of old commentary available for AN 1–90.

89 For this text’s editorial history, see the recent critical edition *Kuṟuntokai*, Wilden 2010, vol. 1, introduction.

the edition of Vaiyāpurip Pillai⁹⁰ in 1940, a complete edition of the corpus where the poems are ordered according to the names of the poets. His work was continued in the complete edition of the corpus completed in the 1950s by a team of scholars under Es. Rājam, which edited the texts on the basis of the variants available in the editions printed until their day, while dissolving classical *sandhi* and metre in favour of word-by-word splits surrounded by European punctuation marks. Thus in some respects they created the first popular edition dispensing with a commentary. In 1943, Catāciva Aiyar revised the *Aiṅkurunūru* on the basis of one more manuscript. Beginning with the *Puranānūru* in 1947, Cu. Turaicāmp Pillai edited several texts (*Paṭirruppattu* 1950, *Aiṅkurunūru* 1957, and *Narriṇai* 1966+68) on the basis of so far unused manuscript material, without, however, specifying his sources in detail (and all of them seem to have vanished since). Finally in 1985, Mu. Caṇmukam Pillai (Tañcāvūr) published the first and only professedly critical edition of a *Caṅkam* text, the *Kuruntokai*, actually a collation of the existing editions compared with one prominent additional manuscript.

In the course of the classicism debate and as a result of the plan announced by Cemmoḷi to publish “definitive editions”⁹¹ of the classics, there has been renewed interest in the work done by the pioneers. This interest has borne fruit in a recent collective reprint of all the prefaces and introductions contained in the first editions (Ayyappaṇ 2009). This volume is extremely useful, even in cases in which the old editions are still in print, because, as it turns out, these reprints have been quite arbitrary as to what they did or did not reproduce. It is thus now quite easy to follow what the early editors had to say about the editing process and the manuscripts at their disposal. What still seems to be overlooked, however, is the unique value held by the surviving manuscripts as testimonies of the editing process.

90 S. Vaiyāpurip Pillai (1891–1956) is one of the most fascinating figures in the second generation of Tamil scholars after the Tamil Renaissance. Being not only the first to bring out a complete *Caṅkam* edition but also the chief editor for the Tamil Lexicon, he was one of the few still able and willing to work with primary material. His application of common sense to the reconstruction of Tamil literary history, resulting in a 5th-century date for the *Tirukkural*, made him an *anathema* in the Tamil academic establishment, which is the reason for his manuscript collection to go “abroad” to Kolkatta, a sad story told in some detail by Sivathamby in the preface to the reprint of his *History of Tamil Language and Literature (From the Beginning to 1000 C.E.)*.

91 A definitive edition is not a critical one, but a version collated by a team of scholars to give a “correct” reading. The basis for this process is supposed to be the earlier printed editions. Manuscripts have also been digitised by Cemmoḷi. However, since the announcement in 2006, not a single edition of this type has been published.

I.3.2 Tamil Manuscripts

The overall number of manuscripts transmitted in Tamilnadu can only be roughly estimated; what is clear however is that less than half of them are written in Tamil. Even in South India the Sanskrit tradition prevails, and of course there are also texts in other Dravidian languages such as Telugu, which at times was of considerable cultural and political impact. The materials are basically two, namely palm-leaf and paper. Cataloguing and preserving has been primarily restricted to the former category, which means that ready information on the number or the condition of paper manuscripts is not available, that is, outside the catalogues of individual libraries. According to the *Descriptive Catalogue of Palm-Leaf Manuscripts in Tamil* published in the 1990s by the Institute of Asian Studies, the overall number of Tamil palm-leaf manuscripts would seem to be around 25,000 (Hikosaka/Samuel 1980–98). Given the fact that today the Government Oriental Manuscript Library (GOML) in Cennai alone claims to have a collection of 16,000 Tamil manuscripts, the *Catalogue*'s figure can simply be dismissed as far too low. In any case, this catalogue comprises only some larger libraries and does not take into consideration the smaller collections of innumerable temples and private households. Among the big government libraries, large Tamil collections are also stored in the Caracuvati Makāl Library and the Tamil University, both in Tañcāvūr, as well as the Oriental Research Institute and Manuscript Library in Trivandrum (Kerala). The most important library for classical Tamil literature is the U. V. Swaminataiyar Library (UVSL) in Cennai (private but receiving government funding). But some of the bigger Śaiva monastic libraries are also of relevance, such as those in Tiruvāṇṭuṭurai and Tarumapuram, both in Tañcāvūr district. Extensive collections of Tamil Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava manuscripts are preserved, respectively, in the two French institutions in Pondicherry, the French Institute (IFP) and the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO).

A few thousand Tamil manuscripts have even found their way to Europe (James 1980). The German ones are part of a project involving the Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts (KOHD) in Germany; they are being catalogued in Cologne (the majority late Christian texts). London and Paris also possess collections. The Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris has an inventory of about 900 manuscripts, some surprisingly documented only by means of a hand list not unlike the ones found in smaller Indian temples.

In recent years there have been several projects for cataloguing and conserving, but none of them is comprehensive. The IGNCA (the Indira Gandhi National Centre of Arts) has initiated extensive microfilming of palm-leaf manuscripts, but the quality is often questionable and gaining access not easy. Since the establishment of the Centre of Excellence for Classical Tamil ("Cemmoḷi") in the wake of

Tamil's being declared the second classical language of India other than Sanskrit, manuscripts of (non-devotional) literature of the first millennium have been digitised. Another consequence of the new awareness of the importance of the classical heritage has been a public summons for donating manuscripts, mostly from private households. This has resulted in the discovery of many thousands of further manuscripts, of which until today few have been identified, let alone catalogued. Whole new libraries have been established to house these collections, such as the Sri Chandrasekharendra Saraswathy Visva Mahavidyalaya near Kāñcipuram.

One recent development is the comprehensive digitisation of complete library collections. Both the IFP and the EFEO in Pondicherry have announced that the photographing of their material is complete. Their collections consist of 8000 palm-leaf bundles of predominantly Śaiva texts and 1600 bundles of Vaṣṇava texts, both containing about 40 per cent Tamil material. The IFP collection is the first in Tamilnadu to be completely available online.⁹² At both institutions, the work on descriptive catalogues has been going on for many years.

Precise information is difficult to come by. In addition to the already mentioned catalogue of the Institute of Asian Studies, there is another, published by the Tamil University (Chellamuthu et al. 1989–91), but in both of them it is not hard to find misleading and/or incomplete information. In part this is presumably not even due to carelessness on the part of the editors, but more likely something like natural erosion. The editors did not catalogue manuscripts as such, but the catalogues of manuscripts belonging to the different libraries, and some of these consist of handwritten lists transmitted over long periods of time. The larger libraries (such as GOML, Caracuvati Makāl and Tamil University) have their own ongoing projects of descriptive catalogues, although it is not always easy to see even the already published volumes. Conservation of course is a particularly serious problem under the conditions of the South Indian climate. Because of humidity and insects, manuscripts had to be copied roughly once every hundred years. After that length of time the first holes appeared and consequently, gaps in the text. This happened even if manuscripts were regularly cleaned and treated with lemon grass oil. Today the life expectancy of manuscripts can certainly be increased by keeping them in climate controlled conditions, but even so, it is not yet clear how long they can be maintained. A first positive step has been taken however: In India, too, the attitude towards these rich materials is slowly changing. Not long ago a manuscript was thought obsolete as soon as its text was printed as a book. But nonetheless, this common notion is chiefly what explains

⁹² See <http://www.ifpindia.org/-Manuscripts-.html>.

the state of utter desolation and neglect one is still confronted with in many South Indian libraries.

The situation is even more alarming in the case of paper manuscripts. Paper slowly began to replace palm-leaf in the late 19th century, that is, in a period when printing had already been established. Despite this, great numbers of manuscripts still had to be quickly reproduced in order to prevent information from being lost. In smaller and more remote, i.e. poorer libraries, the practice of copying by hand was still alive well into the 1960s (and perhaps even beyond). Thus, paper manuscripts are important because they bear the only surviving testimony for older, disintegrated palm-leaves. Secondly, they convey the first traces of editing processes. The scribes often consulted more than one manuscript, noted variants or even collated, and they were in many cases the first to introduce a less ambiguous notation system. It is precisely for the second reason, however, that these paper manuscripts were not held in esteem. Since they were regarded as relics of an incomplete editing process, they were often not catalogued or integrated in any way into steps for preservation.

Given that manuscripts are still scattered far and wide, it is not possible to know how many *Caṅkam* manuscripts are still extant. After about ten years of searching, the *Caṅkam* project has located a total of 183 manuscripts, 132 on palm-leaf and 51 on paper, of which 81 are of the *Eṭṭuttokai* and 102 of the *Pattuppāṭṭu*. For these figures, the collective manuscripts have been divided according to text. To be precise, 12 manuscripts have been seen or even used, but not yet copied. For Kolkatta, for example, permission to take photographs has not yet been received (with the exception of one *Akanāṇūru* copy). Full codicological descriptions are available from the UVSL and the GOML, both Ceṇṇai, for the Caracuvati Makāl Library in Tañcāvūr, as well as for Tiruvāṇṭūrai, but most of the others are just listed and at best briefly characterised. In any case, it is not easy to match what is found in the various catalogues with what is extant on the shelves. Manuscripts have vanished since the time the original lists were made, and they have been misplaced or misidentified. Even more hazardous is the task of relating the available manuscripts to the descriptions found in the early editions. The numbers of surviving manuscripts might not vary much from those mentioned by editors, but identity can be established with certainty for less than twenty per cent. In some cases, to be sure, the old description leaves no doubt that the physical object must have been destroyed. In some cases we know this, such as for the manuscripts of the Maturai Tamil *Caṅkam*, reported to have been lost in a fire. In other cases it is possible to judge from the editions that a manuscript has not yet been used for an editing process.

Information about the provenance of the manuscripts is very hard to come by. Editors have often noted the name of the donor if a manuscript came from a

private collection, but even if it were possible to find out more about these men (and many names recur several times), we can almost never be certain that we hold the very object in our hands which was donated so many years ago. Libraries such as the GOML occasionally provide at least the name of earlier collections that were integrated into their inventory at some point, but not even in the case of the UVSL can we establish which manuscripts truly go back to Cāminātaiyar's collection, or how and which ones were used for his editions.⁹³ Another casual source of information are the scribal colophons that come with some manuscripts; in the case of paper manuscripts these often take the place of a title and/or cover page. The arduous process of describing, deciphering, sifting, matching and identifying, as well as the meagre results this has brought, has been documented in chapter II.

Vital for what they can tell us about transmission history are the traditional colophons, well known in their essentials and often reproduced, but not seen in the context of the material tradition they represent. They often incorporate another genre of small paratext. I call these mnemonic stanzas, stray verses that often encapsulate poetic or historiographic knowledge pertaining to the texts transmitted (see chapters III.2 and III.3). Many, but by no means all of them have been quoted in the introductions to the early editions (and some are today attested only there). But none of them is found in poeto-historiographical accounts such as the *Tamiḷ Nāṭaḷar Caritai*. (How and by whom, then, were they preserved?) This takes us over the thin borderline between colophons and exegetical ancillary materials, glosses, word lists, and commentaries. These are found there in abundance, which clearly show that, however difficult the task of deciphering the manuscripts and transferring them into legible, printable texts, the early editors did not have to start from zero, or from a freshly acquired knowledge of the medieval commentary tradition. This is a point to which we will return.

The problems of reading the actual manuscripts begin with the fact that most of them are not dated, especially those on palm-leaves. As a rule both catalogues and editors are silent on the crucial point of dating. For the few manuscripts that have been taken to Europe, we usually know at least when they were included in which collection. Palaeography or codicology is virtually non-existent, and so the present study cannot hope to achieve much more than a few suggestions regarding the possible evolution of the script. This is particularly difficult because there are not many specimens and because we cannot rule out the possibility of mere regional variety or even idiosyncrasy. A little easier is the situation with respect

⁹³ Some of his personal papers are still not catalogued or even listed, and they are not accessible to the general public.

to the paper manuscripts, for one thing because a number of them are dated (although often not unequivocally), but also because here the development has led through several successive and clearly distinguishable stages.

The major problem of the palm-leaf notation is its ambiguity, which has already been well described and often bemoaned in the early editions. To summarise briefly: the dot above the letter that marks a consonantal cluster (*puḷḷi*) is not yet in use. There is a single graph (an open *kāl*) for long *ā* and intervocalic *r*. No distinction is made between short and long *e/ē* and *o/ō* (due to the fact that the double *kompū* is not employed). These features go hand in hand with the visual organisation of the letters on the leaf. The text is written in *scriptio continua*, without any split of metrical feet or lines (not to mention word split, which enters Tamil poetry only in the prints produced in the second half of the 20th century). The idea is clearly to have as much text as possible on the leaf, leaving only some space for margins left and right, above and below, as well as around the holes, because it is well known that these areas are the most vulnerable. If there are any navigation aids, they consist of marginal titles and intertitles, or sometimes an indication of the first metrical foot at the beginning of a new poem (*pratika*). As a rule this is on the left side, because the right side corresponds to the right hand of a user turning the leaves while reading, and is thus doubly endangered. There is very little space for annotation or correction. In other words, a Tamil palm-leaf manuscript is primarily a high-density data storage device and an *aide mémoire* for somebody capable of reciting the text.

It is this fact that makes us understand one of the main functions of the paper manuscript, which is disambiguation. To be sure, a first generation of paper manuscripts exists in which the palm-leaf notation is merely transferred to another medium, one that is easier and faster to produce. For their production there were probably two reasons. One is that a palm-leaf source was not given as a gift to be kept and perused at leisure, but only allowed to be kept for comparison for a short while or even to be copied on the spot. The other is, that once collecting, editing, preserving and preventing further loss of precious information had come to be perceived as a necessary task, huge quantities of palm-leaves had to be recopied before they crumbled to pieces in the hands of their copyists.

Very soon, however, the advantages of paper copies came to be recognised. It is here, in the second generation, that we find experiments of separating lines and splitting metrical feet. I call them experiments, because we find the first attempts corrected over and again. Also diacritic marks such as the *puḷḷi* are introduced only gradually, also with quite a phase of trial and error. Paper also provided space for extensive annotation and for corrections and further readings between the lines, often presumably from other manuscripts. From a text-critical point of view, this procedure often amounted to what one might call contamination: it

is absolutely impossible to reconstruct the source(s) of a particular reading, or to know whether it is even a reading at all or in fact a correction. Some of the palm-leaf manuscripts now lost may not have been copied at all, but their deviations only noted down in another paper copy. The situation is hopeless in cases where the earlier palm-leaf sources are not preserved at all. But it is interesting and revealing in cases where both the palm-leaf and paper manuscripts survive, as in the case of the *Akanāṇūru*.

It was not long before the influence of printing was felt, and in the third generation of paper copies we see the beginnings of layout: space between the poems, and between *kiḷavi*, poem and author. The poem number becomes part of the heading, the commentary is sometimes set off, and there is even something like annotation.⁹⁴ Soon paper manuscripts begin to look like handwritten books, and some of them may even represent pre-print copies produced by editors (although there is no case where this is clearly indicated).

Also experiments with various modes of secondary text take place on paper. Firstly there are the so-called old commentaries, for which the breadth of transmission is quite variable; in some cases, especially for *Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar*, there are still up to ten manuscripts, while in others it is one or two, and for some bits of old commentary printed in the early editions, no manuscript witness has survived until today. Secondly, we find marginal glosses and even commentaries, most fragmentary. None of these are mentioned by the early editors, although they are probably either pieces of older commentaries that have been copied down from older palm-leaves or the fruit of the copyists' (who in some cases may have been editors) own attempts at understanding the text. Given the transmissional situation, with anonymous commentaries and even palm-leaf copies that cannot go back more than perhaps, at the very utmost, three hundred or three hundred and fifty years, I would rather believe that the "old" commentaries we see in print, especially the anonymous ones, are the outcome of the labours of generations of copyists and transmitters. In the light of the manuscript evidence, I think we will also have to re-qualify what we think we know about the neo-commentaries of the 19th century and their being modelled on their medieval predecessors, as has recently been expounded by Ebeling (2009a).⁹⁵ It is true is that for the early

⁹⁴ The evolution of layout features in the early prints has been examined in Ebeling 2009a.

⁹⁵ The appendix to chapter IV lists 74 manuscripts containing such material. Of these, 52 are based on medieval commentaries, although even these are by no means identical from version to version, as suggested in the editions, especially the so-called anonymous ones, under which 16 of these manuscripts fall. Another 22 manuscripts contain either unidentified commentaries or glosses, or word or name indexes, or the like. Of these, 11 concern the three old Akam anthologies, for which no old commentary was thought to have been transmitted (except for AN KV-90).

editors, writing a commentary in those cases where no older one was available was a duty on a par with that of producing the edition in the first place. But nonetheless there is reason to believe that when writing, they stood on the shoulders of their unnamed predecessors and that there was some continuity of tradition.

To summarise, chapter IV will deal with the precarious process of deciphering the palm-leaf notation via gradually more explicit versions of paper copies and on to the first printed editions. Based on the author's work of critically editing a subset of three texts (the *Kuruntokai*, *Narriṇai* and *Akanānūru*), the transmissional situation for these three anthologies will be presented and the strategies of a number of early editors will be discussed in detail. This will be rounded up by a shorter account of the these texts' later publishing history. Three broad phases will be described, one of decipherment, one of standardisation and one of vulgarisation.

Put in a nutshell, the process can be explained by the material dependence of variants on the medium that is used to transmit the text: the less than perfect notation system for Tamil connected with the palm-leaf tradition causes large-scale ambiguity. The transition to writing manuscripts on paper goes hand in hand with a more precise script (which marks line and word breaks, consonantal clusters and vowel lengths). The consequence is a multiplication of variants, since everything that was ambiguous in the earlier notation can have two or even more transcripts. The opposite movement, then, can be observed in the early editions. Through processes of normalisation and standardisation, editors reduce the number of transmitted variants and exclude certain types (such as some of the regional variations). Contemporary editions, finally, do away with variants altogether and print only a single text, even if they do not yet claim it to be definitive.

II The Manuscripts

The first thing is to locate these innumerable manuscripts and to collect them, if and when accessible. This is the first nightmare. The second will be examining those manuscripts and deciding on their hierarchy. It is not correct just to improve upon an earlier edition, nor to select arbitrarily at face value a single manuscript which would serve as the basis for an edition. And, after we have been able, with luck, to decide about the main branches of the tradition and to select in each one the most appropriate material, the third nightmare arises from the critical apparatus, full of stray words, ramblings, abbreviations and symbols. The western tradition favours a positive apparatus, but in the case of Indian texts a negative one might lighten our task. The difficult art of giving only the strictly necessary information on the history of the tradition, while enlightening the reader on the value of the text he is to read, as well as of the unselected readings, is a painstaking discipline and cannot be mastered without tears.

(François Gros, from: “Manuscripts: material culture and method”, Key-note address delivered at the National Seminar on Palm-leaf manuscripts, jointly organised by the Institute of Asian Studies and Pondicherry Central University, 11th to 13th January 1985 (cf. Kannan/Clare 1996: 483 f.).

II.1 Surviving *Caṅkam* Manuscripts: Descriptive Catalogue

The number of surviving witnesses for the *Caṅkam* corpus is up to this day unknown. On the one hand, fresh searches are still underway in private households and smaller libraries, and claims are published when new manuscript material has been discovered, as in the case of the newly founded manuscript library of the Sri Chandrasekharendra Saraswathy Visva Mahavidyalaya near Kāñcipuram. The new internal catalogue of that institution lists no less than three palm-leaf manuscripts of *Caṅkam* texts (*Eṭṭuttokai*, *Puraṇānūru* and *Paripāṭal*), but none of them can be located at present. On the other hand, numerous manuscripts listed in older catalogues, beginning with Chellamuthu et al. 1989–91 and Hikosaka/Samuel 1980–98, cannot be found anymore. These lists will be given in a separate chapter. The following descriptive catalogue is based on recent research work of the *Caṅkam* project conducted at the EFEO centre in Pondicherry, where the library keeps digital and/or paper copies of most of the manuscripts.

Texts come singly in manuscripts, but there are also many forms of multiple-text manuscripts. Two serial manuscripts are available for the *Eṭṭuttokai*, but in fact we do not know how many texts were originally included. It is true that the

Tiruvāṇṭuṭurai wooden cover reads “*Eṭṭuttokai*”, which would mean that all eight anthologies belong there, but evidence is available only for the six older texts: the UVSL group of three manuscripts contains the full *Narriṇai*, *Kuṇṭokai*, one half-leaf of *Aiṅkuṇṭūru* (AiN), the *Paṭirrupattu*, *Akanāṇūru* and *Puṇāṇūru* (PN), while Tiruvāṇṭuṭurai includes the last hundred poems of AN, the AiN and the *Pati*, along with a catalogue entry referring to the *Kuṇṭokai*. The majority of witnesses for the *Pattuppāṭṭu* come in serial manuscripts, thus testifying to a certain amount of integrity of the collection. There are four series in the UVSL, none of them containing all ten songs, and possibly one more from Vaiyāpurip Pillai’s collection in Kolkatta (which is not yet copied). There is another series, of a slightly different type, from the GOML. The texts included there do not all belong to the *Pattuppāṭṭu*, but also to the *Kīlkkāṇakku*. Some of the *Pattuppāṭṭu* occur twice, albeit not in complete versions. The explanation is given by a table-of-contents page in the manuscript itself: all are paper copies of older, disintegrating palm-leaves.

A very special role is played by the *Tirumurukāṇrupaṭai*, nominally the first of the Ten Songs. It is included only in a single serial manuscript of the *Pattuppāṭṭu*. However, at the same time it is the text transmitted in the largest number of manuscripts, all palm-leaf, for any early classical Tamil text other than the *Tirukkuraḷ*. The obvious reason is that it did not only belong to the classical literary tradition, but was also included in the Śaiva canon, in the miscellaneous 11th *Tirumurai*. Moreover it must be counted among the popular devotional hymns used in daily *pūjā*. It is most frequently handed down in the latter context, and as a poem of devotion it has frequently been copied along with various types of pious material.

II.1.1 Libraries of Origin

UVSL	U. V. Swaminathaiar Library, Ceṇṇai
GOML	Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Ceṇṇai ⁹⁶
TAM	Tiruvāṇṭuṭurai Ātiṇam, Caracuvati Makāl Library and Research Centre
AUL	Aṇṇāmalai University Library
MSSML	Mahārājā Serfoji Sarasvatī Mahāl Library, Tañcāvūr
TU	Tamil University, Tañcāvūr

⁹⁶ In the following catalogue, the multiple accession numbers as given by the manuscripts are listed. This need not concur with the numbers given in the printed catalogues of the libraries (cf. II.2.1.3, p. 93f.).

ORIML	Oriental Research Institute and Manuscript Library, Kerala University, Trivandrum
IFP	French Institute Pondicherry
NLK	National Library, Kolkatta
BL	British Library, London
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

Current figures for manuscripts recently examined and mostly digitised:

183 = 81 *Eṭṭuttokai* + 102 *Pattuppāṭṭu* (132 palm-leaf/51 paper) [12 not yet copied]

manuscripts digitised:

manuscripts located:

Caṅkacceyyuḷ: 2 (2)

Kuṟuntokai: 11 (2/9) + 2 folios

1 GOML

Narriṇai: 5 (1/4)

Akanāṇūru: 18 (7/11)

Aiṅkuṟunūru: 7 (3/4) + 2 folios

Puṛaṇāṇūru: 15 mss. (14/1) + 2 folios

Paṭiṟrupattu: 10 mss. (4/6)

1 NLK

Kalittokai: 11 mss. (5/6)

Paripāṭal: 3 mss. + 2 folios (3/0)

Pattuppāṭṭu: 102 mss. (92/10)

6 NLK, 3 MSSML

II.1.2 Manuscript List

Eṭṭuttokai 80 (39/41)

Caṅkacceyyuḷ: 2 [miscellaneous mss. containing stray *Caṅkam* poems]

CC1 UVSL [654/2027] *PN*, *AiN*

CC2 GOML [TD84a/D205] *Pari Ti*.

Kuṟuntokai: 11 (2/9) (except G3) [plus 2 stray folios in AUL 44572 + GOML R8842]

C1a+b palm-leaf ms. UVSL [1075/2233+1076/2234, im. 4562] complete

C2 paper ms. UVSL [183] complete

C3 paper ms. UVSL [184] complete

C4 paper ms. UVSL [185] 41–99 + comm.

C5 paper ms. UVSL [186] 101–200 + comm. up to 153

L1 paper ms. BL London [Or. 2726] complete

sample copies only

G1 paper ms. GOML [D.224] complete

G2 paper ms. GOML [R.5751/TR.1072] complete

G3 paper ms. GOML [R.5752]

too damaged to copy =

G3' paper ms. GOML [R.7159] KV-181 + comm. by Pavāṇantam Piḷḷai

Narriṇai: 5 (1/4)

- C1 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [1076/2234] complete (missing: 234, 385.7dff.)
 C2 paper ms. UVSL [509] incomplete: 0+2–102
 G1 paper ms. GOML [D.231/PS. 67] 9–400 (missing: 59, 66, 234, 274, 385.7dff.)
 G2 paper ms. GOML [R.5743/TR.1064] 9–388 (missing: 59, 66, 234, 274, 385.7dff.)
 G3 paper ms. GOML [R.5745/TR.1066] complete (missing: 234, 385.7dff.)

Akanāṇūru: 19 (8/11)

- TT* palm-leaf ms. Tiruvāṇṭūrai [no number] 299–400 (missing: 336–343)
 NL* palm-leaf ms. NLK [3141/S. V.P. 91] complete (missing: 336–343)
 C1a* palm-leaf ms. UVSL [1075/2233] 3.*kiḷavi*-400.22b (missing: 336–343)
 C1b palm-leaf ms. UVSL [237] fragment: AN 400.22cd–26 + colophon
 C2 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [28] 1–351.7 (158.7 ff.–172 + 204)
 C3 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [107] 1–351.7 (158.7 ff.–172 + 204)
 C4a palm-leaf ms. UVSL [292] fragment: 4–170? + old comm.
 C4c palm-leaf ms. UVSL [297]: old comm. on KV–90
 C5a* paper ms. UVSL [7/69] KV-120
 C5b* paper ms. UVSL [8/70] 121–300
 C5c* paper ms. UVSL [9/72] 301–400
 C6* paper ms. UVSL [4/66] complete (missing: 336–343)
 C7a paper ms. UVSL [5/67] 1–120, 301–400
 C7b paper ms. UVSL [10/71] 121–125, 193–299, 126–192 (missing: 147, 149, 152, 230, 300)
 C8 paper ms. UVSL [6/68] (illegible)
 C9 paper ms. UVSL [11/73] KV-399 (missing: 7, 317, 322)
 G1* paper ms. GOML [R.5734/TR.1050] complete (missing: 336–343)
 G2* paper ms. GOML [R.5735/TR.1051] KV-325
 G3 paper ms. GOML [R.5736/TR.1052] fragment: 1–36 + recent comm.
 * misnumbered from 107 onwards by one downwards

Puṛaṇāṇūru: 15 mss. (14/1) [plus 2 stray folios in UVSL 654]

- TT palm-leaf ms. TAM [76] KV-107 + comm.
 C1 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [237] complete
 C2 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [707] complete
 C3 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [940] incomplete: scattered sequence
 C4 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [440] KV-160 + 150end–197 + 9–10 + comm.
 C5 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [128] KV-265 + comm.
 C6 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [96] KV-262 + comm.
 C7 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [576] KV-263 + comm.

C8 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [35] KV-207 + comm.

C9 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [549] KV-219 + comm.

A1 palm-leaf ms. AUL [37/44572] 1–150

T1 palm-leaf ms. ORIML Trivandrum [6417] fragment: 188, 183, 184

TU1 palm-leaf ms. Tamil University, Tañcāvūr [792] KV-96

G1 palm-leaf ms. GOML [R.8842/TR.3156] 45–?140

G2 paper ms. GOML [D.284] KV.2–197 + comm.

Aiñkurunūru: 7 (3/4) [plus 3 stray folios UVSL 654 + GOML R8842+ Or. 2726]

TT palm-leaf ms. TAM [no number] complete

C1 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [1075, im. 4652] fragment: KV-2

C2 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [173] 29–470 + comm.

C3 paper ms. UVSL [97] complete

C4 paper ms. UVSL [98] complete

G1 paper ms. GOML [D.202] complete

G2 paper ms. GOML [D.203] KV + 1–350?

Patirrupattu: 10 mss. (4/6)

TT palm-leaf ms. from Tiruvāṇṭūrai [no number] 11–90

NL palm-leaf ms. from NLK [3087]

not yet copied

C1 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [1075/2233] 12.2–90

C2 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [98a] 11–90 + comm.

C3 paper ms. UVSL [560] 54–90 + comm.

C4 paper ms. UVSL [559] 11–90 + comm.

C5 paper ms. UVSL [439] 11–53 + comm.

G1 paper ms. GOML [D.114/TD.44] 11–90 + comm.

G2 paper ms. GOML [D.115] 11–51 + comm.

G3 paper ms. GOML [D.116]

Kalittokai: 11 mss. (5/6)

C1 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [73H/226] fragment: 56, 55, 89, 92, 54, 60, 51, 103, 42,
46

C2 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [5/225] 6–120 + comm. by Nacc.

C3 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [511/224] KV*kiḷ*.–148 + comm. by Nacc.

G1 palm-leaf ms. GOML [D.210/TD.127] 135–142 + comm. by Nacc.

G2 palm-leaf ms. GOML [R.5075/TR.2229] KV-34 + comm. by Nacc.

G3 paper ms. GOML [D.212/TD.61] 6–141

G4 paper ms. GOML [R.5783/TR.1112] KV-36 + comm. by Nacc.

G5 paper ms. GOML [R.6843/] KV-36 + comm. by Nacc. (copy of G4)

G6 paper ms. GOML [R.5754/TR.1075] 10–150 + comm. by Nacc.

G7 paper ms. GOML [D.209/TD.59] 6–141 + comm. by Nacc.

G8 paper ms. GOML [D.211/TD.60] 10–37 + comm. by Nacc.

Paripāṭal: 3 mss. (3/0) [plus 2 stray folios in GOML TD84a]

TT palm-leaf ms. TAM [75] incomplete: + comm. by Pari.

C1 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [247] incomplete: + comm. by Pari.

C2 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [1077] incomplete: + comm. by Pari.

Pattuppāṭṭu: 102 mss. (92/10) (not copied: 3 MSSML, 6 NLK)

Tirumurukāṛrupaṭai: 57 (57) (not copied: SM 6–8, NLK 1+2)⁹⁷

C1 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [1074/2227] comp. + comm. by Nacc.

C2 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [589-M/190] complete

C3 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [548-A/191] incomplete: 1–90

C4 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [854/192] incomplete: 1–77

C5 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [416/193] comp. + comm. by Nacc.

C6 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [813-A/194] comp. + comm. by Nacc.

C7 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [892/195] complete + glosses

C8 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [704/196] comp. + unidentified comm.

C9 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [743/197] incomplete + glosses

C10 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [1071/2229] complete

C11 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [1072/2231] compl. + comm. by Pari.

C12 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [1073/2230] incomplete: 1–70

C13 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [1167/1467] complete: 1–294

C14 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [1169/1464] complete

G1 palm-leaf ms. GOML [D.1199/TD.76] incomplete: 1–77

G2 palm-leaf ms. GOML [R.1236/TR.939] comp. + comm. by Nacc.

G3 palm-leaf ms. GOML [D.1195/TD.316/] complete

G4 palm-leaf ms. GOML [D.1196/TD.583] incomplete: 1–286

G5 palm-leaf ms. GOML [D.1197/TD.584] complete

G6 palm-leaf ms. GOML [R.1269/TR.964] comp. + comm. by Nacc.

G7 palm-leaf ms. GOML [R.5253/TR.2355] complete

G8 palm-leaf ms. GOML [R.2865/TR.1635] comp. + comm. by Nacc.

G9 palm-leaf ms. GOML [R.2688/TR.1506] incomplete + unidentified comm.

G10 palm-leaf ms. GOML [R.2806/TR.1588] incomp. + comm. by Nacc.

⁹⁷ This text can claim special status because of its inclusion in the Śaivaite *Tirumurai*. There must be more than a hundred manuscripts. According to the catalogues, there is a considerably higher number of catalogue entries just from the larger libraries. However, as usual many of them can no longer be located.

- G11 palm-leaf ms. GOML [R.5184/TR.2303] comp. + comm. by Kavirācan
 G12 palm-leaf ms. GOML [R.2929/TR.1669] incomplete: 1–280
 G13 palm-leaf ms. GOML [R.2970/TR.1679] complete
 G14 palm-leaf ms. GOML [R.5503/TR.2435] complete
 TT1 palm-leaf TAM [201] complete + comm. by Nacc.
 TT2 palm-leaf TAM [201a] complete + comm. by Pari.
 T1 palm-leaf ORIML Trivandrum [6272] incomplete: 1–149
 T2 palm-leaf ORIML Trivandrum [4108] comp. + comm. by Nacc.
 T3 palm-leaf ORIML Trivandrum [6389] comp. + comm. by Nacc.
 T4 palm-leaf ORIML Trivandrum [8849A] complete
 T5 palm-leaf ORIML Trivandrum [11500] incomplete: 1–275, 288–317
 TU1 palm-leaf ms. TU Tañcāvūr [2391/3354] incomplete: 1–263
 TU2 palm-leaf ms. TU Tañcāvūr [2522-1/3696] complete
 TU3 palm-leaf ms. TU Tañcāvūr [2522-2/3697] compl. + unidentified comm.
 SM1 palm-leaf ms. MSSML [227/254] incomplete + comm. by Nacc.
 SM2 palm-leaf ms. MSSML [823b/1312] complete
 SM3 palm-leaf ms. MSSML [973/1125] compl. + comm. by Nacc.
 SM4 palm-leaf ms. MSSML [1587b] incomplete + comm. by Nacc.
 SM5 palm-leaf ms. MSSML [1607c] complete
 SM6 palm-leaf ms. MSSML [689e/545] too damaged to copy
 SM7 palm-leaf ms. MSSML [803c/1252] too damaged to copy
 SM8 palm-leaf ms. MSSML [1282b] too damaged to copy
 A1 palm-leaf AUL [860/97] complete
 I1 palm-leaf IFP Pondy [RE-04420] complete
 I2 palm-leaf IFP Pondy [RE-25365] comp. + comm. by Nacc. (after Arumukaṇāvalār)
 I3 palm-leaf IFP Pondy [RE-45898e] complete
 I4 palm-leaf IFP Pondy [RE-47681a] complete + comm. by Nacc.
 I5 palm-leaf IFP Pondy [RE-47752] complete + comm. by Nacc.
 NL1 Kolkatta palm-leaf ms. [3092/110] not yet copied
 NL2 Kolkatta palm-leaf ms. [3152/111] not yet copied
 P1 palm-leaf BN Paris [Indien 66] complete + comm. by Parimēlaḷakar
 P2 palm-leaf BN Paris [Indien 67] complete + comm. by Nacc.
 P3 palm-leaf mss. BN Paris [Indien 28] complete

Porunarārupaṭai 5 (4/1)

- C1 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [1074] complete + comm. by Nacc.
 C2 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [579-B(=A)] complete + comm. by Nacc.
 C3 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [231a] complete
 NL palm-leaf ms. NLK [3112] not yet copied
 G1 paper ms. GOML [D.268] complete + comm. by Nacc.

Cirupāṇārrupaṭai 10 (8/2)

- C1 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [1074] complete + comm. by Nacc.
 C2 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [184-A] complete
 C3 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [579-A(=B)] complete + comm. by Nacc.
 C4 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [1070] 11–269
 C5 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [41-C] complete
 C6 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [285] 1–163
 C7 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [166] fragment: Veṇpā + e.c.
 NL palm-leaf ms. NLK [3112] not yet copied
 G1 paper ms. GOML [D.266] complete + comm. by Nacc.
 G2 paper ms. GOML [D.?] fragment: 235a–269

Perumpāṇārrupaṭai 9 (6/3)

- C1 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [1074] complete + comm. by Nacc.
 C2 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [184-B] complete
 C3 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [579-B] complete + comm. by Nacc.
 C4 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [231c] complete + comm. by Nacc.
 C5 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [166] complete + comm. by Nacc.
 NL palm-leaf ms. NLK [3112] not yet copied
 G1c paper ms. GOML [D.267?] 1–290b
 G1a paper ms. GOML [D.267] 291.b–500
 G1b paper ms. GOML [D.120?] complete + comm. by Nacc.

Mullaippāṭṭu 5 (4/1)

- C1 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [1074] complete + comm. by Nacc.
 C2 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [184-C] complete
 C3 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [579-C] complete + comm. by Nacc.
 NL palm-leaf ms. NLK [3112] not yet copied
 G1 paper ms. GOML [D.234] complete + comm. by Nacc.

Maturaikkañci 5 (4/1)

- C1 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [1074] complete + comm. by Nacc.
 C2 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [184-D] complete
 C3 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [579-D] complete + comm. by Nacc.
 C4 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [166-A] 1–648 + comm. by Nacc.
 G1 paper ms. GOML [D.120sic] fragment: 42cd–148a

Neṭunalvāṭai 3 (3)

C1 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [1074] complete + comm. by Nacc.

C2 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [184-E] complete

C3 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [579-E] complete + comm. by Nacc.

Kuṛiñcippāṭṭu 2 (2)

C1 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [184-F] complete

C2 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [579-E(1)] complete + comm. by Nacc.

Paṭṭiṇappālai 3 (2/1)

C1 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [184-F(2)] complete + comm. by Nacc.

C2 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [579-F] complete + comm. by Nacc.

G1 paper ms. GOML [D.232] complete + comm. by Nacc.

Malaipaṭukaṭām 3 (2/1)

C1 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [184-G] 1–537

C2 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [579-G] complete + comm. by Nacc.

G1 paper ms. GOML [D.269] complete + comm. by Nacc.

II.1.3 Manuscript Catalogue⁹⁸**II.1.3.1 *Eṭṭuttokai*: 80 (39/41)**

Serial palm-leaf ms. of the *Eṭṭuttokai*, text only, from the UVSL, split into several parts, beginning with [1076] (NA, KT KV+1), followed by [1075] (KT 2–401, AiN KV-2.2 – break – *Pati* – break – AN 4–400.22b), followed by [237] (AN 400.22cd–26 + traditional colophon followed by complete PN).

Serial palm-leaf ms. of the *Eṭṭuttokai* [no number], text only, from Tiruvāvaṭuturai; beginning with AN 299–400 (apart from 336–343), followed by complete AiN, followed by *Pati* 11–90.

***Caṅkacceyyuḷ*: 2 [miscellaneous mss. containing stray *Caṅkam* poems]**

CC1 palm-leaf manuscript from the UVSL [654/2027] 10 f., 11 lines per page, 21 × 4 cm, slightly damaged margins and a few holes, ff. 7–10 left edge broken off. Various hands with several marginal colophons; page 1 begins

⁹⁸ The available information is much more detailed for the *Kuṛuntokai*, *Narriṇai* and *Akanāṇūru* because I have worked on critical editions of these texts.

with *PN* 164, page 3 and 5 begin with *PN* 228 plus commentary. Traditional script without *pulli*-s or distinction between *e/ē*, *o/ō*, *ā/ra*, old characters for the *r* series, *scriptio continua*.

- CC2 palm-leaf manuscript from the GOML [D.205/TD.84a] 2 f., 9 lines per page, 39 × 4 cm, slightly worm-holed. Part of a composite manuscript containing fragments from the *Kiḷkkaṇakku*; preceded by *Aintiṇai Aimpatu*, page 4 starts with *Paripāṭal tiraṭṭu* 9 (l.m.: *caṅkacceyyu*!); followed by *Inṇā Nārpatu*, *Iniyavai Nārpatu*, *Kār Nārpatu*, *Kaḷavaḷi Nārpatu*. Traditional script without *pulli*-s or distinction between *e/ē*, *o/ō*, *ā/ra*, old characters for the *r* series, *scriptio continua*.

***Kuṟuntokai*: 11 (2/9) (not copied: G3)**

- C1a+b palm-leaf manuscript from the UVSL [1075/2233+1076/2234, im. 4562 = part of the serial *Eṭṭuttokai* ms.] 46 folios, 36 × 4 cm, 10 lines per page, worm-eaten and partly crumbling margins, but very legible. European page numbers in black (1–92). Complete (KV+1 in 1076, following the NA), traditional colophon (p. 92, 4 f.: *kuṟuntokai murrum. ittakai muṭittāṇ pūrikkō. ittakai pāṭiya kavikaḷ irunūrraivar. ittakai nālaṭic cīrrellaiyākavum eṭṭaṭippēr ellaiyākavun toṭukkap paṭṭatu. ōrātelutiṇēṇāyiṇum oṇ poruḷ āṛāyntuṇarnta varivuṭaiyōr cīṛāyntu kuṟraṇ kaḷaintu kuṟai peytu vācittal karraṟrinta māntar kaṭaṇ. civamayam*. [followed by AiN KV–2.2]) Traditional script without *pulli*-s or distinction between *e/ē*, *o/ō*, *ā/ra*, old characters for the *r* series, *scriptio continua*, traditional order giving poem, *kiḷavi*, author and number. Scribal errors are comparatively few, occasionally the texts contains blank *akṣara*-s (rarely more than one or two in sequence), indicating that the matrix was already no longer decipherable, occasionally we find corrections between the lines written in the same hand. So far the only surviving palm-leaf (except for a few fragments) and probably the oldest available witness. Matrix neither for *Cauriperumāl* nor for *Cāminātaiyar* (Cām.). Many variants reported in Cām., but not all of them. This transmission line is followed by L1 (predominantly), C3 and G1 (closely).
- C2 paper manuscript from the UVSL [183] 402 pages, 21 × 33 cm, one poem per page, very good condition and neat hand (on yellowish paper with black ink), variants and corrections (in black and blue pen or in pencil) from several hands between the lines, rarely lacunae of no more than 2 *cīr* that are filled in pencil. Complete with traditional colophon in a different hand (im. 409). Poems on right pages, full line and *cīr* split, *pulli*-s and full *kāl/kompu* distinction, Tamil poem numbers, followed by *kiḷavi* and poet name. This copy represents the second line of transmission and has

been the matrix of Cāminātaiyar's edition. In almost every case where he deviates from C2 he follows a variant or correction noted down in this ms., which in the majority of cases are reported only here.

- C3 paper manuscript from the UVSL [184] 199 pages, 21 × 17 cm, ca. 20 lines per page, good condition, legible, though clumsy hand (on yellowish lined paper with black ink), variants and occasional corrections between the lines and many remarks, glosses, parallels on the left pages, many hands (in black, blue, red, lilac pen or in pencil; according to the cover page notes by Cām. himself); according to the cover page gift from Ka. Cuppiramaṇiya Aiyar, B. A. Complete with traditional colophon (im. 215). Paper ms. of the first generation, poems on right sides, *scriptio continua*, almost no *puḷḷi*-s, no *kāl/kompu* distinction, modern *r* series, with European full stop at the end of poems, *kiḷavi* and author Tamil number at the end of the final line and indent for the beginning of the next verse. This is the second direct representative of the palm-leaf line of transmission, with occasional mistakes and rare deviations.
- C4 paper manuscript from the UVSL [185] 59 pages, 21 × 17 cm, one poem per page, brittle, legible (different blacks on yellowish paper), occasional variants and many corrections and words crossed out; according to the cover page gift from Ka. Cuppiramaṇiya Aiyar, (B.A). Incomplete: 41–99 + unidentified commentary up to 98. Modern script with full marking, page layout with European punctuation: text on right sides with European numbers, text with full split of lines and *cīr*, *kiḷavi*, author, detailed *urai*, occasionally up to the following left page. First representative of the third transmission strand; matrix text of Cauriperumāl Araṅkan (but not his commentary), closer to the palm-leaf strand than C2. Continued by C5; same strand as G2.
- C5 paper manuscript from the UVSL [186] 100 pages, 21 × 17 cm, one poem per page, brittle, legible (dark blue on yellowish paper, from 132–153 *urai* in black, 142–171+173 very pale blue-grey, 172+174–200 in black), either different hands or partly written in haste, occasional variants and many corrections and strike-throughs (some in black), occasional notes, according to the cover page gift from Ka. Cuppiramaṇiya Aiyar, B.A.. Incomplete: 101–200 + unidentified commentary up to 153. Modern script with full marking, page layout with European punctuation: text on right sides with European number, text with full split of lines and *cīr*, *kiḷavi*, author, detailed *urai*, occasional up to the following left page. From 107 onwards *tiṇai*, *kiḷavi* + explanations to the *kiḷavi*, author, European number, text, *urai*. After 152, empty rubric for *kiḷavi* explanation. Second representative of the third transmission strand; matrix text of Cauriperumāl Araṅkan

- (but not his commentary), closer to the palm-leaf strand than C2. Continuation of C4; same strand as G2.
- L1 paper ms. from the British Library London [Or. 2726], 118 pages, 25 × 19 cm, good condition. Complete with traditional colophon and additional devotional stanza, followed by 1 page of *Aiṅkurunūru*; copied 1874 in Maturai for Burnell (acquired by the BL 18.01.1884): “Verse no. 402 records compiler’s name, and establishes metrics of the anthology. This paper manuscript is written by various neat hands, on blue and white paper, and is continuously paginated to 118 pages. Watermark reads: Charles & Thomas, London, 1874. From folio 5 onwards, text is written on ruled lines. Colophon on right hand corner of folio 1 contains signature of Dr. Burnell dated 1878. Bound copy. Scribal colophon note below verse 402 records in blue ink: *Ikātu makākaṇam poruntiya makācāstiriyārākiya tākṭar Parnal Turaiyavarkaḷ kaṭṭalaippaṭi yelutappaṭṭu mēpaṭiyār munṣi Maturai Muttuppillaiyāl pārvaiyiṭappaṭṭatu*. [Translation: This was edited on the order of the Honourable great scholar Dr. Burnell by his Munshi Maturai Muttup Pillai.]” [BL catalogue information]. Complete line split, separation of metrical feet partly unclear (often only middle caesura and quite a number of wrong splits); sometimes *sandhi* split at the end of the line; script modern with all the marks; author in brackets, European poem number (1–402), *kiḷavi* at the end; hand changes with KT 73 (someone not familiar with the metre: 5 *cīr* per line; problems with *puḷḷi* and *kompū/kāl*; corrections in lilac, often faulty); hand changes with 361 (tiny and regular, but scantily marked and in *scriptio continua*, line breaks marked with dots, but usually faulty). Basically following the palm-leaf line of C1, but not completely.
- G1 paper manuscript from the GOML [D.224] 135 pages, 39 lines per page, 33 × 20 cm, five poems per page written on both sides, legible (on brownish very stained lined paper in black ink), many corrections (especially of *cīr* split), some notes, underscores (in blue, red, pencil), several hands, from p. 85 onwards on left pages alphabetical glossary with English meanings (in dark blue), text ends on page 138, from thereon English glossary on right pages; dated to 1893/94 on cover page. Complete (316 is missing; misnumbered up to 400, as in G2) with traditional colophon (im. 130). Paper ms. of the second generation; European number, poem text with line and *cīr* split, often faulty, often corrected, sometimes twice over, modern script with unreliable *puḷḷi*-s and *kāl/kompū* marks, *kiḷavi*, author. This is the third direct representative of the palm-leaf line of transmission, occasional mistakes and rare deviations, perhaps based on C3 + some individual deviations.

- G2 paper manuscript from the GOML [R.5751/TR.1072] 169 pages, 23 lines per page, 33 × 20 cm, one poem per page, very brittle, neat and regular script (on yellowish lined paper in thick black ink), occasional under-scores, some variants between the lines, up to 31 many notes and parallels beneath the poem and in the margins in a different hand (in red). Donated by the Bhavanandam Academy in 1955/56. Complete (316 is missing; mis-numbered up to 400, as in G1) with traditional colophon (im. 421). plus 1 page (with 2 *KT* quotations from the *TP*; *pada* index for 6 poems; concordance for 14 words). Up to 35 text on right sides, afterwards both sides, European number, poem in modern script with *puḷḷi*-s and full *kāl/kompu* distinction, full line and *cīr* split, *kiḷavi*, author. Third and only complete representative of the third transmission strand (mostly agreeing with C4+5, though sometimes deviating); matrix text of Cauriperumāḷ Araṅkan, closer to the palm-leaf strand than C2.
- G3 paper manuscript from the GOML [R.5752] described in catalogue XII as donated by the Bhavanandam Academy in 1955/56. Too damaged to copy.
- G3' paper manuscript from the GOML [R.7159] 128 pages, 26 lines per page, 33.5 × 22 cm, good condition, written with black ink on yellowing paper pre-lined in blue, European page numbers (1–128); copied in 1958 from R.5752. Incomplete: KV + 1–181 + *polippurai* by Pavāṇantam Piḷḷai according to title page, which also gives the name of the copyist (M. R. Sivaprakasam Pillai) and the date of the copy (9.2.58–17.2.58). Fully modernised script that separates poem, *kiḷavi* and commentary by spacing.
- + stray poems in *Puraṇānūru* mss.; G1 GOML [R8842]: *KT* 60, 202, 397 (followed by *PN* 235) and A1 AUL [44572]: *KT* 2 (followed by *PN* 1–150)

***Narriṇai*: 5 (1/4)**

- C1 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [1076/2234 = part of the serial *Eṭṭuttokai* ms.]: 67 folios, 36 × 4 cm, mostly 10, occasionally 11 lines per page, worm-eaten and partly crumbling margins, but very legible. Marginal title reads *narriṇai, eṭṭuttokai*; very pale blue European page numbers (1–124). Complete apart from, as usual, NA 234 and NA 385.7 f., and from NA 274; traditional colophon (im. 4562, f. 130, l. 5 f.: *ittokai yonpataṭic cīrumaiyākapaṇiraṇṭaṭikārum uyarp perratu. ittokai tokuppittāṇa. paṇṇākitanta pāṇṭiyan māraṇ valuti nārriṇaiṇ pāṭṭunānūru muṇṇup perru muṭintatu. kuruvē tuṇai.*). Traditional script without *puḷḷi*-s or distinction between *e/ē*, *o/ō*, *ā/ra*, old characters for the *r* series, *scriptio continua*, traditional order giving poem, *kiḷavi*, author and number. Scribal errors are comparatively few (seen against the paper manuscripts), occasionally the texts contains

blank *akṣara*-s (rarely more than one or two in sequence), indicating that the matrix was already no longer decipherable, occasionally we find corrections between the lines written in the same hand. Variants as against the printed text are numerous, some of them definitely superior; many of them (by no means all) are to be found, though very often either misspelled or misplaced or both, in the variants of Turaicāṁip Piḷḷai's edition, some also in the variants of the Kaḷakam revised edition of Nārāyaṇacāmi Aiyar.

- C2 paper ms. UVSL [509]: 102 pages, 33 × 21 cm, one poem per page, good condition, legible (on yellowish paper with black ink with occasional corrections in red). Incomplete: KV + NA 2–102 (missing: NA 1). No page numbers, but mostly poem numbers in Tamil or Latin, no authors, no *kiḷavi*-s, line and *cīr* split, clear and legible; distinction between *e/ē*, *o/ō*, *ā/ra*, modern *r* series, *puḷḷi*-s. Since it almost completely agrees with the *edition princeps* (apart from a few places that may be mistakes) and virtually free from scribal errors, it may either have been copied from or represent the pre-print stage of the edition.
- G1 paper, ms. GOML [D.231/PS. 67]: 392 pages, 15.2 × 19 cm, one poem per page, good condition, neat script (on yellowish lined paper with black ink). Incomplete: starting with NA 9, besides the usual NA 234 and part of NA 385.7 f., NA 59, 66 and 274 plus several author names are missing. At least two different hands, both quite legible, occasional variants without specification of source, occasional corrections above the line or in the margin, rarely notes, named English “note”, European page numbers; deviations in the *kiḷavi*-s, sometimes totally different or additional ones; unreliable length of *e/ē* and *o/ō*, *puḷḷi*-s quite arbitrary, lacunae in obviously illegible passages, for example at the beginning; obvious difficulties with metre (wrongly split *cīr* which lead to incomplete extra lines) – from all of which follows that the source was at least one, but probably several palm-leaf mss.; apart from all obvious and possible mistakes, a considerable number of real variants and a few definitely superior readings, some of them not found in any edition; dialectal variants: *av* for *au*, etc.
- G2 paper ms. GOML [R.5745/TR.1066], 380 pages, 19.5 × 32.5 cm, about 33 lines per page, poems continuously written on both sides, partly damaged, irregular script, in places hard to decipher (on yellowish lined paper with black ink). Donated by the Bhavanandam Academy in 1955/56. Incomplete: beginning with NA 9 and ending with NA 388. As in G1 modernised script with unreliable marking, poem text in lines with faulty *cīr* split (*cīr* marked and corrected in pencil for pages 1–8), *kiḷavi*, author + Tamil number, some notes; European page numbers. Identical with G1 up to the corrections and

notes, but poorly written and in places really hard to read; additional mistakes, but better as to *e/ē* and *o/ō*, occasionally correct where G1 is mistaken, so probably derived from the same sources and not a copy of G1.

- G3 paper ms. GOML [R.5743/TR.1064]: 138 pages, 19.5 × 33 cm, three poems per page, brittle. Very neat and regular (on brownish lined paper with black ink). Donated by the Bhavanandam Academy in 1955/56. Complete apart from NA 234, 385.7df., followed by the beginnings of a word index (pp. 135–138). European page and poem numbers; no *kiḷavi*-s but authors; European page numbers in pencil. Either copied from the *edition princeps*, with which it is identical, apart from a few spelling mistakes and rare corrections, or pre-edition copy.

Akanāṇūru: 19 (8/11)

- TT* palm-leaf manuscript from Tiruvāṇṭūrai [no number⁹⁹, cover says “*Eṭṭuttokai*”, followed by *AiN* and *Pati*] 20 folios, 30 × 5 cm, 14 or 15 lines per page, old and worm-eaten, a very few crumbling margins, still very legible apart from single *akṣara*-s. Incomplete: 299–400 (apart from 336.19d–343.15c), though misnumbered by one downwards. This is the distinctive mark of the best-attested transmission strand; the complete manuscripts of this line begin the mistake with poem 107 [mss. of this line are marked by an asterisk *].¹⁰⁰ European page numbers in blue (1–40). Traditional colophon (p. 39, l. 13 f.–40.7).¹⁰¹ Traditional script, beautiful and quite conservative: old characters for the *r* series, no *puḷḷi*-s, no differentiation between long and short *e/ē* and *o/ō*, nor between *ā* and *ra*, traditional (and quite regular) *sandhi*, *scriptio continua*, few scribal errors. The text of the poem is followed by *kiḷavi* and number; occasionally markings for metrical feet have been inserted by vertical strokes with a pencil. Closely agreeing with the other mss. marked by an asterisk, i.e. NL, C1, C5, C6, G1, G2.

⁹⁹ Both the Tañcāvūr and the IAS catalogues give the registration number 77, but this does not concur with reality. In the TAM library, no. 77 is the *Tiruppāṭirip Puliyūr Purāṇam*.

¹⁰⁰ To be precise: No 107 actually includes the last 8 lines of 108, while the first 10 lines of 108 are missing. The result is that from here on (i.e. ms. counting No. 109) all the poems are counted one below their original number. This is kept up until No 387. Then the number 388 is skipped, so that for the last 11 poems we are back with the traditional counting. This is true for TT also.

¹⁰¹ For the text of the very lengthy final colophon of the *AN* with variations, cf. colophon chapter.

- NL* palm-leaf manuscript from the National Library in Kolkatta [3141//S. V.P. 91] 102 folios, 32 × 5 cm, 11 lines per page, excellent state of preservation (AC-kept), but many photos slightly out of focus. Complete (apart from 336.19d–343.15c) and misnumbered from 107 onwards, with traditional colophon (f. 102b [illegible since photo out of focus]). Traditional script, legible and quite conservative: old characters for the *r* series, no *puḷḷi*-s, no differentiation between long and short *e/ē* and *o/ō*, nor between *ā* and *ra*, traditional (and quite regular) *sandhi*, *scriptio continua*. The text of the poem is followed by *kiḷavi* and number. The folios are numbered on one side only in Tamil. Closely agreeing with the other mss. marked by an asterisk, i.e. TT, C1, C5, C6, G1, G2.
- C1* palm-leaf manuscript from the UVSL [1075 = part of the serial *Eṭṭuttokai* ms.] 90 folios, 36 × 4 cm, 10 lines per page, worm-eaten and partly crumbling margins, but very legible (hand changing on p. 160). European page numbers in black (142–321); *pada* index in the margin. Incomplete: 3(*kiḷavi*)–400.22b (except AN 46.12c–50 (between p. 165/166)¹⁰², 123.14–128.7a (between p. 197/198), AN 336.19d–343.15c), misnumbered from 107 onwards, completed by [237] (p. 1) AN 400.22cd–26 with traditional colophon (followed by *PN*). [The beginning might be found if the rest of the serial ms. can be located.] Traditional script without *puḷḷi*-s or distinction between *e/ē*, *o/ō*, *ā/ra*, old characters for the *r* series, *scriptio continua*, traditional order giving poem, *kiḷavi*, author and number. Occasionally the texts contains blank *akṣara*-s (rarely more than one or two in sequence), indicating that the matrix was already no longer decipherable, occasionally we find corrections between the lines written in the same hand. From p. 160 onwards the writing is denser (11 lines per page); both blank spaces and errors become much more numerous. Closely agreeing with the other mss. marked by an asterisk, i.e. TT, NL, C5, C6, G1, G2.
- C2 palm-leaf manuscript from UVSL [28] 157 folios, 41.5 × 2.5 cm, 4–5 lines per page, basically good condition (apart from a few broken leaves and some worm-holes, but difficult type of palm-leaf, very thin and uneven with curling margins, so that rarely all lines on one leaf are clearly in focus. European page numbers in black (1–314). Incomplete: KV + 1–351.7 (p. 1/2 half missing = additional leaf of AN 1–3 and mostly illegible; missing: AN 158.7 ff.–172, 204). Traditional script without *puḷḷi*-s or distinction between *e/ē*, *o/ō*, *ā/ra*, old characters for the *r* series, *ṭa* with elongated horizontal

¹⁰² In these cases apparently one leaf of the original manuscript was lost, since what is missing covers the text of about four poems, while each page carries on average two poems.

stroke, *scriptio continua*, traditional order giving poem, *kiḷavi*, author and number. Scribal errors are comparatively few, but especially the first and last lines on the page are often hard to decipher; many blank spaces, in length between *akṣara*-s and several *cīr*. First representative of the second strand of transmission; closely agreeing with C3.

- C3 palm-leaf manuscript from the UVSL [107] 78 folios, 47.5 × 4 cm, 12–13 lines per page, good condition, dated to Kārttikai month, year 902 [Kollam] = November 1726 C.E., scribe named Reṇkanātaṇ. European page numbers in black (1–154). Head colophon with marginal blessing in *grantha* (śrī ṁ śubham astu) with four devotional Vaiṣṇava stanzas and a series of blessings (902 *k^{o103} kārttikai māta mutal reṇkanātaṇ eḷuti varukīratu ... caṅkattār pāṭiya neṭuntokaiyum tuṟaiyuṇ kavi pāṭiṇ pērkaḷum eḷutiṟukkutu. makīlmāraavar taṇ malar aṭiyē taṇcam.* [grantha:] śubham astu. ṁ rāma jayam. keruṭāya namaḥ.). Incomplete: KV + 1–351.7 (missing: 158.7 ff.–172, 204, page number 47/48 omitted). Traditional script without *puḷḷi*-s or distinction between *e/ē*, *o/ō*, *ā/ra*, old characters for the *r* series, *scriptio continua*, traditional order giving poem, *kiḷavi*, author and number. Scribal errors are comparatively few, many blank spaces, in length between *akṣara*-s and several *cīr*; second representative of the second strand of transmission; closely agreeing with C2.
- C4a palm-leaf manuscript from UVSL [292] 10 folios (numbered 2–21), 42.5 × 3 cm, 6–9 lines per page, very old and brittle (possibly the oldest still available and going back to the 17th century?), many crumbling margins and missing bits. Several European page numbers in blue and black (2–21). Incomplete: beginning with 4 and ending with 170 with line split(!) and commentary.¹⁰⁴ Traditional script. Deviations from the printed edition seem to be more numerous, but this ms. is hard to decipher and thus not yet collated.
- C4c palm-leaf manuscript from UVSL [297] 29 folios (title f., European page numbers 1–56; 49–50 blank), 40 × 3 cm, 9–11 lines per page, old and brittle (possibly the second oldest after C4a), left third margin eaten away, partly up to one third of the leaf. Complete (according to colophon): old commentary on KV–90 (quotation of first *cīr* followed by commentary); mis-numbered (p. 1–3 fragment of an alphabetical word list, named *akarāṭi* on p. 1; p. 4–48: AN 712–p. 48: AN 90; p. 53f.: AN KV–2; p. 51f.+55f.: AN 2

103 For the symbols used to abbreviate the year designation of the Kollam era, see Ciotti/Franceschini (forthcoming).

104 It is highly unlikely that a mere 10 folios can contain all these 166 poems with commentary: collation will be necessary to gain certainty.

end-AN 78. Colophon (p. 48, l. 9): *neṭuntokai ##[to]ṇṇūru pāṭṭukk' urai ~eḷuti muṭintatu*. [grantha] dēvi sahāyam. Traditional script. Contains a number of readings unattested in other manuscripts and followed by Irākavaiyaṅkar.

- C5a-c* paper manuscript from the UVSL in 3 vols [7/69, 8/70, 9/72], *Kaḷiriyāṇainirai*, *Maṇimiṭaipavaḷam* and *Nittilakkōvai*, 289+225+206 pages, 27 × 16,5 cm, one poem per right page, long poems continued on the following left page, good condition and easy reading (on yellowish lined paper in fine black ink, variants between the lines in pencil, same hand). Complete with traditional colophon (vol. 3, im. 383 f.); the misnumbering beginning with AN 108 is corrected in pencil. This manuscript definitely belongs to the early 20th century, because the printed front page reads: *Eṭṭuttokaiyuḷ onṛākiya Akanāṇūru. mutalāvatu Kaḷiriyāṇainirai. itu parpala ēṭṭuppiratikaḷaik koṇṭu ārāyntu piṇṇattūr, A. Nārāyaṇacāmi Aiyar eḷutiya pustakam. cōpakirutu-v[arṣam]*. “Akanāṇūru, which is one among the *Eṭṭuttokai*. 1. *Kaḷiriyāṇainirai*. After research into various palm-leaf manuscripts written by A. Nārāyaṇacāmi Aiyar of Piṇṇattūr. The year of Jupiter = 1903/04.” Ibid. for *Maṇimiṭaipavaḷam* and *Nittilakkōvai* (= vols 2+3). Traditional colophon at the end of vol. 3; the last two pages in vol. 3 add two anonymous stanzas not known from elsewhere and some further information not fully decipherable, but dated to 25-3-10, 27-3-10, 3-4-10 and mentioning as correctors Ulakarāta Piḷḷai from Tañcāvūr and Ārumukanayinār from Tiricirāppaḷḷi.] The script is modern with full marking, European page numbers (mostly in print), European poem numbers, text split in lines and *cīr* followed by *kiḷavi* and author. Closely agreeing with the other mss. marked by an asterisk, i.e. TT, NL, C1, C6, G1, G2, i.e., the matrix text was based on the misnumbered strand, but the lacunae are filled up from other sources, and additionally this highly legible and correct text contains some definitely superior readings not attested elsewhere, most probably emendations on the part of the compiler.
- C6* paper manuscript from the UVSL [4/66] 259 pages, 21 × 16 cm, 25–26 lines per page, poems written on both sides, separated by blank space, brittle and worm-holed, just legible (on very brown paper in black ink – laminated), few variants between the lines in the same hand, many underlined words and phrases. Complete (except AN 336.19d–343.15c), misnumbered from 107 onwards; with traditional colophon (p. 258 f.). Script in a transitional phase, basically no vowel marks and *kāl* distinction, but occasional *puḷḷi*-s, *scriptio continua*; European page numbers, poem, *kiḷavi*, author, number in Tamil. Closely agreeing with the other mss. marked by an asterisk, i.e. TT, NL, C1, C5, G1, G2.

- C7a paper manuscript from the UVSL [5/67] 317 pages, 21 × 20 cm, about 16 lines per page, poems written continuously on both sides separated by several blank lines, very brittle and worm-eaten, partly in pieces, not beautiful but legible (on brownish paper in bluish-black ink), numerous corrections and variants (in black, blue, bluish and pencil). Incomplete: KV + 1–120 (*Kaḷirriyāṇainirai*), one green leaf, 301–400 (*Nittilakkōvai*) with traditional colophon (im. 320 ff.). The missing *Maṇimiṭaipavaḷam* is found in ms. 10/71 = C7b. Modern script with full marking, *tiṇai* (partly added, always added after 301), European numbers in pencil, poems with full split of lines and *cīr*, *kiḷavi*, author, Tamil number; from 301 onwards Tamil numbers in blue. Bears testimony to readings from both basic strands (TT, NL, C1+6, corrected by C2+3, apparently via C9) plus some additional variations that might be quotations or conjectures.
- C7b paper manuscript from the UVSL [10/71] 408 pages, 33 × 21 cm, poems on right pages, long ones continued on left pages, very brittle and some worm-holes, some crumbled pages, regular and legible (on yellowish lined paper in black ink), numerous corrections and variants (in black, blue, bluish and pencil) just as C7a and in the same hand. Incomplete: AN 121–125, 193–299, 126–192 (= *Maṇimiṭaipavaḷam*; AN 147, 149, 152, 230 missing), but in another hand. Complement of ms. 5/67 = C7a. Modern script with full marking, European page numbers, *tiṇai*, Tamil numbers (partly added in pencil), poems with full split of lines and *cīr*, *kiḷavi*, author. Bears testimony to readings from both basic strands (TT, NL, C1+6, corrected by C2+3, apparently via C9) plus some additional variations that might be quotations or conjectures.
- C8 paper manuscript from the UVSL [6/68] 182 pages, 21 × 17 cm, 26 lines per page, poems written on both sides and shining through, irregular script in black, rarely notes in pencil between the lines. This ms. must have been laminated some 30 years ago and is by now so brown as to be virtually illegible. Perhaps complete, since with traditional colophon (p. 181 f.). Traditional script without vowel marks or *puḷḷi*-s, but modern *r* series, Tamil page numbers, *scriptio continua*, European pages numbers in red added on every other page; note on last page (same red pen): checked by N. Srinivasan, 2-8-70.
- C9 paper manuscript from the UVSL [11/73] 798 pages(?), 34 × 23 cm, one poem per right page, notes (and occasionally poem ends) on left page, front cover missing, very brittle, with some worm-holes, pages partly in tatters (photos with single pages and pieces), legible, regular script (on brownish lined paper in pencil or bluish or brownish ink, partly very faded; otherwise thick black ink), many variants between the lines, cor-

rections and notes, in pencil, also on left pages (also in black, blue and bright blue), in several hands. Incomplete: KV + 1–399 (*AN* 7, 317, 322 missing). Script in a transitional phase, occasional marking of *e/ē*, *o/ō*, *ā/ra*, some *puḷḷi*-s, mostly in additions and corrections, European poem numbers in bright blue, poems in *scriptio continua* without line break and *cīr* split, directly followed by *kiḷavi*; author and poem number in Tamil in separate line. Bears testimony to readings from both basic strands (mostly TT, NL, C1+6, corrected by C2+3, but for Maṇimīṭaipavaḷam partly the other way round) plus some additional variations that might be quotations or conjectures.

- G1* paper manuscript from the GOML [R.5734/TR.1050] 20 × 33 cm, 269 pages, poems continuously written on both sides, separated by several lines, brittle and now laminated,¹⁰⁵ very clear and regular hand (on yellowish lined paper in black ink). Donated by the Bhavanandam Academy in 1955/56. Complete (apart from *AN* 336–343), misnumbered from 107 onwards, with traditional colophon (p. 262f.), followed by the beginning of a name index in a different hand, followed by another *AN* KV–5 in a different hand (less neat). The script is more like modern standard, but making no use of *puḷḷi*-s, not distinguishing between *e/ē* and *o/ō*, but occasionally between *ā/ra*. Poems are divided into lines, but lines are not split into metrical feet, *sandhi* is upon the whole preserved, though there are deviations. Individual poems followed by their *kiḷavi*(-s), author's name and European number; European page numbers. Closely agreeing with the other mss. marked by an asterisk, i.e. TT, NL, C1, C5, C6, G2 and sharing a number of new mistakes and lacunae with C9 and G2; possibly a copy from C9 before correction and adding a number of individual mistakes and corrections.
- G2* paper manuscript from the GOML [R.5735/TR.1051] 20 × 32 cm, 278 pages, poems written on both sides separated by blank lines, from 144 onwards one poem per page, brittle and now laminated, slightly flourished but regular hand (on yellowish lined paper in black ink). Donated by the Bhavanandam Academy in 1955/56. Incomplete: KV up to standard 325; misnumbered from 107 onwards. The writing seems to be in a transitional phase: occasional, but completely unreliable marking of *e/ē*, *o/ō* and *ā/ra*, most *puḷḷi*-s, though some of them in odd places, *scriptio continua*, *cīr*-s not marked, the *sandhi* treated as in G1. Poems followed by *kiḷavi*, author

¹⁰⁵ Ironically, the fee charged for the xerox copy of this ms. and the two following ones accorded to the EFEO was designed to pay for the lamination.

and Tamil number; European page numbers. Closely agreeing with the other mss. marked by an asterisk, i.e. TT, NL, C1, C5, C6, G2 and sharing a number of new mistakes and lacunae with C9 and G1; possibly a copy from C9 before correction and adding a number of individual mistakes and corrections.

- G3 paper manuscript from the GOML [R.5736/TR.1052] 19 × 33 cm, 218 pages, written on both sides, brittle and now laminated, regular hand (on yellowish lined paper in thick black ink). Donated by the Bhavanandam Academy in 1955/56. [Possibly a copy from a manuscript mentioned in the correction colophon to C5 as belonging to one Tañcāvūr Ulakanātapillai (cf. chapter II.3.2.1, p. 130).] Incomplete: KV–36 + *urai* (often blank spaces for the poem text). Modern script with full marking, European page numbers, *tiṇai*, poems with full split of lines and *cīr* (if not blank), *kiḷavi*, author, commentary. The *urai* gives an extensive paraphrase in prose which for some of the poems takes up several pages. The paraphrase is rounded up by additional comments and parallels. This commentary is not identical with any of the printed ones. According to the unanimous judgement of the late EFEO pandits T. V. Gopal Iyer and T. S. Gangadharan it is, however, not old, but might go back to the late 19th or early 20th century.

***Puranāṇūru*: 15 (14/1)**

- TT palm-leaf manuscript from Tiruvāvaṭuturai [76] 88 folios, 27 × 5 cm, 12–13 lines per page, old and worm-eaten, crumbling margins, still very legible apart from single *akṣara*-s. Pages are numbered in European numbers with a black pen, *pada* index in the margin. Incomplete: PN 1 (= KV)–107 plus *urai*. Traditional script, old characters for the *r* series, no *pulli*-s, no differentiation between long and short *e/ē* and *o/ō*, or between *ā* and *ra*, traditional *sandhi*, *scriptio continua*. The text of the poem is followed by *tiṇai*, *tuṇai*, author, *urai* and number.
- C1 palm-leaf manuscript from the UVSL [237 = part of the serial *Eṭṭuttokai* ms.] 75 folios, 36 × 4 cm, 11 lines per page, in part badly worm-eaten and with some broken margins (last folio almost gone), many lacunae (blank spaces; two blank pages), some under-linings and corrections in pencil, regular and legible. On the left the original Tamil numbers for folios (95–171) and another Tamil number in black (201–357), on the right or left European page numbers with black (1–149). Marginal title reads *purampāṭṭu*, *pada* index in the margin. Complete: 1.4b (= KV)-400 (preceded by AN 400.22cd–26 + colophon). Traditional script, old characters for the *r* series, no *pulli*-s, no differentiation between long and short *e/ē*

- and *o/ō*, nor between *ā* and *ra*, traditional *sandhi*, *scriptio continua*. The text of the poem is followed by *tiṇai*, *turai*, author and number.
- C2 palm-leaf manuscript from the UVSL [707] 78 folios, 31 × 5 cm, 13 lines per page, good condition apart from broken margins, but many long lacunae (blank spaces), partly corrections and filling in by blue pen, regular and legible. On the left the original Tamil numbers for folios (97–174), on the right or left European page numbers with black text marker (1–149). Marginal title reads *purampāṭṭu*, *pada* index in the margin. Complete: PN 1 (= KV)–400. Traditional script, old characters for the *r* series, no *puḷḷi*-s, no differentiation between long and short *e/ē* and *o/ō*, nor between *ā* and *ra*, traditional *sandhi*, *scriptio continua*. The text of the poem is followed by *tiṇai*, *turai*, author and number (ending with PN 400).
- C3 palm-leaf manuscript from the UVSL [940] 44 folios, 23 × 4 cm, 8 lines per page, slightly worm-eaten and some broken margins (especially towards the end), folios numbered in Tamil from 39–1 with some disorder, but some sort of marginal legend, slightly irregular but legible. *Pada* index in the margin. Incomplete in upturned sequence: beginning with PN 239.6b (numbered as 78) and ending with KV (marginal title of leaf above reads *caṅkappāṭṭu*; last leaf contains an outside poem in two colons). Traditional script without *puḷḷi*-s or distinction between *e/ē*, *o/ō*, *ā/ra*, old characters for the *r* series, *scriptio continua*; slightly elongated *ṭa*.
- C4 palm-leaf manuscript from the UVSL [440] 92 folios numbered 1–92 (no. 8 only 3 lines and back blank; 92 twice, both with back blank) + 28 folios numbered 101–128 + 1 f. numbered 138 (older and very crumbled margins) + 1 folio reduced to the central portion + 1 f. in bigger size (unnumbered), 36 × 5 cm, 10 lines/11 lines per page, two hands, slightly worm-eaten and partly broken margins, very regular, legible. Title leaf reads *purappāṭṭu mūlamum uraiyum*; marginal title *purappāṭṭu*, *pada* index in the margin. Incomplete: KV–160 + 150end–197 + 9–10 plus *urai*. Traditional script without *puḷḷi*-s or distinction between *e/ē*, *o/ō*, *ā/ra*, old characters for the *r* series, lines ends marked by hyphen in the first hand; second hand very elongated *ṭa*. Poem followed by *tiṇai*, *turai*, author, *urai* and number.
- C5 palm-leaf manuscript from the UVSL [128] 164 folios, 35 × 3.5 cm, 8–11 lines per page, margins crumbled away especially on the left side with text, written very densely, regular, legible. European page numbers in black from 1–327, but not in correct order (1 is followed by 51, 61, 63, but the missing numbers follow later; 1 and 3 both give the KV). Incomplete: KV–264 (numbered as 265) + *urai*. Traditional script without *puḷḷi*-s or distinction between *e/ē*, *o/ō*, *ā/ra*, old characters for the *r* series, *scriptio con-*

- tinua*, very elongated *ṭa*. Poem followed by *tiṇai*, *tuṛai*, author, *urai* and number.
- C6 palm-leaf manuscript from the UVSL [96] 115, 47 × 4 cm, 8 lines per page, well preserved with few holes and broken margins, regular, neat and legible. Traditional Tamil numbering 1–113 + 1 folio numbered 58; marginal title reads *puṛanāṇūrrurai*, *pada* index in the margin. Incomplete: KV-262 + 113–116 (numbered as 112–117) + *urai*. Traditional script without *puḷḷi*-s or distinction between *e/ē*, *o/ō*, *ā/ra*, old characters for the *r* series, *scriptio continua*. Poem followed by *tiṇai*, *tuṛai*, author, *urai* and number.
- C7 palm-leaf manuscript from the UVSL [576] 233 folios, 33 × 3 cm, 7–8 lines per page, well preserved apart from a few broken leaves, regular and legible. Traditional Tamil numbering + European numbering by page (= 463); marginal title reads *puṛanilai puṛappāṭṭu*, *pada* index in the margin. Incomplete: KV-263 + *urai* (numbered as 261). Traditional script without *puḷḷi*-s or distinction between *e/ē*, *o/ō*, *ā/ra*, old characters for the *r* series, *scriptio continua*. Poem followed by *tiṇai*, *tuṛai*, author, *urai* and number.
- C8 palm-leaf manuscript from the UVSL [35] 147 folios, 51 × 3 cm, 7 lines per page, very long and thin leaves, mostly in good condition (but in stretches lacunae) but difficult to decipher. Traditional Tamil numbering + European numbering by page (= 292); marginal title reads *caṅkaceyyuḷ puṛappāṭṭurai*, *pada* index in the margin. Incomplete: KV (on f. 1 = second leaf = exchanged with first leaf = f. 2?)–207 (numbered as 171?) plus *urai*. Traditional script without *puḷḷi*-s or distinction between *e/ē*, *o/ō*, *ā/ra*, old characters for the *r* series, elongated *ṭa*, *scriptio continua*. Poem followed by *tiṇai*, *tuṛai*, author, *urai* and number.
- C9 palm-leaf manuscript from the UVSL [549] 146 folios, 32 × 3.5 cm, 7–12 lines per page, good condition, regular and legible, though some parts very dense. Traditional Tamil numbering and European page numbers (1–290); marginal title reads *puṛappāṭṭurai*, *pada* index in the margin. Incomplete: KV-219 (numbered 217) plus *urai*. Traditional script without *puḷḷi*-s or distinction between *e/ē*, *o/ō*, *ā/ra*, old characters for the *r* series, very elongated *ṭa*, *scriptio continua*. Poem followed by *tiṇai*, *tuṛai*, author, *urai* and number.
- A1 palm-leaf ms. from Aṇṇāmalai University Library [37/44572] 16 folios, 34 × 4 cm, 7–9 lines per page, bad condition, worm-eaten and partly broken margins, regular and legible. Tamil folio numbers (1–16). Incomplete (marginal title: *caṅkac ceyyuḷ*): KT 2, ?, PN 1, 2, 3, 8, 10, 12, 13, 15, 18, 20, 9, 25, 26, 27–150 + *tuṛai*. Traditional script without *puḷḷi*-s or distinction between *e/ē*, *o/ō*, *ā/ra*, old characters for the *r* series, *scriptio continua*. The text of the poem is followed by *tiṇai*, *tuṛai*, author and number in the ms. (i.e., KT 2 = 1, ? = 2; PN 1 = 3, ...)

- T1 palm-leaf ms. from ORIML Trivandrum [6417] 1 folio, size unknown, 8 lines per page, quite good condition, though with a few holes, neat and regular script, very legible. Tamil folio number 95. Composite manuscript made up of bits and pieces mostly from *Kīlkkāṇakku*, beginning with *Tiruvalluvar Mālai* and the *Kuraḷ*, but also *Muttollāyiram* and *Cintāmaṇi*. Fragment: 188, 183, 184, *Pari Ti*. 8, hyphen to mark the line end; numbered 1–4, ending with “*enru puran[sic]*”. Mixed script without *puḷḷi*-s or distinction between *ā/ra*, old characters for the *r* series, *scriptio continua*, but a special mark for *e/ē*, *o/ō* in the form of a little additional loop at the end of the *kompū*.
- TU1 palm-leaf ms. from Tamil University, Tañcāvūr [606] 32 folios, 26 × 3 cm, 8 lines per page, fairly good condition, though worm-eaten especially in the right margin (partly crumbled away), neat and regular script up to folio 8a, then a different hand, slightly bigger and more irregular, later both hands alternating at irregular intervals, both mostly legible. Tamil folio numbers, marginal title ([*grantha*] hari ōm, *naṇṛāka*, *caṅkacceyyuḷ*). Incomplete: KV–96. Transitional script without *puḷḷi*-s or distinction between *e/ē*, *o/ō*, *ā/ra*, but modern characters for the *r* series, *scriptio continua*, but partly faulty line split with hyphens. Poem followed by *tiṇai*, *turai*, author and number.
- G1 palm-leaf manuscript from the GOML [R.8842/TR.3156] 5 folios, 36 × 4 cm, 11 lines per page, no holes but broken margins, regular, neat and legible. First two leaves numbered in Tamil 2 and 3, *pada* index in the margin, poem beginnings marked by green stroke; cover reads *puranāṇūru ainkurunūrrum pāṭalkaḷ*. Fragment: poems between 45–144 (numbered as 7–49; last folio stray poems from *AiN-tiraṭṭu*, KT 60, 202, 397 followed by PN 235). Traditional script without *puḷḷi*-s or distinction between *e/ē*, *o/ō*, *ā/ra*, old characters for the *r* series, *scriptio continua*. Poem followed by *tiṇai*, *turai*, author and number.
- G2 paper manuscript from the GOML [D.284] 299 pages (page 1/2 missing), 20 lines per page, 21 × 18 cm, poems continuous on both sides, slightly torn and some pages very pale, but legible (on brownish paper in black ink). Front page presumably gives date: 9-1-16 (= 1916); European page numbers in pencil on every second page (= 150). Incomplete: middle of KV.2–197 with *urai*. *Scriptio continua*, but modern script with *puḷḷi*-s and vowel distinction. Poem followed by *tiṇai*, *turai*, *urai* and Tamil number.
- + stray poems in *Caṅkacceyyuḷ* CC1 UVSL [654/2027]: PN 164, 228 (2).

Aiṅkuṇūru: 7 (3/4)

- TT palm-leaf manuscript from Tiruvāṇṭuṭurai [no number; cover says “*Eṭṭuttokai*”; following AN and followed by *Pati*] 41 folios, 30 × 5 cm, 14 or 15 lines per page, old and worm-eaten, very few crumbling margins, still very legible apart from single *akṣara*-s. European page numbers in blue (41–122). Complete with KV, decade titles in the margin and traditional colophon (p. 122 = im. 102-0202, ll. 9–11: *varavuccirappuraittap pattu murrum. pēyaṇār# mullai murrum. 500. aiṅkuṇūru murrum. maruta ~e*[l. 9] *ittokai tokuttār pulatturai murriya kūṭalūr kilār – ittokai tokuppittān yāṇaikkaṭ cēymān taraṇcēra+*[l. 10] *rumporaiyār – civantāyypātamē tuṇai*). Traditional script: old characters for the *r* series, no *puḷḷi*-s, no differentiation between long and short *e/ē* and *o/ō*, or between *ā* and *ra*, traditional (and quite regular) *sandhi*, *scriptio continua*. The text of the poem is followed by *kiḷavi* and number (counted by decades with name after each no. 10 and in the margin); occasionally markings for metrical feet have been inserted by vertical strokes with a pencil.
- C1 palm-leaf manuscript from the UVSL [1075, im. 4652, f. 92 following the *KT* colophon = part of the serial *Eṭṭuttokai* ms.] 1 folio, 36 × 4 cm, 10 lines per page, worm-eaten and partly crumbling margins, but very legible. European page numbers in black (92). Fragment: KV–2.2 [The continuation might be found if the rest of the serial ms. can be located.] Traditional script without *puḷḷi*-s or distinction between *e/ē*, *o/ō*, *ā/ra*, old characters for the *r* series, *scriptio continua*. Order poem, *kiḷavi*, author and number.
- C2 palm-leaf manuscript from the UVSL [173] 75 folios, 41 × 3 cm, 6 lines per page, very bad condition and many pieces broken away, many blank spaces, hardly legible. Incomplete: 29–470 + *urai*. Traditional script without *puḷḷi*-s or distinction between *e/ē*, *o/ō*, *ā/ra*, old characters for the *r* series, *scriptio continua*; slightly elongated *ṭa*, script similar to AN ms. UVSL 28. Order: poem, *kiḷavi* and number (counted by decades with name after each no. 10 and in the margin).
- C3 paper manuscript from the UVSL [98] 124 sheets, 33 × 20.5 cm, poems on right sides, partly quite pale, but legible (on yellowish paper with hand-drawn lines partly in blue ink, partly in black ink, several hands, with corrections, additions and notes in several hands in pencil, blue, bright blue and grey, also on left pages). According to front page with notes from Cāminātaiyar’s hand (*aiyar avarkaḷ kuṛippukaḷuṭan*); according to the cover page gift from Ka. Cuppiramaṇiya Aiyar, B.A.. Complete with KV and traditional colophon (im. 118); followed by stray poems and word concordance of the *AiN* plus one of the *Purattiraṭṭu* (70 sheets). Transitional script without *puḷḷi*-s (except in the traditional colophon) or distinction of

- e/ē, o/ō, ā/ra*, but modern characters for the *r* series. *Scriptio continua*, *cīr* marked by pencil strokes, with new line and indentation for each poem, Tamil poem number, *kiḷavi*, number within the decade; decade titles preceding and following the decade.
- C4 paper manuscript from the UVSL [97] 159 pages, 33 × 21 cm, poems on both pages, separated by blank line, good condition though slightly translucent, easy reading (on brownish lined paper in black ink), according to the cover page gift from Ka. Cuppiramaṇiya Aiyar, B. A.. Complete: 1–500, no traditional colophon. Modern script and completely marked, full split of line and *cīr*. European numbers in decades, decade title, poem, *kiḷavi*, Tamil numbers in decades, decade end mentioned.
- G1 paper manuscript from the GOML [D.202] 150 pages, 22 × 33 cm, 25 lines per page, poems on both pages, separated by blank lines (on brownish lined paper with black ink, rare corrections, hand changes with 350, for that part corrections and variants in thick black), bad condition, translucent, partly torn (odd pages on older and browner paper pasted into current ms.), but legible. Complete with KV, no traditional colophon. Modern script with full marking, line and *cīr* split. European page numbers, *tiṇai* (per hundred), number and title of decade, European poem number, poem, *kiḷavi*, Tamil number for poem within the decade.
- G2 paper manuscript from the GOML [D.203] 101 pages, 23 × 30 cm, 26–31 lines per page, poems on both pages, pages of different size and quality pasted together into one ms. (on rather brownish lined paper with black ink, corrections and additions in black, pencil and red), according to front page purchased in 1893/94, damaged but quite legible. Incomplete: KV + 1–350. Modern script with full marking and line split, but no *cīr* split, decade title and number, European number for poem within the decade (partly in the margin further numbers in brackets and in another hand), poem, *kiḷavi*.
- + stray poems in *Puṛaṇāṇūru* mss. G1 GOML [R8842] and in *Caṅkacceyyuḷ* CC1 UVSL [654]: *Aiṅkuṟuṇūru Tiraṭṭu*, as well as one additional page with 4 poems in the London manuscript of the *Kuṟuntokai* Or. 2726.

***Paṭirrupattu*: 10 (4/6) (not copied: NLK)**

- TT palm-leaf manuscript from Tiruvāvaṭuṭurai [77; cover says “*Eṭṭuttokai*”, following *AN* and *AiN*] 28 folios, 30 × 5 cm, 14 or 15 lines per page, old and worm-eaten, very few crumbling margins, still very legible apart from single *akṣara*-s. European page numbers in blue (123–177). Incomplete: 11.1c–90 (marginal title reads *iraṇṭām pattu*; end on p. 177 reads *onpatām pattu murrum*); *pada* index in the margin. Traditional script: old charac-

ters for the *r* series, no *puḷḷi*-s, no differentiation between long and short *e/ē* and *o/ō*, nor between *ā* and *ra*, traditional *sandhi*, *scriptio continua*; poems are followed by *tuṛai*, *vaṇṇam*, *tūkkū*, *peyar* and number in decade plus *patikam* at the end of the decade; poem ends partly marked with tiny bright blue vertical stroke.

NL palm-leaf ms. from NLK [3087] not yet copied

- C1 palm-leaf manuscript from the UVSL [1075 = part of the serial *Eṭṭuttokai* ms.; preceded by *KT* + *AiN* and followed by *AN*] 25 folios, 36 × 4 cm, 10 lines per page, worm-eaten and partly crumbling margins, occasional blank spaces, but very legible. European page numbers in black (93–141). Incomplete: 12.2b–90 (end on p. 141 reads *onpatām pattu murrum*). Traditional script without *puḷḷi*-s or distinction between *e/ē*, *o/ō*, *ā/ra*, old characters for the *r* series, *scriptio continua*, traditional order giving poem, *tuṛai*, *vaṇṇam*, *tūkkū*, *peyar* and number in decade plus *patikam* at the end of the decade.
- C2 palm-leaf manuscript from the UVSL [98a] 68 folios, 41 × 4.5 cm, 11 lines per page, partly well preserved with a few crumbling margins, towards the end (f. 285–298) partly very crumbling and broken; regular and legible (slightly curling leaves with hardly decipherable first/last lines). *Pada* index in the margin; Tamil numbers (1–65; later broken), double European page numbers in black and very thick black (162–298). Complete: 11–90 with *urai* (end on p. 141 reads *onpatām pattu murrum*). Traditional script without *puḷḷi*-s or distinction between *e/ē*, *o/ō*, *ā/ra*, old characters for the *r* series, *scriptio continua*, slightly elongated *ṭa*; traditional order giving poem, *tuṛai*, *vaṇṇam*, *tūkkū*, *peyar*, *urai* and number in decade plus *patikam* at the end of the decade.
- C3 paper manuscript from the UVSL [560] 101 pages, 21 × 17 cm, 16 lines on odd pages (bound on top); badly worm-eaten, but legible (on brownish lined paper with black ink; variants and corrections between the lines mostly in blue, sometimes in pencil or bright blue; some pages completely in blue); no page numbers. Incomplete: 54–90 with *urai* (end on p. 101 reads *onpatām pattu muṭintatu*). Transitional script with modern character for the *r* series, basically no vowel marks or *kāl* distinction, no *puḷḷi*-s, *scriptio continua*; traditional order giving absolute number (in blue), poem, *tuṛai*, *vaṇṇam*, *tūkkū*, *peyar*, *urai* and number in decade plus *patikam* at the end of the decade.
- C4 paper manuscript from the UVSL [559] 326 pages, 28 × 23 cm, 22 lines on odd pages; very brittle and broken margins, but legible (on brownish lined paper with black ink; variants and corrections between the lines in bright blue and pencil); European page numbers (1–183), according to title page

- taṇikkākitan̄kaḷ*. Complete: 11–90 with *urai* (beginning reads *paṭirruppattu iraṇṭām pattu*; end reads *onpatām pattu muṛrum. iraṇṭām pattu mutal onpatām pattu varaikkum.*). Transitional script with modern character for the *r* series, basically no vowel marks or *kāl* distinction, no *puḷḷi*-s, *scriptio continua*; traditional order naming the poet, followed by European number, poem, *turai*, *vaṇṇam*, *tūkku*, *peyar*, *urai* and number in decade plus *patikam* at the end of the decade.
- C5 paper manuscript from the UVSL [439] 186 pages, 21.5 × 17 cm, 12 lines on odd pages (from p. 41 on top-bound); slightly worm-eaten, legible (on brownish and stained lined paper with black ink; variants and corrections between the lines in pencil or bright blue); page numbers (1–114) according to the cover page gift from Ka. Cuppiramaṇiya Aiyar, B. A.. Incomplete: 11–53 with *urai* (preceded by 75 pages with *Tillaiyantāti*, *Tirumayilaiyantāti*, *Aruṇaiyantāti*). Transitional script with modern character for the *r* series, occasional vowel marks, no *kāl* distinction, occasional *puḷḷi*-s, *scriptio continua*; traditional order giving absolute number (in blue), poem, *turai*, *vaṇṇam*, *tūkku*, *peyar*, *urai* and number in decade plus *patikam* at the end of the decade.
- G1 paper ms. GOML [D.114/TD.44] 213 pages, 27.5 × 23 cm, 20 lines per page, European page numbers, laminated with a sort of textile due to its brittle condition (inner margins partly crumbled away), laminated paper turning brownish, ruled lines, black ink, beautiful hand. Complete: 11–90 with comm.; inner title page reads (pencil): 2-6-27, *Paṭirruppattu (mūlamum uraiyum) (2 mutal 9m. pattu muṭivu) 9-6-27*; end on p. 213 reads: *onpatām pattu muṛrum. iraṇṭām pattu mutal onpatām pattu varaikkum eḷuti muṭintatu*. Modern script with *puḷḷi*, vowel distinction and line breaks, but no *cīr* split. Partly European punctuation, “...” presumably for blanks. European poem numbers in the left margin, poem followed by *turai*, *vaṇṇam*, *tūkku*, *peyar* and commentary in paragraphs, Tamil number. Last sentence notes the loss of the 10th decade.
- G2 paper ms. GOML [D.115/TD.45] 80 pages, 33 × 21 cm, 25 lines per page, European page numbers, composite manuscript (followed by *Aṇaniccāram an Kuṛuntiraṭṭu*); ruled darkening paper with black ink, clean hand. Incomplete: 11–35 with comm. up to 34; inner title page reads: (9-6-28; 1) *Paṭirruppattu mūlamum uraiyum (2 mutal 5 laṇ?)... 9.6.28*. Traditional script without *puḷḷi*, double *kompū* for *ē/ō* used occasionally, no distinction between *ā* and *ra*, modern characters for the *r* series, line break, but no *cīr* split. Poem followed by *turai*, *vaṇṇam*, *tūkku*, *peyar* and commentary in *scriptio continua*, Tamil number, gaps marked in similar places as G1 (= aborted copy of the same source?); ends abruptly.

- G3 paper ms. GOML [D.116/TD.46] 69 pages, 34 × 21 cm, 25 lines per page, European page numbers, ruled darkening paper with black ink, inner margins beginning to crumble (modern binding crumbled away with one to two *akṣaras*), black ink and neat hand. No title page but title above reads: 9.6.22 (pencil), śrīḥ, *Paṭirruppattu*. Complete: 11-90. European poem numbers in the left margin, text only followed by *tuṛai*, *vaṇṇam*, *tūḱku*, *peyar*, Tamil number; end on p. 69 reads *onpatām pattu murrum*. Modern script with full marking, line breaks, but no *cīr* split, gaps in the text of a number of poems.

Kalittokai: 11 (5/6)

- C1 palm-leaf ms. from the UVSL [73H/226] 7 folios, 43 × 3 cm, 6–8 lines per page, good condition, but blank spaces and even pages, regular and still legible, but slightly out of focus. Tamil folio numbers (105, 116–121); European page numbers (233–246). Fragment (marginal title: *kalittokai – kocakkakali*; *pada* index): 56, 55, 89, 92, 54, 60, 51, 103, 42, 46. Traditional script without *puḷḷi*-s or distinction between *e/ē*, *o/ō*, *ā/ra*, old characters for the *r* series, *scriptio continua*.
- C2 palm-leaf ms. from the UVSL [5/225] 198 folios, 45 × 3.5 cm, 8–9 lines per page, good condition, almost intact margins, regular but hard to read since slightly out of focus and reflecting. European page numbers (1–390). Incomplete (marginal title: *kalittokai mutalāvatu pālaituṛai*): 6–141 with *kiḷavi* and Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar’s commentary, traditional + scribal colophon on p. 380 (*kalittokai muṭintatu. mullai nilattup pāṭṭukku nacciṇārkkīṇiyar ceyta v-urāi muṭitintatu. tirumayilai aṇṇācāmiyuppāṭṭiyar eḷutiyatu. kuḷir varuvatu neytal ākum.*), followed by pp. 391–397 ending in *Kali* 120.18; *pada* index at the end (ending on p. 390 at *Kali* 117 = end of *Mullaik Kali*). Transitional script with modern characters for the *r* series, but without *puḷḷi*-s or distinction between *e/ē*, *o/ō*, *ā/ra*, *scriptio continua*.
- C3 palm-leaf manuscript from the UVSL [511/224] 312 folios, 39 × 3.5 cm, 7–9 lines per page, very bad condition, worm-eaten and disintegrating margins, many half leaves and some leaves missing, but regular and legible. Tamil folio numbers (?–332) and European page numbers (1–606) around one hole, both nearly imperceptible. Incomplete (marginal title illegible): KV *kiḷavi*–150 + Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar’s commentary, but gaps in between. Scribal colophon, damaged: 850 v° [Kollam = 1675 C. E.] *māci 29 tiruvārūrilirukkum ceṇkamalaporpatam maṛaiñāṇa paṇṭarattiṇ puttiraṇ civakuruṇātaṇ taṇ eḷuttu*. Traditional script without *puḷḷi*-s or distinction between *e/ē*, *o/ō*, *ā/ra*, old characters for the *r* series, *scriptio continua*, elongated ḱ.

- G1 palm-leaf ms. from the GOML [D.210/TD.127] 35 folios, 36 × 4 cm, 11 lines per page, well preserved with few worm-holes, clear and legible. Blank folio dated to 16-12-13(?); Tamil folio numbers (left margin 199–233 [211a–215a = 1 photo missing], right margin 21–51). Incomplete: 131.25–30comm.–150 with *kiḷavi* and Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar’s commentary; traditional colophon f. 232a: [*pālai kuṟiñci maru*]ta mullai neytaleṇac vimmuṟaiyē kōttār nallantuvāṇār. neytaṟku ācīriyaṇ pāratuvāci nacciṇārkkīṇiyāṇ ceyta v-urāi murrum. 33. Traditional script without *puḷḷi*-s or distinction between *e/ē*, *o/ō*, *ā/ra*, old characters for the *r* series, *scriptio continua*.
- G2 palm-leaf ms. from the GOML [R.5075/TR.2229] 79 folios + some broken pieces, 41.5 × 2.75 cm, 6–8 lines per page, in parts badly broken and worm-eaten, many half leaves, clear and legible. Tamil folio numbers (1–79). Incomplete (marginal title: *pālai*): KV–34 with *kiḷavi* and Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar’s commentary. Traditional script without *puḷḷi*-s or distinction between *e/ē*, *o/ō*, *ā/ra*, old characters for the *r* series, *scriptio continua*. Mentions authors’ names for *Pālaikkali*. Probably the second-oldest *Kali* ms. extant.
- G3 paper ms. from the GOML [D.212/TD.61] 118 pages, 17 × 20 cm, ca. 22 lines per page, brittle but good condition, legible (on brown paper with black ink). Tamil page numbers (1–118). Incomplete (heading: *kalittokai mūlam*): *Kali* 6–141.10. Paper ms. of the first generation, poems on both sides, *scriptio continua*, no *puḷḷi*-s, no *kāl/kompu* distinction, modern *r* series, with European full stop at the end of poem + poem number within *tiṇai*; indent for the beginning of the next verse. Copied from a ms. with commentary, of which some residues have remained (source preserved in another copy G6).
- G4 paper ms. from the GOML [R.5783/TR.1112] 162 pages, 35 × 22 cm, up to 32 lines on odd pages, well preserved and very clear and legible (on yellowish lined paper in black ink). European double-page numbers (1–167). Donated by the Bhavanandam Academy in 1955/56. Incomplete (inner cover: *kalittokai nacciṇārkkīṇiyar uraiyuṭaṇ*): KV–36 (= *Pālaikkali*) with *kiḷavi* and Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar’s commentary. Followed by an isolated stanza on the merits of *Pālai*. Modern script with full marking, line and *cīr* split, and the layout of an edition, including footnotes in smaller letters. The name of the scholar is not found. Gives the impression of being copied from a printed edition: textual variations, references, quotations are given in footnotes.
- G5 paper ms. from the GOML [R.6843] 262 pages 21 × 33.2 cm, 26 lines per page, very regular and legible (on almost white paper with blue lines in black ink, with occasional corrections in blue and red). European page numbers (1–262); marginal numbers of the old ms. leaves. Cover page: “*kalittokai*.”

toṭakam teti 11.12.57, *muṭivu teti* 29.12.57. Copied by M. R. Sivaprakasam Pillay.” [Added in blue:] “Restored in 1957 from a manuscript of [R.5784].” Donated by the Bhavanandam Academy in 1955/56. Incomplete: KV-36 (= *Pālaikkali*) with *kīḷavi* and Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar’s commentary, followed by an isolated stanza on the merits of Pālai = copy of G4; end note in blue (p. 262): “Copied by M. R. Sivaprakasam Pillay 29-12-57. Compared by R. Ganesan 30-12-57. Compared by M. R. Sivaprakasam Pillay 30-12-57.” Modern script with full marking, line and *cīr* split, and the layout of an edition.

- G6 paper ms. from the GOML [R.5754/TR.1075] 246 pages, 31×20 cm, ca. 46–48 lines per page, slightly worm-holed and brittle, legible with tiny dense script, partly pale (on brownish lined paper with black ink; backside shining through very much; partly treated with chemicals(?)) with corrections from another pen. No page numbers. Donated by the Bhavanandam Academy in 1955/56. Incomplete (title page: *kalittokai nacciṇārkkīṇiyarurai*): 10–150 with *kīḷavi* and Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar’s commentary and traditional colophon with *uraiccīrappuppāyiram* and 2 *Veṇpās* (im. 250 f.; end 251: *kalittokai nacciṇārkkīṇiyāṇ ceyta urai muṇṇum ... ōrāteluṭiṇēṇ āyinum oṇporulai yātāyntu kolka varivuṭaiyār cīrāyntu kuṇṇaṇ kaḷaintu kuṇṇai peytu vācittal kaṇṇarintamarntākaṭaṇ [grantha: śrī gurubhyo nama. śrī rāma jayam – śāli vālī śurasvāmi pādāmē gati.] campūraṇam*). Script from a transitional phase, partly *puḷḷi*-s, *kompu*- but no *kāl* distinction, modern *r* series, *scriptio continua*, with European full stop at the end of the commentary + poem number within *tiṇai*; indent for the beginning of the next verse. *Tiṇai*-s beginning on odd pages.
- G7 paper ms. from the GOML [D.209/TD.59] 552 pages, 29×21 cm, ca. 20 lines per page, mostly good condition, partly brittle, legible with beautiful script (paper from creamy to brown, with black ink, but backside shining through) with rare pencil corrections. European page numbers in black/pencil (1–552) and double-page numbers in blue/pencil (1–278); front page dated 17-5-7. Incomplete (title page: *kalittokai uraiyuṭaṇ*): 6–141 with *kīḷavi* and Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar’s commentary. Script from a transitional phase, no *puḷḷi*-s, no *kāl*/*kompu* distinction, modern *r* series, with European full stop at the end of poem + poem number within *tiṇai*; indent for the beginning of the next verse, *scriptio continua* with European punctuation in the commentary.
- G8 paper ms. GOML [D.211] 128 pages, 19 × 24 cm, 23 lines per page on both sides, brittle, torn, worm-holed and binding strengthened with extra paper strips, regular and legible script (in black on dark brown paper with lines and margins, occasional corrections between the lines). European

page numbers on odd pages 1–63; dated 9-1-6 on first page. Incomplete: *Kali* 10–37 with Naccinārkkīṇiyar’s commentary. Modern script with full marking, line and *cīr* split, hanging indent for poems, headings and page breaks.

Paripāṭal: 3 (3/0)

- TT palm-leaf manuscript from Tiruvāvaṭuturai [75] 86 folios, 36 × 4 cm, 8 lines per page, old and very badly damaged and worm-eaten, leaves partly reduced to half, especially in the beginning, rest quite regular and legible, letters not very dense, little soot left. European page numbers in blue (1–172). Incomplete: 1comm.– 19.38 (according to Cām.) with commentary by Parimēlaḷakar(?)¹⁰⁶ (marginal title gone). Traditional script: old characters for the *r* series, no *puḷḷi*-s, no differentiation between long and short *e/ē* and *o/ō*, nor between *ā* and *ra*, *scriptio continua*.
- C1 palm-leaf manuscript from the UVSL [247] 90 folios, 39 × 4 cm, 6 lines per page, old, badly damaged and very worm-eaten, leaves in partly broken away, especially towards the end, rest regular and legible. European page numbers in black (3–176 + pieces of 177–180). Incomplete: 2–22 with Parimēlaḷakar’s comm. (according to Cām.; marginal title gone). Traditional script: old characters for the *r* series, no *puḷḷi*-s, no differentiation between long and short *e/ē* and *o/ō*, nor between *ā* and *ra*, *scriptio continua*, *ṭ* sometimes very elongated.
- C2 palm-leaf manuscript from the UVSL [1077] 87 folios, 43.5 × 4 cm, 7–9 lines per page, smooth and thick, well preserved with few holes, but many blank spaces (especially towards the end), text regular and legible. European page numbers in black (1, 2, 1–167). Incomplete: end of *Pari* 1, 2 with Parimēlaḷakar (cover and marginal title reads *paripāṭal urai*; in the beginning and end additional leaves with notes/word lists: pp. 161–166 set in 2 colons, folios numbered in Tamil 1–3; page blank for *Pari* 1). Traditional script: old characters for the *r* series, no *puḷḷi*-s, no differentiation between long and short *e/ē* and *o/ō*, nor between *ā* and *ra*, traditional *sandhi*, *scriptio continua*, *ṭ* sometimes elongated.
- + stray poems in CC2 GOML [TD84a/D205], f. 4.a, l. 1: *Paripāṭal-tiraṭṭu* 8 and in T1 ORIML [6417], f. 95b, l. 4-8: *Pari Ti*. 8.

¹⁰⁶ The commentator of the *Pari* is identified, according to Cāminātaiyar (1918), in a now lost fragmentary palm-leaf manuscript from the Tarumapuram *mutt*.

II.1.3.2 *Pattuppāṭṭu*: 102 (92/10) (not copied: 3 MSSML, 6 NLK)

Serial palm-leaf ms. of *Pattuppāṭṭu* with Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar's commentary from the UVSL [1074], first batch, 57 folios, 24 × 3.5 cm, 10–11 lines per page, in part well preserved, in part badly worm-eaten and with crumbling margins; neat and regular but very shiny, occasionally notes between the lines and in the margins. European page numbers 1–114. Complete with marginal titles: *Tirumurukārruppaṭai* (pp. 1–74) and *Porunarārārruppaṭai* (pp. 74–114). Traditional script without *puḷḷi*-s or distinction between *e/ē*, *o/ō*, *ā/ra*, old characters for the *r* series, *scriptio continua*, slightly elongated *ṭ*.

Serial palm-leaf ms. of *Pattuppāṭṭu* from the UVSL [1074], second batch, 128 folios, 24 × 3.5 cm, 12–13 lines per page, quite well preserved, apart from a few worm-holes and broken margins; neat and regular but very shiny, occasionally notes between the lines and in the margins. European page numbers 115–372. Complete with marginal titles: *Cirupāṇārruppaṭai* (pp. 115–158), *Perumpāṇārruppaṭai* (pp. 159–230), *Mullaippāṭṭu* (pp. 231–247), *Maturaikkāñci* (pp. 248–372). Traditional script without *puḷḷi*-s or distinction between *e/ē*, *o/ō*, *ā/ra*, old characters for the *r* series, *scriptio continua*, slightly elongated *ṭ*.

Serial palm-leaf ms. of *Pattuppāṭṭu* with Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar's commentary from the UVSL [1074], third batch, 23 folios, 24 × 3.5 cm, 7–9 lines per page, quite well preserved, apart from few worm-holes and very few broken margins (three folios only half); neat and regular but very shiny, occasionally notes between the lines and in the margins. Two broken leaves between *Maturaikkāñci* and *Neṭunalvāṭai*, one of them title page reading: *tirunelvēli intukālej tamilppaṇṭitar corṇampillai y-anuppiyatu*. European page numbers 373–414. Complete *Neṭunalvāṭai* (pp. 373–414) with traditional colophon followed by a sale note (*muṇippanāṭu vayiravaṇāta piḷḷaikku yiṭaile nallakurṛālam kavirāyar ēṭu irunta ēṭu vāṇkiṇatu*). Traditional script without *puḷḷi*-s or distinction between *e/ē*, *o/ō*, *ā/ra*, old characters for the *r* series, *scriptio continua*, slightly elongated *ṭ*.

Serial palm-leaf ms. of *Pattuppāṭṭu* text only from the UVSL [184], 70 folios, 41 × 3.5 cm, 6–8 lines per page, worm-holes and towards the end broken margins, but regular and on the whole legible (though on the thinner variety of palm-leaf with some problematic portions). European page numbers from 7–106. Incomplete: pages 1–6 missing (presumably with *Porunarārārruppaṭai*), beginning with *Cirupāṇārruppaṭai* (marginal title; pp. 7–20; two Veṇṇpās plus traditional colophon), *Perumpāṇārruppaṭai* (marginal title; pp. 21–41; Veṇṇpā plus traditional colophon), *Mullaippāṭṭu* (marginal title; pp. 42–46; Veṇṇpā plus traditional colophon), *Maturaikkāñci* (marginal title; pp. 47–80; Veṇṇpā plus traditional colophon), *Neṭunalvāṭai* (marginal title; pp. 81–91; Veṇṇpā plus traditional colophon), *Kuṛiṇcippāṭṭu* (marginal title; pp. 92–107; two Veṇṇpās plus traditional colophon), *Paṭṭiṇappālai* (marginal title; pp. 108–118; Veṇṇpā plus traditional colophon),

Malaipaṭukaṭām (marginal title; pp. 119–146; ending with line 537d). Traditional script without *pulli*-s or distinction between *e/ē*, *o/ō*, *ā/ra*, old characters for the *r* series, *scriptio continua*, slightly elongated *ṭ*.

Serial palm-leaf ms. of *Pattuppāṭṭu* with Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar's commentary from the UVSL [579], 184 folios, 34 × 3 cm, 8–10 lines per page; some holes and broken margins but in good condition, regular and legible. 1 title folio enumerating 10 titles, of which the first and the last are obliterated (that is, *Tirumurukārruppaṭai* and *Malaipaṭukaṭām*), Tamil folio numbers European page numbers from 1–364 plus one blank folio. beginning with *Porunarārruppaṭai* (marginal title; pp. 1–29; traditional colophon), *Ċirupāṇārruppaṭai* (marginal title: *ċirupāṇāru*; pp. 30–58; traditional colophon), *Perumpāṇārruppaṭai* (marginal title: *perumpāṇāru*; pp. 59–114, l. 5; traditional colophon), *Mullaippāṭṭu* (marginal title: *mullai*; p. 114, ll. 6–129; traditional colophon with *Veṇṇpā*), *Maturaikkāñci* (marginal title; pp. 130–220; traditional colophon plus two *Veṇṇpās*), *Neṭunalvāṭai* (marginal title; pp. 221–240; traditional colophon plus *Veṇṇpā*), *Kuṛiṇċippāṭṭu* (marginal title: *kuṛiñci*; pp. 241–268; two *Veṇṇpās* plus traditional colophon) *Paṭṭiṇappālai* (marginal title; pp. 269–299; traditional colophon plus *Veṇṇpā*), *Malaipaṭukaṭām* (marginal title; pp. 300–364; traditional colophon with one *Veṇṇpā*). Traditional script without *pulli*-s or distinction between *e/ē*, *o/ō*, *ā/ra*, old characters for the *r* series, *scriptio continua*, slightly elongated *ṭ*.

Fragment of a serial palm-leaf ms. of *Pattuppāṭṭu* from the UVSL [166] with traditional colophon of *Ċirupāṇārruppaṭai*, *Perumpāṇārruppaṭai* and part of *Maturaikkāñci* (see below).

Composite paper ms. of *Pattuppāṭṭu* and *Kīlkkāṇakku* from the GOML [D.120/TP.47] 338 pages, 33 × 21 cm, 23 lines per page, good condition and several neat hands (on brownish paper with black ink), variants/corrections/*ċir*-strokes (in blue or red pen or in pencil) from several hands between the lines and in the margins. Dated on second cover page: 175.29; European page numbers in blue 1–333. Incomplete: containing copies of *Perumpāṇārruppaṭai* = D.267 (incomplete: 291b–500 = pp. 1–6), pp. 7–10 missing, *Maturaikkāñci* = D.120[sic] (fragment: 42cd–148a = pp. 11–13; no heading), *Porunarārruppaṭai* with Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar's commentary = D.268 (pp. 17–43), *Ċirupāṇārruppaṭai* with Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar's commentary = D.266 (pp. 44–71), *Perumpāṇārruppaṭai* with Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar's commentary without number (not in table of contents; complete = pp. 72–119), *Mullaippāṭṭu* with Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar's commentary = D.234 (pp. 120–132), *Ċirupaṇcamūlam* = D.147/147a (pp. 133–161), *Paṭṭiṇappālai* with Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar's commentary = D.232 (pp. 165–200), *Malaipaṭukaṭām* with Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar's commentary = D.269 (pp. 201–281), *Ċirupāṇārruppaṭai* = D.? (fragment: 235a–269 = p. 281f.), *Perumpāṇārruppaṭai* = D.267? (incomplete: 1–290b = pp. 282–291; not in table of contents), *Tirikaṭukam* = D.149 (pp. 293–322), *Ṇiṇiyavai Nārpatu* = D.136

(pp. 325–332). Conservative paper ms. without *puḷḷi*-s or distinction between *e/ē*, *o/ō*, *ā/ra*, modern characters for the *r* series and *scriptio continua*. Contents page and headings in modern script.

***Tirumurukārrupaṭai*: 57 (57)¹⁰⁷ (not copied: 2 NLK, 3 MSSML)**

- C1 palm-leaf ms. from the UVSL [1074] see above. Complete: text + comm. by Nacc. with traditional colophon (p. 74, l. 1: *murukārrupaṭaikku āciriyaṇ pāratuvāci naccinārkkiniyāṇ ceyta v-urai muṭintatu – nanrāka – ārumukam. ###l kuruvē tuṇai. tirumurukārrupaṭaiyurai murratu.*), marginal intertitles of *pratika* type, *scriptio continua*.
- C2 palm-leaf ms. from the UVSL [589-M] 2f., 36 × 5 cm, 20 lines per page. Complete: stanza + text only + two stanzas, colophon and list of the six temple names. Line split by dot.
- C3 palm-leaf ms. from the UVSL [548-A] 4f., 29 × 3 cm, 6 lines per page, corners rounded. Incomplete: stanza + text ll. 1–90. Marginal intertitles with temple name, line split by *piḷḷaiyār cuḷi*, unprofessional writing.
- C4 palm-leaf ms. from the UVSL [854] 6f., 15 × 4 cm, 6 lines per page. Incomplete: stanza + text ll. 1–77 (= Tirupparaṅkuṇṇam). *Scriptio continua*, unprofessional writing.
- C5 palm-leaf ms. from the UVSL [416] 18f., 36 × 4.5 cm, 13 lines per page. Title folio with blessing and unidentified text. Complete: text + comm. by Nacc. and colophon, followed by one folio of *Tiruvicaippā*. Marginal intertitles with temple name, *scriptio continua*, very densely written.
- C6 palm-leaf ms. from the UVSL [813-A] 46f., 26 × 4 cm, 10–11 lines per page; pp. 1–29 *Veṇṇāppāṭṭiyal*. Complete: text + comm. by Nacc. and colophon (pp. 30–81). Marginal intertitles with some modern temple names (p. 42: *tiruccentūr*), *scriptio continua*.
- C7 palm-leaf ms. from the UVSL [892] 48f., 20 × 5 cm, 11–12 lines per page. Title folio with mantras and reference to children's birth on the verso. Complete: stanza + text only (pp. 1–18) + scribal colophon on p. 87, dated to *kīlaka v^o* (= 1848/49 C. E.). Line split by dot and line number. Followed by glosses in three columns (pp. 19–84), stanza and notes (pp. 82–89), unprofessional writing.

¹⁰⁷ The description for the mss. of the *Tirumurukārrupaṭai* is kept minimal here; more are still being found, and a detailed study and a critical edition by E. Francis (who kindly shared his provisional outline with me) are under preparation.

- C8 palm-leaf ms. from the UVSL [704] 42 f., 27 × 4 cm, 10 lines per page, worm-holes and partly crumbling margins. First folio different (14 ll.) with stanza and incomplete text: ll. 1–77; hard to read, little ink left. Complete text + unidentified comm. (pp. 3–36); followed by *Navanītapattīyal* (pp. 37–57) and *Kantarantāti* (pp. 58–82).
- C9 palm-leaf ms. from the UVSL [743] 14 f., 31 × 3 cm, 10 lines per page, crumbling margins. Incomplete: starts with the last words of lines 3–5 followed by commentary, and so on [UVSL catalogue: “contains an annotation of Tiru-Murukarru-Patai in the form of Karutturai. The authorship is not known.”] + concluding *muṛṛum* (p. 10:1) + quotation of a *sūtra* from *Tolkāppiyam* (p. 10:1–2), followed by text with marginal title *[c/t]i[r/r]upp[ā]nārrup[pa]ṭṭ[ai]* (pp. 12–27).
- C10 palm-leaf ms. from the UVSL [1071], 6 f., 24 × 3.5 cm, 10 lines per page, worm-eaten and crumbling. Complete: text only and colophon. Inconsistent line split by dot, *scriptio continua*.
- C11 palm-leaf ms. from the UVSL [1072] 36 f., 35 × 3 cm, 6–7 lines per page, some holes. Complete: title folio, stanza and text + comm. by Parimēlaḷakar and colophon. Marginal intertitles with temple name, *scriptio continua*.
- C12 palm-leaf ms. from the UVSL [1073] 4 f., 33 × 3 cm, 6 lines per page, three columns, worm-eaten and crumbling. Incomplete: stanza + text ll. 1–70. Marginal intertitles with temple name and metre.
- C13 palm-leaf ms. from the UVSL [1167/1467] of the 11th Tirumurai, 4 f., 32 × 3.5 cm, 8–10 lines per page, worm-eaten with breaking margins. Complete text only with stanza (m.t. *Nakkīratēvar aruḷi ceyta Tirumurukārruppaṭai*) (preceded by Nakkīratēvar’s *Pōṛṇit Tirukkalivenpā*, followed by Tirukaṇṇappatēvar’s *Tirumaṇam*). Traditional script, *scriptio continua*. Marginal intertitles (*pratika* type). Final title colophon (p. 284:8: *naṅkīratēvar aruḷic ceytat tirumurukārruppaṭai muṛṛum.*).
- C14 palm-leaf ms. from the UVSL [1169/1464] of the 11th Tirumurai, 95 f. (discontinuous numbering), 22 × 3.5 cm, 10–11 lines per page, slightly worm-eaten. Complete: text only, marginal intertitles with temple name (pp. 153–167; marginal title: *naṅkīra[tē]var aruḷic ceytat tirumurukārrup[pa]ṭai tirupparanṅunṇam*). Traditional script, *scriptio continua*.
- G1 palm-leaf ms. from the GOML [D.1199/TD.76] 3 f., 36 × 3.5 cm, 9 lines per page, 2 columns, good condition, though uneven margins. Incomplete: 2 stanzas + text only ll. 1–77. Line split.
- G2 palm-leaf ms. from the GOML [R.1236/TD.939] 24 f., 33 × 4 cm, 11–12 lines per page, in disorder (beginning on f. 23); very dense, very good condition. Complete text + comm. by Nacc. and colophon. *Scriptio continua*.
- G3 palm-leaf ms. from the GOML [D.1195/TD.316/D.525] 17 f., 14 × 3.5 cm,

- 9 lines per page. Complete: stanza + text only. Inconsistent line split by dot, unprofessional writing.
- G4 palm-leaf ms. from the GOML [D.1196/TD.583] 7 f., 22.5 × 3 cm, 10 lines per page, partly holes and broken margins. Part of a composite mss.: ff. 1–43 *Tiruvakuppu*, then ff. 5–11 incomplete: stanza, text ll. 1–286. Both modern and old form of *r*, special form of intervocalic *ai*.
- G5 palm-leaf ms. from the GOML [D.1197/TD.584] 21 f., 22 × 3 cm, 2 columns (sometimes one block between the holes of the folio plus marginal intertitle), some broken margins. Complete: text only + 6 stanzas (f. 16a–18ab), followed by unidentified text with marginal title f. 19: *cuppiramaṇiyar pēril-v varumurukārruppaṭai*. Marginal intertitles giving the temple names, line split, partial *cīr* split. Both modern and old form of *r* and ligature for *ṭṭ*.
- G6 palm-leaf ms. from the GOML [R.1269/TR.964] 20 f., 14 lines per page, 28 × 4.5 cm, very worm-eaten. Complete: stanza + text + comm. by Nacc. and colophon. Marginal intertitles with temple names, *scriptio continua*.
- G7 palm-leaf ms. from the GOML [R.5253] 6 f., 26.5 × 3 cm, 10–11 lines per page, worm-eaten. Complete: stanza + text only. Line split by hyphen.
- G8 palm-leaf ms. from the GOML [R.2865/TR.1635] 33 f., 41 × 3 cm, 6 lines per page, worm-eaten. Complete: text + comm. by Nacc., *scriptio continua*. GOML R. cat., vol. XI, p. 3216: “Presented in 1951–52 by Sri K. Shanmugam, Kumarakkuppam, South Arcot district.” Marginal intertitles for the subdivisions of the work (temple name for part 1, the just number of the part).
- G9 palm-leaf ms. from the GOML [R.2688/TR.1506] 73 f., 23 × 3.5 cm, 7 lines per page, badly worm-eaten, partly broken margins, many blank pages. Incomplete: text + unidentified comm. Begins with an explanation of the title (f. 1–4) and ends with a colophon + 7 stanzas. Marginal intertitles with temple names, modern script with *pulli*-s, double *kompū*, but no closed *kāl*, modern *r*.
- G10 palm-leaf ms. from the GOML [R.2806/TR.1588] 14 f., 19 × 3.5 cm, 7. lines per page, good condition. Incomplete: title folio, text 1–58 + comm. by Nacc.; *scriptio continua*, unprofessional writing.
- G11 palm-leaf ms. from the GOML [R.5184/TR.2303] 56 f., 18.5 × 3 cm, 10 lines per page, worm-eaten and partly crumbling margins. Complete: 2 stanzas + text + comm. by Mallaiyūrka Kuḷantaikkavirācaṇ (end of comm. + col. missing). Marginal intertitles with temple names, unprofessional writing.
- G12 palm-leaf ms. from the GOML [R.2929/TR.1669] 7 f., 30 × 3 cm, 9–10 lines per page, very badly worm-eaten, 2 f. partly broken away. Incomplete: stanza + text ll. 1–280. Marginal intertitles with temple names, *scriptio continua*.
- G13 palm-leaf ms. from the GOML [R.2970/TR.1679] 16 f., 26 × 2.5 cm, 6 lines

- per page, some holes, but good condition. Complete: 6 + 1 = 7 stanzas + text only and colophon up to f. 11, 4 f. of ancillary material (list of temple names, 20 stanzas, *tirumurukāṛruppa[ṭ]aiyārum veṇṇākālitturai*, followed by text to be identified). Marginal intertitles with temple names, line split by dots, modern *r*.
- G14 palm-leaf ms. from the GOML [R.5503/TR.2435] 13 f., 11 × 4 cm, 12 lines per page, quite worm-eaten but on the whole legible. Complete: stanza + text. Part of a multiple text manuscript of 173 folios (= f. 142–154). Fully modernised script with line split by hyphen.
- TT1 palm-leaf from the TAM [201] 21 f., 36.5 × 3.5 cm, 10 lines per page, numbered from 1–43. Complete: stanza (*kāppu*) + text + comm. by Nacc. + 9 stanzas, marginal title with temple names, *scriptio continua*, traditional script. Followed by TT2 (common title folio), followed by *Taṇikaiyāṛruppaṭai* (wooden cover).
- TT2 palm-leaf from the TAM [201a] 23 f., 36.5 × 3.5 cm, 9 lines per page, numbered from 44–89; continuation of TT1. Complete: stanza (*kāppu*) and text plus comm. by Parimēlaḷakar; scribal colophon. *Scriptio continua*, transitional script with modern *r*.
- T1 palm-leaf ms. from ORIML Trivandrum [6272] 16 f., size unknown, 4 lines per page, unnumbered and in disorder. Incomplete: title folio (with date), text only lines 1–149. Marginal titles with temple names, split line-wise with last letter indented to the right margin.
- T2 palm-leaf ms. from ORIML Trivandrum [4108] 121 f., size unknown, 6 lines per page, badly worm-eaten and partly broken margins. Complete: title folio with stanza, text + two stanzas and colophon (20 folios). Marginal intertitles with temple names and *pratika*, line split by hyphen/dot, traditional script. Followed by 99 folios of comm. by Nacc. with traditional and scribal colophon, dated to 988 Kollam (= 1812/13 C. E.).
- T3 palm-leaf ms. from ORIML Trivandrum [6389] 65 f., size unknown, 8 lines per page, right part of the first 7 leaves and left part of the last 4 leaves badly damaged. Complete: stanza + text + comm. by Nacc. and colophon with apparently 7 stanzas. Marginal intertitles with temple names, *scriptio continua*, traditional script.
- T4 palm-leaf ms. from ORIML Trivandrum [8849A] 16 f., size unknown, two columns with 6 lines per page, good condition. Complete: 2 folios with history of the text and *kuṛippurai*, stanza + text only and colophon. Transitional script with modern *r*, line split with last letter indented to the right of the column.
- T5 palm-leaf ms. from ORIML Trivandrum [11500] 24 f., size unknown, 5 lines per page, partly badly damaged left margin. Complete: stanza (1f.), text

(21f.) + 6 (?) stanzas (2f.). Marginal intertitles with temple names, line split by hyphen, conservative script.

- TU1 palm-leaf ms. from TU Tañcāvūr [2391] 10 f., size unknown, 10 lines per page, good condition. Incomplete: 1–263, stanza + text only. Marginal intertitles with temple names except once (*pratīka* type). Inconsistent modern script with *puḷḷi* and double *kompū*, *scriptio continua*.
- TU2 palm-leaf ms. from TU Tañcāvūr [2522-1] 9 f., size unknown, 6 lines per page, margins damaged. Complete: *kāppu* + text + 6 stanzas. Completely modern script, but *scriptio continua*.
- TU3 palm-leaf ms. from TU Tañcāvūr [2522-2] 37 f., size unknown, 9 lines per page, damaged. Complete: text plus seemingly an abridged version of Parimēlaḷakar's commentary. Transitional script with modern *r*, but no *puḷḷi* or vowel distinction, *scriptio continua*.
- SM1 palm-leaf ms. from MSSML [227] 25 f. + 6 pieces, 35.5 × 3 cm, 7 lines per page, very brittle and worm-eaten, margins partly broken away. Incomplete, stanza + comm. by Nacc. (up to beginning of comm. ad *aṭi* 184). *Scriptio continua*, transitional script with double-bow *r*.
- SM2 palm-leaf ms. from MSSML [823b] 32 f., 23 × 3.2 cm, 7 lines per page, good condition, legible. Multiple text ms.: 3 title f., *Pañcarattaṇṇatirupukaḷ* (6 f.), *kāppu* + *TMAP* text complete + 2 stanzas, marginal intertitles with temple names (11 f.), *Kaṇṭar Kalivenṇā* (10 f.). *Scriptio continua*, transitional script with modern *r*.
- SM3 palm-leaf ms. from MSSML [973] 32 f., 29.5 × 4 cm, 12 lines per page, worm-eaten with crumbling margins, but legible. Title f. + stanza, text compl. + comm. by Nacc. + 4 f. of glossary. *Scriptio continua*, transitional script with modern *r* and double *kompū*.
- SM4 palm-leaf ms. from MSSML [1587b] 91 f., 29.5 × 3.5 cm, 10 lines per page, brittle and worm-eaten, first folio crumbled. Multiple text ms. with *Cauntariya Laharī* (75 f.) and *TMAP* (15 f.), incomplete + comm. by Nacc. *Scriptio continua*, traditional script.
- SM5 palm-leaf ms. from MSSML [1607c] 129 f., 19.5 × 2.5 cm, 9 lines per page, worm-eaten, but stable. Multiple text ms. with *Viruttakirip Purāṇam* (110 f.), *TMAP* (14 f.), text only, complete + 2 stanzas + colophon (f15b2: *nakkīratevar aruḷic ceyta tirumurukār[rupp]ṭai murrum.*), marginal intertitles with temple names. unidentified (5 f.). *Scriptio continua*, traditional script.
- SM6 palm-leaf ms. MSSML [689e] 24 × 3.5 cm too damaged to copy
- SM7 palm-leaf ms. MSSML [803c] 24 × 3 cm too damaged to copy
- SM8 palm-leaf ms. MSSML [1282b] 31 × 3.5 cm too damaged to copy
- A1 palm-leaf ms. from AUL [860] 37 f., 18.7 × 3.3 cm, 9 lines per page, damaged and ink nearly gone. Complete (22f.): *kāppu* + text only. Marginal intertitles

- with temple names. Copy from edition dated to *piramāṭica va. mārkaḷi mā.* (= 1853–54/1913–14 C. E.). Followed by unidentified text (14 f.)
- I1 palm-leaf ms. from IFP Pondy [RE-4420] 21 f., 22 × 4 cm, 6 lines per page, very good condition. Complete: text only lines 1–317, but blank folios occasionally in between the different parts of the text, colophon with stanza (f. 17a), word list (f. 17b) + four stanzas (f. 19a–20b). Marginal titles with temple names, modern script with *puḷḷi* and vowel length, line break by hyphen, partly even half-line break.
- I2 palm-leaf ms. from IFP Pondy [RE-25365] 132 f., 18 × 3 cm, 6 lines per page. Copied from the edition of Ārumukaṇāvalar (m.t.: *pirapantavaralāru*). Complete: text + comm. by Ārumukaṇāvalar, colophon at the end of each subdivision, + unidentified text (f. 119a–124b), with marginal intertitle (f. 119a: *itaṇ tutārpariyam*) and end colophon + 7 stanzas (f. 125a–126b). Marginal intertitles with temple names, modern script with *puḷḷi* and vowel marks, *scriptio continua*.
- I3 palm-leaf ms. from IFP Pondy [RE-45898e] 11 f. in a composite ms. of 60 f. (discontinuous numbering and varying size), 28 × 2.5 cm, 6–7 lines per page. Complete: text only and colophon. Line split by hyphen, modern characters, but no *puḷḷi*.
- I4 palm-leaf ms. from IFP Pondy [RE-47681] 49 f. in a composite ms. of 128 f., 25 × 3 cm, 6 lines per page, badly damaged up to f. 11 (right quarter of the leaves missing). Complete: title folio + text + comm. by Nacc. + 10 stanzas and colophon, dated to 982 va° (Kollam = 1806/7 C. E.). Marginal *pratika* intertitles. Traditional script.
- I5 palm-leaf ms. from IFP Pondy [RE-47752] 53 f. in composite ms. of 243 f., 40 × 2.5 cm, 5 lines per page, dilapidated margins, especially on the right. Complete: folio with stanza, text + comm. by Nacc. and colophon, followed by *Kāñcipurāṇam*. *Scriptio continua*, transitional script with modern *ṛ*.
- NL1 Kolkatta palm-leaf ms. [3092] not yet copied
- NL2 Kolkatta palm-leaf ms. [3152] not yet copied
- P1 palm-leaf mss. BN Paris [66] 36 f. (1–19+34), 3.60 × 3 cm, three columns (text left, commentary middle and right). Complete: 2 stanzas + text + comm. by Parimēlaḷakar. Marginal titles with temple names. Around 1830 C. E. according to Vinson (1867: 21). Cabaton repeats Vinson.
- P2 palm-leaf mss. BN Paris [67] 40 f., 3.6 × 3 cm, 6 lines per page. Complete: text + comm. by Nacc.; marginal titles with temple names; colophon with date (*cupāḷṇu*) *va. cittirai mā.* 22 = 1823/24 C. E.). Vinson (1867: 21) seems to have further information as he gives a date “30 avril 1763.”
- P3 palm-leaf mss. BN Paris [28] 5 f. (= ff. 314–318), size unknown, 11 lines per page; dated by Vinson to 1867 C. E.. Complete: stanza + text only +

four stanzas as No. 46 in a collective manuscript of 59 texts (359 ff.), end missing. Transitional script without *puḷli* and double *kompu*, but *kāl* distinction and modern *r*.

Porunarārruppaṭai: 5 (4/1) (not copied: NL)

- C1 palm-leaf ms. from the UVSL [1074] see above. Complete with traditional colophon and three Veṇpās (p. 114, l. 10 f.: *muṭattāmakkaṇṇiyār pāṭiya porunarārruppaṭai muṛrum. aḷakiya tiruccirampalam eḷuttu. kuruvē tuṇai. naṇṛāka.*)
- C2 palm-leaf ms. from the UVSL [579-B(=A)] see above. Complete with traditional colophon (p. 29, l. 2 f. *eṇpataṇār piṇṇar avaṇāci ākavum varateṇa veṇṇuṇāka porunarārruppaṭaikk’ āciriyaṇ pāratuvāci naccinārkkiniyāṇ ceyta v-urai muṭintatu itu karikār peruvaḷattānai muṭattāmak kaṇṇiyār pāṭiya atu muṛrum. śric ceyam/śrī rā[ma]ceyam ‡.*)
- C3 palm-leaf ms. from the UVSL [231a; part of a serial ms. with *Iraiyaṇār Akapporuḷ, Ilakkaṇakkottu, Perumpāṇārruppaṭai*] 13 folios, 43 × 3 cm, 9 lines per page, very well preserved, but reflecting, densely written and hard to read. European page numbers 1–26. According to marginal title, text with Naccinārkkiniyar’s commentary; complete with traditional colophon (p. 26, l. 3 f.: *porunarārruppaṭaikk’ āciriyaṇ pāratuvāci naccinārkkiniyāṇ ceyta v-urai muṭintatu – itu karikārperuvaḷattānē muṭattāmakkaṇṇiyār pāṭiyatu muṛrum – iḷtu mayilai aṇṇācāmi y-upāṭtiyā[l e]ḷutiyatu – civamayam*). Traditional script without *puḷli*-s or distinction between *e/ē*, *o/ō*, *ā/ra*, but modern characters for the *r* series, *scriptio continua*.
- NL palm-leaf ms. NLK [3112] not yet copied
- G1 paper ms. from the GOML [D.268 = D.120/TP.47] see above. Complete with traditional colophon (p. 43: *porunarārruppaṭaikk’ āciriyaṇ pāratuvāci. naccinārkkiniyāṇ ceyta v-urai muṭintatu. itu karikārperuvaḷattānai muṭittāmak kaṇṇiyār pāṭiyatu murrirru.*)

Cirupāṇārruppaṭai: 10 (8/2) (not copied: NL)

- C1 palm-leaf ms. from the UVSL [1074] see above. Complete with traditional colophon and two Veṇpās (p. 158, l. 9 ff.: *iṭaikkaḷināṭṭu nallūr naṛṇattāṇār pāṭiya cirupāṇārruppaṭaikk’ āciriyaṇ pāratuvāci naccinārkkiniyāṇ ceyta v-urai muṭintatu*).
- C2 palm-leaf ms. from the UVSL [184-A] see above. Complete with traditional colophon and two Veṇpās (p. 20, l. 3 f.: *eṛumā nalliyak koṭaṇai*

- yīṭaikkaḷināṭṭu nallūr narrattanār pāṭiya cīrupāṇārrupaṭai murrum. kuruvē tuṇai vēlē tuṇai.*)
- C3 palm-leaf ms. from the UVSL [579-A(=B)] see above. Complete with traditional colophon (p. 58, l. 4f.: *cīrupāṇārruk' ācīriyaṇ pāratuvāci naccīṇārkkīṇiṇyāṇ ceyta v-urai muṭintatu murrum. cōkkaṇ tuṇai aṇkayaṇkaṇṇammai tuṇai*)
- C4 palm-leaf ms. from the UVSL [1070; according to UVSL catalogue second copy of 579-A] with Naccīṇārkkīṇiṇyār's commentary, 17 folios, 38 × 3.5 cm, 9–10 lines per page, well preserved and legible. European page numbers 1–33 (im. with pages 30, 32 and 34 missing). Incomplete: beginning with line 11 up to the end, but cut off in the comm. on the last line. Traditional script without *pulli*-s or distinction between *e/ē*, *o/ō*, *ā/ra*, but modern characters for the *r* series, *scriptio continua*.
- C5 palm-leaf ms. from the UVSL [41-C = No 4 in a composite ms. after *Cit-amparac Ceyyūṭkōvai*, *Tolkāppiyam Iḷampūraṇam* and *Pirayōka Vivēkam*] text with Naccīṇārkkīṇiṇyār's commentary, 20 folios, 46 × 3.25 cm, 9 lines per page, very well preserved and legible. European page numbers from 1–38 plus 1 blank folio. Complete with traditional colophon (p. 37, l. 8f.: *cīrupāṇārruppaṭaikk' ācīriyaṇ pāratuvāci naccīṇārkkīṇiṇyāṇ ceyta v-urai muṭintatu murrum. itai mayilai aṇṇācuvāmi y-upāṭṭiyāl eluṭiyatē y-ām.*). Traditional script without *pulli*-s or distinction between *e/ē*, *o/ō*, *ā/ra*, but modern characters for the *r* series, *scriptio continua*.
- C6 palm-leaf ms. from the UVSL [285] 4 folios, 44 × 3 cm, 4 columns of 8–9 lines, glossy and very well preserved, legible. European page numbers 1–6. Incomplete: 1–163 (marginal title: *cīrupāṇārruppaṭai mūlam*; unidentified non-*Caṅkam* continuation from p. 5, c. 4, l. 6 onwards; break marked in blue). Traditional script without *pulli*-s or distinction between *ā/ra*, but modern characters for the *r* series and distinction for *e/ē*, *o/ō*, *scriptio continua*, but arranged line-wise.
- C7 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [166; followed by *Perumpāṇārruppaṭai*] 1 folio, 45 × 3 cm, 9 lines per page, slightly blurred, very well preserved and but legible. Fragment: two Venpās + traditional colophon (p. 1, ll. 1–3: *ōymānāṭṭu nalliyakkōṭaṇai y-iṭaikkaḷināṭṭu nallūr narrattanār pāṭiyatu.*). Traditional script without *pulli*-s or distinction between *e/ē*, *o/ō*, *ā/ra*, but modern characters for the *r* series, *scriptio continua*.
- NL palm-leaf ms. NLK [3112] not yet copied
- G1 paper ms. from the GOML [D.266 = D.120/TP.47] see above. Complete with traditional colophon (p. 71: *cīrupāṇārukk' ācīriyaṇ pāratuvāci naccīṇārkkīṇiṇyāṇ ceyta v-urai murriṇu.*)

- G2 paper ms. from the GOML [D.74? = D.120/TP.47] see above. Fragment: 235a–269 without traditional colophon, but with the first of two Veṇṇpās.

Perumpāṇārrupaṭai: 9 (6/3) (not copied: NL)

- C1 palm-leaf ms. from the UVSL [1074] see above. Complete with traditional colophon and Veṇṇpā (p. 280, l. 8: *perumpāṇārrukkup pārattuvāci naccinārkkiṇiyāṇ ceyta v-urai muṭintatu – toṇṭaimāṇ ilantiraiyaṇaik kaṭiyalūr uruttiraṇ kaṇṇār pāṭiya perumpāṇārrupaṭai – alakiya tiruccirṇampalam eḷuttu.*)
- C2 palm-leaf ms. from the UVSL [184-B] see above. Complete with traditional colophon and Veṇṇpā (p. 41, l. 7f.: *toṇṭaimāṇ ilantiraiyaṇaik kaṭiyalūr uruttiraṇ kaṇṇār pāṭiya perumpāṇārrupaṭai murṛum. cuppira[ma] ṇi#####[ku]ruvē tuṇai*)
- C3 palm-leaf ms. from the UVSL [579-B] see above. Complete with traditional colophon (p. 114, l. 4f.: *perumpāṇārrukk' ācīriyaṇ pārattuvāci naccinārkkiṇiyāṇ ceytu v-urai murṛum.* [grantha:] śubham astu. śrīr astu. vāṇi namaḥ. śāntir astu. a[v]ighnam astu. vāsi devi sahāyam uṇṭākavum.)
- C4 palm-leaf ms. from the UVSL [231c; part of a serial ms. with *Iraiyāṇār Akapporuḷ, Porunarārrupaṭai, Ilakkaṇakkottu*] 9 folios, 43 × 3 cm, set in 4 columns, 6–8 lines per column, very well preserved, but reflecting, densely written and hard to read. Tamil folio numbers in black 1–9, European page numbers in blue 1–15. Incomplete: 1–480. Traditional script without *puḷḷi*-s or distinction between *e/ē*, *o/ō*, *ā/ra*, but modern characters for the *r* series, *scriptio continua*, but set in lines.
- C5 palm-leaf ms. from the UVSL [166 relic of a serial *Pattuppāṭṭu* ms.: preceded by Veṇṇpā and colophon of *Cirupāṇārrupaṭai* and followed erratically by *Maturaikkāñci*] text with Naccinārkkiṇiyar's commentary, 30 folios, 45 × 3 cm, 9 lines per page, slightly blurred, very well preserved and but legible. European page numbers 1–56, two blank folios. Complete: marginal title with traditional colophon (p. 57, l. 6: *perumpāṇārrukk' ācīriyaṇ pārattuvāci naccinārkkiṇiyāṇ ceyta v-urai murṛum.*). Traditional script without *puḷḷi*-s or distinction between *e/ē*, *o/ō*, *ā/ra*, but modern characters for the *r* series, *scriptio continua*.
- NL palm-leaf ms. NLK [3112] not yet copied
- G1a+c paper ms. from the GOML [D.267 = D.120/TP.47] see above. Incomplete: 291.6–500 (pp. 1–6) with traditional colophon and Veṇṇpā (p. 6: *toṇṭaimāṇ ilantiraiyaṇaik kaṭiyalūr uruttiraṇ kaṇṇār pāṭiya perumpāṇārrupaṭai – murṛiru.*) Beginning follows ibid. on pp. 282–291 (1–290b).

- G1b paper ms. from the GOML [? = D.120/TP.47] see above. Complete with traditional colophon (p. 119: *perumpāṇārrukk' āciriyaṇ pāratuvāci naccinārkkiniyāṇ ceyta v-urai murrirru.*)

Mullaippāṭṭu: 5 (4/1)

- C1 palm-leaf ms. from the UVSL [1074] see above. Complete with traditional colophon and two Veṇpās (p. 247, l.1 ff.: *kāvirippūmpaṭṭiṇattu ponvāṇikaṇār nappūtaṇār pāṭiṇa mullaikkup pāratuvāci naccinārkkiniyāṇ ceyta v-urai muṭintatu*)
- C2 palm-leaf ms. from the UVSL [184-C] see above. Complete with traditional colophon and Veṇpā (p. 46, l. 6 f.: *kāvirippūmpaṭṭittup ponvāṇikaṇār nappūtaṇār pāṭiya mullai murrum. aḷakiya tiruciṇṇampalam.*)
- C3 palm-leaf ms. from the UVSL [579-C] see above. Complete with traditional colophon and Veṇpā (p. 129, l. 3 ff.: *mullaikku pāratuvāci naccinārkkiniyāṇ ceyta v-urai muṭintatu. itu nappūtaṇār pāṭiyatu. mullaippāṭṭu murrum.* [grantha:] śubham astu. śrīr astu. śāntir astu.)
- NL palm-leaf ms. NLK [3112] not yet copied
- G1 paper ms. from the GOML [D.234 = D.120/TP.47] see above. Complete with traditional colophon (p. 120: *itu napaṭitaṇār pāṭiyatu. mullaippāṭṭu murrirru.*)

Maturaikkañci: 5 (4/1)

- C1 palm-leaf ms. from the UVSL [1074] see above. Complete with traditional colophon (p. 372, l. 7 f.: *talaiyālaṅkāṇattuc ceruveṇṇa pāṇṭiya neṭuñceliyaṇai māṇkuṭi marutaṇār pāṭiya maturaikkañcikk' āciriyaṇ pāratuvāci naccinārkkiniyāṇ ceyta v-urai muṭintatu.*)
- C2 palm-leaf ms. from the UVSL [184-D] see above. Complete with traditional colophon and Veṇpā (p. 80, l. 6 f.: *pāṇṭiya# talaiyālaṅkāṇattuc ceruveṇṇa neṭuñceliyaṇai māṇkuṭi marutaṇār pāṭiya maturaikkañci mur[rum].*)
- C3 palm-leaf ms. from the UVSL [579-D] see above. Complete with traditional colophon and two Veṇpās (p. 220, l. 1 ff.: *talaiyālaṅkāṇattuc ceruveṇṇa pāṇṭiya neṭuñceliyaṇai māṇkuṭi marutaṇār pāṭiya maturaikkañcikk' āciriyaṇ pāratuvāci naccinārkkiniyāṇ ceyta v-urai muṭintatu murrum.*)
- C4 palm-leaf ms. from the UVSL [166-A relic of a serial *Pattuppāṭṭu* ms. second erratic batch of 166, *Perumpāṇārruppaṭai*; fragment of *Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram* 60 (= *Purattiṇaiyiyal* 5) on pp.58/59] text with Naccinārkkiniyar's commentary, 33 folios, 45 × 3 cm, 9 lines per page, slightly blurred, very well preserved and but legible. European page

numbers 58–124. Incomplete: marginal title (p. 60: *maturaikkāñci, pāratuvaci naccinārkkiniyāṇ urai*) 1–648. Traditional script without *puḷḷi*-s or distinction between *e/ē*, *o/ō*, *ā/ra*, but modern characters for the *r* series, *scriptio continua*.

- G1 paper ms. from the GOML [D.120 = D.120/TP.47] fragment: 42d–148a; see above.

Neṭunalvāṭai: 3 (3)

- C1 palm-leaf ms. from the UVSL [1074] see above. Complete with traditional colophon (p. 414, l. 1: *[neṭuñ]celiyaṇai nakkīrar pāṭiya neṭunalvāṭaikku āciriyaṇ pāratuvāci [nac]cinārkkiniyāṇ/r ceyta v-urai muṭintatu*.)
- C2 palm-leaf ms. from the UVSL [184-E] see above. Complete with traditional colophon (p. 91, l. 6f.: *talaiyalaṅkāṇattuc ceruveṇṇra neṭuñceliyaṇaik kaṇakkāyaṇār makaṇār nakkīrar pāṭiya neṭunalvāṭai murrum. naṇṇāka kuruvē tuṇai vēlē tuṇai mākkavallipātamē tuṇai āticcakkuṭṭiyaṇṇāvi(?) pātamē tuṇai*.)
- C3 palm-leaf ms. from the UVSL [579-E] see above. Complete with traditional colophon and Veṇṇpā (p. 240, l. 5ff.: *ippāṭṭu talaiyalaṅkāṇatu ceruveṇṇra neṭuñceliyaṇ maṇṇacaivār ceṇṇu perutal iṇippōr vañciyāliṇ vañcikk’ ik korṛavai nilaiyu nilaiyuṇmaiṇiṇ korṛavaiyai veṇṇip poruṭṭup paravutal kūṇiṇār. atu pālaittiṇaik. korṛaliṇ neṭunalvāṭaikku pāratuvāci naccinārkkiniyāṇ ceyta v-urai muṭintutu. pāṇṭiyaṇ (n)etuñceliyaṇē maturaik kaṇakkāyaṇār makaṇ [n]akkīraṇār pāṭiyatu ... kumara kuru pācāvaṇaipavar tuṇai*.)

Kuṇṇippāṭṭu: 2 (2)

- C1 palm-leaf ms. from the UVSL [184-F] see above. Complete with marginal title: *peruṇkuṇṇi*, traditional colophon and two Veṇṇpās (p. 107, l. 5f.: *āriyavācaṇa pīramatattāṇai tamīḷ aṇivittarkuk kamalar pāṭiya peruṇkuṇṇi murrum. vēlē tuṇai kuruvē tuṇai mākatavallipātātē tuṇai*).
- C2 palm-leaf ms. from the UVSL [579-E(1)] see above. Complete with traditional colophon and two Veṇṇpās (p. 268, l. 10: *iḷṭ’ āriyavācaṇ pīratattāṇai tamīḷ aṇivittarkuk kapilar pāṭiyatu. kuṇṇi murrum. kuruvē tuṇai*)

Paṭṭiṇappālai: 3 (2/1)

- C1 palm-leaf ms. from the UVSL [184-F(2)] see above. Complete with traditional colophon and Veṇṇpā (p. 118, l. 6f.: *cōḷaṇ karikārperuvalattāṇaik*

- kaṭṭiyālūr uruttiraṇ kaṇ[ṇaṇā]r pāṭiya paṭṭiṇappālai murrum. naṇṛāka kuruvē tuṇai pākataavalli pātamē tuṇai cuppiramaṇiyaṇ muṇṇirka vēṇum.)*
- C2 palm-leaf ms. from the UVSL [579-F] see above. Complete with traditional colophon and Veṇpā (p. 299, l. 7: *paṭṭiṇappālaikk’ ācīriyaṇ pāratuvāci naccīṇārkkīṇiāṇ ceyta v-urai muṭintatu ... cōlaṇ karikār peruvaḷattāṇaik kaṭṭiyālūr uruttiraṇ kaṇ[ṇaṇā]r pāṭiya paṭṭiṇappālai murrum.)*
- G1 paper ms. from the GOML [D.232 = D.120/TP.47] see above. Complete with traditional colophon and Veṇpā (p. 199f.: *paṭṭiṇappālaikk’ ācīriyaṇ pāratuvāci naccīṇārkkīṇiāṇ ceyta v-urai muṭintatu ... cōlaṇ karikārperuvaḷattonai kaṭṭiyālūr uruttiraṇ kaṇṇār pāṭiya paṭṭiṇappālai murrum.)*

Malaipaṭukaṭām: 3 (2/1)

- C1 palm-leaf ms. from the UVSL [184-G] see above. Incomplete: ending with line 537d.
- C2 palm-leaf ms. from the UVSL [579-G] see above. Complete with traditional colophon and Veṇpā (p. 363, l. 9 + p. 364, l. 1ff.: *kūttarār[ru]p[pa]ṭaikk’ ācīriyaṇ pāratuvāci naccīṇārkkīṇiāṇ ceyta v-urai muṭintatu ... veḷa ṇaṇṇaṇcey naṇṇaṇaik kavucikaṇār pāṭiya kūttarār[ru]ppaṭai murrum. [grantha:] śubham astu.)*
- G1 paper ms. from the GOML [D.269 = D.120/TP.47] see above. Complete with traditional colophon, Veṇpā and a longer stanza (p. 280f.: *kūtt[ar] āruppaṭaikk’ ācīriyaṇ pāratuvāci naccīṇārkkīṇiāṇ ceyta v-urai muṭintatu ... veḷ naṇṇaṇcey naṇṇaṇaik kavucikaṇār pāṭiya kūttarār[ru]ppaṭai murrum ...)*

II.2 Manuscripts Reported in Catalogues and Editions

Catalogues are an obvious source of information about the number and whereabouts of manuscripts. Descriptive catalogues exist only for the UVSL, the GOML, the MSSML and the TAM library. Above the library level there is one descriptive catalogue (Hikosaka/Samuel 1980–98) with four volumes on the manuscripts of the UVSL (copied from that library’s catalogue), two volumes for the TAM library (based on their hand list), three volumes for the Institute of Asian Studies and one for the Central Research Institute for Siddha (both of the latter not containing any *Caṅkam* manuscripts). The GOML, TU and MSSML possess descriptive catalogues they have compiled themselves. The other libraries that hold classical texts have either printed catalogues with minimal information (often not available outside the library itself), such the libraries at Aṇṇāmalai University

and Trivandrum University and the National Library in Kolkatta, or hand lists. The international libraries do not do much better, although the British Library in London has its descriptive catalogue online. The hand list and the catalogue-in-progress of the IFP are also online. The Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris has a small published catalogue (Cabaton 1912) of its Tamil collection, as well as unpublished more elaborate notes for about a third of the collection and hand lists containing some additional material. The one work resembling a *catalogus catalogorum* is the *Computerised International Catalogue of Tamil Palmleaf Manuscripts* (Chellamuthu et al. 1989–91), in five volumes, which collects and condenses the information that can be found in the catalogues of the larger libraries.

What almost all of these sources have in common is their uneven relationship with physical reality. Cases abound of manuscripts being unavailable, texts being misidentified, and of discrepancies between the larger catalogues and the lists in the actual libraries. The efforts that have been made to record the material has been devoted predominantly to the palm-leaf manuscripts. Neither of the transregional catalogues include paper manuscripts, nor do most of the printed library catalogues, with the exception of the UVSL and the GOML. Elsewhere at best they have found entry into the libraries' hand lists. Accordingly, in the following I give the lists of *Caṅkam* palm-leaf manuscripts according to the various catalogue sources. A small check after the shelf mark signifies that the manuscript has been digitised¹⁰⁸ by the *Caṅkam* project team.

II.2.1 Catalogues

II.2.1.1 Computerised International Catalogue of Tamil Palmleaf Manuscripts

Eṭṭuttokai

Caṅkacceyyuḷ: AUL [44572] √ {= *KT* 2 + *PN*}

Caṅkacceyyuḷ: GOML [2257] (2f.?) √

Eṭṭuttokai: TVM [77] {*AN*, *AiN*, *Pati*} √

Akanāṇūru

TVM [77b (= 77a)] √

NLK [3141] √

UVSL [1075/2232] √

108 In some rare cases the library would only consent to giving a photocopy on paper that was then scanned.

UVSL [227 = 28] ✓
 UVSL [228 = 107] ✓
 UVSL [229 = 297] ✓
 UVSL [230 = 292] ✓
 UVSL [231 = 394] {glosses, not text} ✓

Aiṅkuraṇūru

TVM [77c (= 77b)] ✓
 UVSL [221 = 173] ✓

Kalittokai

UVSL [511/224] ✓
 UVSL [5/225] ✓
 UVSL [73H/226] ✓
 GOML [5075 = R.2075/TR.2229] ✓
 GOML [225 = D.210/TD.127] ✓
 Sri Venkateswara University, Tiruppati [9703] {not found}

Kuraṇtokai

AUL [44600] {not found and not entered in the Aṇṇāmalai catalogue}
 UVSL [2233/1075] ✓
 TVM [77a] {not found}
 GOML [224] ✓ {= paper ms.}

Narriṇai

AUL [44601] {not found and not entered in the Aṇṇāmalai catalogue}
 UVSL [2234/1076] ✓

Paṭṭiruppattu

NLK [3087] {seen but not yet copied}
 UVSL [222 = 98a] ✓
 TVM [77c] ✓ {entered as *Paṭṭiruppāṭṭu* on page 458}
 UVSL [2235 = 1075] ✓ {entered as *Paṭṭiruppāṭṭu* on page 458}

Paripāṭal

TVM [75] ✓
 UVSL [223 = 242?] ✓
 UVSL [2236 = 1077] ✓

Puranāṇūru

AUL [44552] {not found}

TSA Tamil College Coimbatore [148] {not found}

Tamil University Thanjavur [606] ✓

ORIML Trivandrum [6417d] ✓

TVM [76] ✓

UVSL [232 = 707] ✓

UVSL [233 = 237] ✓

UVSL [234 = 940] ✓

UVSL [235 = 128] ✓

UVSL [236 = 96] ✓

UVSL [237 = 576] ✓

UVSL [238 = 549] ✓

UVSL [239 = 440] ✓

UVSL [240 = 35] ✓

Pattuppāṭṭu

ORIML Trivandrum [2315] {not found}

ORIML Trivandrum [2315b] {not found}

NLK [3112] {seen but not yet copied}

UVSL [2227 = 1074] ✓

UVSL [579] ✓

UVSL [184] ✓

Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai{UVSL [1074] ✓ (cf. *Pattuppāṭṭu*)}

UVSL [190 = 589-M] ✓

UVSL [191 = 548-A] ✓

UVSL [192 = 854] ✓

UVSL [193 = 416] ✓

UVSL [194 = 813-A] ✓

UVSL [195 = 892] ✓

UVSL [196 = 704] ✓

UVSL [197 = 743] ✓

UVSL [2229 = 1071] ✓

UVSL [2230 = 1073] ✓

{UVSL [2231 = 1072]} ✓

GOML [1195] ✓

GOML [1196] ✓

GOML [1197] ✓
 GOML [1198] {not found}
 GOML [1199] ✓
 GOML [1200] {not found}
 GOML [1236] ✓
 GOML [1296] ✓
 GOML [2688] ✓
 GOML [2806] ✓
 GOML [2865] ✓
 GOML [2929] ✓
 GOML [2970] ✓
 GOML [5503] ✓
 GOML [5585] {not found}
 GOML [5184] ✓
 GOML [5253] ✓
 ORIML Trivandrum [8849a] ✓
 ORIML Trivandrum [6272] ✓
 ORIML Trivandrum [6389] ✓
 ORIML Trivandrum 4108] ✓
 MSSML, Thanjavur [227] ✓
 MSSML, Thanjavur [689c] {= 689e; too damaged to copy}
 MSSML, Thanjavur [803c] {too damaged to copy}
 MSSML, Thanjavur [823b] ✓
 Tamil University Thanjavur [128] {not found}
 TSA Tamil College Coimbatore [62] {not found}
 TSA Tamil College Coimbatore [6] {not found}
 TVM [191c] {not found}
 TVM [201] ✓
 TVM [210] {not found}
 TVM [78] {not found}
 {the Catalogue of the Asian Institute lists TVM 201, 201a, 210, 210a, 236-zz}
 FIP, Pondicherry [4420] ✓
 FIP, Pondicherry [45898c] {= 45898e} ✓
 NLK [3092] {seen but not yet copied}
 NLK [3152] {seen but not yet copied}
 BN Paris [66] ✓
 BN Paris [67] ✓

Porunarāṇruppaṭai

UVSL [198 = 579] ✓

UVSL [199 = 231a] ✓

{UVSL [1074] ✓ (cf. *Pattuppāṭṭu*)}{NLK [3112] cf. *Pattuppāṭṭu*}*Cīrupāṇāruppaṭai*

UVSL [200 = 184-A] ✓

UVSL [201 = 285] ✓

UVSL [202 = 579-A] ✓

UVSL [2228 = 1070] ✓

UVSL [203 = 41-C] ✓

{UVSL [1074] ✓ cf. *Pattuppāṭṭu*}{NLK [3112] cf. *Pattuppāṭṭu*}*Perumpāṇāruppaṭai*

UVSL [204 = 184-B] ✓

UVSL [205 = 231c] ✓

UVSL [206 = 579-B] ✓

UVSL [207 = 166] ✓

{UVSL [1074] ✓ cf. *Pattuppāṭṭu*}{NLK [3112] cf. *Pattuppāṭṭu*}*Mullaippāṭṭu*

ORIML Trivandrum [11312] {not found}

UVSL [208 = 184-C] ✓

UVSL [209 = 579-C] ✓

{UVSL [1074] ✓ cf. *Pattuppāṭṭu*}{NLK [3112] cf. *Pattuppāṭṭu*}*Maturaikkāñci*

GOML [216] {not found}

UVSL [210 = 184-D] ✓

UVSL [211 = 579-D] ✓

UVSL [212 = 166-A] ✓

{UVSL [1074] ✓ cf. *Pattuppāṭṭu*}*Neṭunalvāṭai*

TSA Tamil College Coimbatore [148c] {not found}

UVSL [213 = 184-E] ✓

UVSL [214 = 579-E] ✓
 {UVSL [1074] ✓ cf. *Pattuppāṭṭu*}

Kuṛiñcippāṭṭu

TSA Tamil College Coimbatore [148b] {not found}
 UVSL [215 = 184-F] ✓
 UVSL [216 = 579-E(1)] ✓

Paṭṭinappālai

UVSL [217 = 184-F(2)] ✓
 UVSL [218 = 579-F] ✓

Malaikaṭukataṁ

UVSL [219 = 184-G] ✓
 UVSL [220 = 579-G] ✓

II.2.1.2 UVSL Catalogue

As is clear from the presentation of the Computerised International Catalogue, the catalogue of the UVSL (Cāminātaiyar 1956–62: *A Descriptive Catalogue of Tamil Manuscripts in Dr. V. Swaminathaiyar Library*, vols I, IV, V) for the most part conforms with reality. The only minor deviations are the contents of the *Akanāṇṇūru* manuscript [UVSL 292], specified by the catalogue as containing AN 1–155, while in fact it seems to contain a number of poems between AN 4 and 170 with old commentary, and mss. [UVSL 394], according to the catalogue “5 stanzas from AN with fuller notes written on them”, but just comprising glosses. Not mentioned at all in the catalogue is the fragmentary material, i.e. the tiny portion of the *Aiṅkuruṇūru* contained in the serial manuscript [UVSL 1075] and the colophon of *Ċirupāṇṇāruppaṭai* contained in [UVSL 166]. Similarly, *Akanāṇṇūru* [UVSL 1075] is described as incomplete, whereas in fact the second part of the last poem and the colophon are found in [UVSL 237] before the *Puraṇāṇūru*. The numerous paper manuscripts of the UVSL are included in vol. 5 of the catalogue.

II.2.1.3 GOML Catalogue (30 Vols)

One of the major problems when dealing with manuscripts from the GOML is the bewildering variety of initial shelf marks, no doubt explained by the fact that today’s collection is made up of many earlier smaller collections. The most common ones are D, R, TR, TD and TP, but there are also simple numbers. Often a manuscript carries several of these. In many cases the printed catalogues (begin-

ning with Raṅgācāryā/Kuppuswami Sastri/Subramanya Sastri 1912–39: *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Tamil Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras* for the D shelf markss, and Raṅgācāryā/Kuppuswami Sastri/Subramanya Sastri 1913–49: *A Triennial Catalogue of Manuscripts for the Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras* for the R shelf marks; continued under various titles and editors up to today) do not agree with the card index. In any case the catalogue usually gives only one number, with an occasional reference to an earlier D shelf mark (apparently the oldest part of the collection, mostly palm-leaf manuscripts, many of them extant today only in the form of paper copies made at the GOML). The descriptive catalogue in chapter II.1 simply lists all the numbers noted on the manuscripts and/or their covers. These are not always in concordance with the simple catalogue shelf marks, so that in some cases it is necessary to compare the properties listed in the older description.

AN	[D.201]	GOML D. cat., vol. I, p. 163	{misidentified as AN!}
	[R.5734] ✓	GOML R. cat., vol. XII, p. 4728	
	[R.5735] ✓	GOML R. cat., vol. XII, p. 4728	
	[R.5736] ✓	GOML R. cat., vol. XII, p. 4728	
	[R.6853]	GOML R. cat., vol. XIII, p. 442	{restored from R.5736}
KT	[D.224] ✓	GOML D. cat., vol. I, p. 181 f.	
	[R.5751] ✓	GOML R. cat., vol. XII, p. 4737	
	[R.5752]	GOML R. cat., vol. XII, p. 4738	{too damaged to copy}
	[R.7159] ✓	GOML R. cat., vol. XIII, p. 616 f.	{restored from R.5752}
NA	[D.231] ✓	GOML D. cat., vol. I, p. 187 f.	
	[R.5743] ✓	GOML R. cat., vol. XII, p. 4734	
	[R.5745] ✓	GOML R. cat., vol. XII, p. 4734	
	[R.5758] ✓	GOML R. cat., vol. XII, not available	
PN	[D.284] ✓	GOML D. cat., vol. I, p. 238 ff.	
	[R.8842] ✓	GOML R. cat., vol. XXIX, p. 74 f.	
AiN	[D.202] ✓	GOML D. cat., vol. I., p. 163 f.	
	[D.203] ✓	GOML D. cat., vol. I., p. 164	
Kali	[D.209] ✓	GOML D. cat., vol. I, p. 168 f.	
	[D.210] ✓	GOML D. cat., vol. I, p. 170	
	[D.211] ✓	GOML D. cat., vol. I, p. 171	
	[D.212] ✓	GOML D. cat., vol. I, p. 172	

- [R.5075] ✓ GOML R. cat., vol. XII not available
 [R.5754] ✓ GOML R. cat., vol. XII, p. 4738
 [R.5783] ✓ GOML R. cat., vol. XII not available
 [R.6843] ✓ GOML R. cat., vol. XIII, p. 436
- Pati* [D.114] ✓ GOML D. cat., vol. I, p. 92 f.
 [D.115] ✓ GOML D. cat., vol. I, p. 93
 [D.116] ✓ GOML D. cat., vol. I, p. 93
- Pattup.* [D.120] ✓ GOML D. cat., vol. I., p. 98 as palm-leaf (title:
Maturaik.)
 {today paper copy containing also [D.232] GOML D. cat., vol. I.,
 p. 189 f., [D.234] GOML cat., vol. I., p. 191 f., [D.266] GOML cat.,
 vol. I., p. 222 f., *Perump.* u. [D.267] GOML cat., vol. I., p. 223 f.,
 [D.268] GOML cat., vol. I., p. 224 f., [D.269] GOML cat., vol. I.,
 p. 225 f.}
- Tirumuru.* [D.1195] ✓ GOML D. cat., vol. III, p. 1047 f.
 {contained in [D.525]; D. cat. vol. I, p. 500}
 [D.1196] ✓ GOML D. cat., vol. III, p. 1048
 [D.1197] ✓ GOML D. cat., vol. III, p. 1049
 [D.1198] GOML D. cat., vol. III, p. 1049 {not found}
 [D.1199] ✓ GOML D. cat., vol. III, p. 1049 f.
 {contained in [D.127]; D. cat. vol. I, p. 105}
 [D.1200] GOML D. cat., vol. III, p. 1050 {not found}
 [R.1236] ✓ GOML R. cat., vol. VIII, p. 2180
 [R.1269] ✓ GOML R. cat., vol. VIII, p. 2191
 [R.2688] ✓ GOML R. cat., vol. XI, p. 3113
 {contained in [R.2686]; R. cat. vol. XI, p. 3112}
 [R.2806] ✓ GOML R. cat., vol. XI, p. 3180
 [R.2865] ✓ GOML R. cat., vol. XI, p. 3216
 [R.2929] ✓ GOML R. cat., vol. XI, p. 3257
 {contained in [R.2926]; R. cat. vol. XI, p. 3255}
 [R.2970] ✓ GOML R. cat., vol. XI, p. 3292
 {contained in [R.2966]; R. cat. vol. XI, p. 3289}
 [R.5184] ✓ GOML R. cat., vol. XII, not available
 [R.5253] ✓ GOML R. cat., vol. XII, not available
 [R.5503] ✓ GOML R. cat., vol. XII, not available
 [R.5585] GOML R. cat., vol. XII, not available {not found}

II.2.1.4 Tiruvāvaṭuṭurai Atiṇam, Caracuvati Makāl Library and Research Centre According to las

The Tiruvāvaṭuṭurai manuscripts are described in the *Descriptive Catalogue of Palm-Leaf Manuscripts in Tamil*, although not very accurately. The serial *Eṭṭuttokai* ms. containing *AiN*, *Pati* and part of the *AN* is entered as No. 77, whereas in the library that number is given to the *Tiruppātirip Puliyūr Purāṇam*. Of the missing manuscripts, the *Kuruntokai* is no longer described, but there are still entries for five manuscripts of the *Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai*. Of these, only two (201 and 201a) can be located at present.

<i>Tirumuru.</i>	[210]	cat. vol. III.2, p. 728 f. {not found}
	[236zz]	cat. vol. III.2, p. 730 {not found}
	[201] ✓	cat. vol. III.2, p. 730 f.
	[201a] ✓	cat. vol. III.2, p. 731
	[210a]	cat. vol. III.2, p. 732 {not found}

II.2.1.5 Tamil University Library Catalogue

The older Tañcāvūr University catalogue (Chellamuthu et al. 1985) is not much more than a hand list and has the drawback that it includes little more than a thousand manuscripts, whereas by now the collection is said to comprise more than ten thousand. The new descriptive catalogue (Kōvaimaṇi 2000–2010: *Tamiḷccuvaṭikaḷ viḷakka aṭṭavaṇai*, so far 8 vols) contains three more palm-leaf mss. of the *Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai*, while the one entered in the old hand list as [128] can no longer be located.

<i>Puraṇāṇūru</i>	[606] ✓	Chellamuthu et al. 1985: 56
<i>Tirumuru.</i>	[128]	Chellamuthu et al. 1985: 56 {not found}
<i>Tirumuru.</i>	[2391] ✓	TU cat., vol. not available
<i>Tirumuru.</i>	[2522-1] ✓	TU cat., vol. not available
<i>Tirumuru.</i>	[2522-2] ✓	TU cat., vol. not available

II.2.1.6 Caracuvati Makāl Library Thanjavur Catalogue

The Caracuvati Makāl catalogue (Olaganatha Pillay et al. 1960–81: *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Tamil Manuscripts in the Tanjore Maharaja Sarafoji's Saraswathi Mahal Library*, vols I, II, V, VII, plus Tilakam 1990: *Caracuvati Makāl Nūl Nilaiyat Tamiḷc Cuvāṭikaḷiṇ Viḷakkam*, vol. X, plus Cokkaliṅkam 2001–2003: *Tamiḷc Cuvāṭikaḷiṇ Viḷakkam*, *Caracuvati Makāl Nūlakam Tañcāvūr*, vols XVI, XXIV–

XXVI) lists manuscripts of the *Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai* in various volumes. The catalogue entry numbers do not correspond with the manuscript shelf marks. In addition to these sources there is the recent Caracuvati Makāl library edition of the *Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai* (Civañāṇam 2003), where four additional mss. are listed.

<i>Tirumuru.</i>	[227] MSSML cat., vol. I, p. 185v	
	[689e] MSSML cat., vol. I, p. 442	{too damaged to copy}
	[803c] MSSML cat., vol. VI, p. 183	{too damaged to copy}
	[823b] MSSML cat., vol. VI, p. 232v	
	[973] Civañāṇam 2003: 277v	
	[1282b] Civañāṇam 2003: 277	{too damaged to copy}
	[1587b] Civañāṇam 2003: 277v	
	[1607c] Civañāṇam 2003: 277v	
	[2081i] MSSML cat., vol. XXVI, p. 237	{not found}

II.2.1.7 Aṇṇāmalai University Library List

Aṇṇāmalai only possesses a printed hand list (Aṇṇāmalaip Palkalaik kaḷaka nūlakam 1987) with a very doubtful correlation to reality.

Caṅkacceyyuḷ	[44572] v	{= KT 2 plus <i>Puṛaṇāṇūru</i> }
<i>Puṛaṇāṇūru</i>	[44552]	{not found}
<i>Tirumuru.</i>	[340049]	{not found = [860]v?}

II.2.1.8 ORIML Trivandrum Catalogue

Kerala University has printed a hand list (Padmakumari 2009: *Index of Tamil Manuscripts*) from which several *Pattupāṭṭu* manuscripts cannot be located.

<i>Puṛaṇāṇūru</i>	[6417] v	
<i>Pattupāṭṭu</i>	[2315]	{not found}
	[2315B]	{not found}
<i>Tirumuru.</i>	[11500] v	
	[8849A] v	
	[6272] v	
	[6389] v	
	[4108] v	

<i>Mullaip.</i>	[11312]	{not found}
	[2315c]	{not found}

II.2.1.9 National Library Kolkatta Catalogue

For the National library there is a printed hand list of the Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai collection (Caṇmukam Piḷḷai/Cuntaramūrtti 1979: *Kalkattā tēciya nūlakat tamīlc ōlaiccuvaṭikaḷ*). In November 2005 I was allowed to see those manuscripts that are in good condition, but permission to photograph has so far been given only for the one *Akanānūru*.

<i>Akanānūru</i>	[3141]	✓
<i>Patiruppattu</i>	[3087]	{not yet copied}
<i>Pattuppāṭṭu</i>	[3112]	{not yet copied}
<i>Porun.</i>	~	
<i>Cīrup.</i>	~	
<i>Perump.</i>	~	
<i>Mullaip.</i>	~	
<i>Tirumuru.</i>	[3092]	{not yet copied}
	[3152]	{not yet copied}

II.2.1.10 Manuscripts That Currently Cannot Be Located = 20

GOML Ceṇṇai:	<i>Tirumuru.</i> GOML [R.1198]	
	<i>Tirumuru.</i> GOML [R.1200]	
	<i>Tirumuru.</i> GOML [R.5585]	
TVM Tiruvāṭuturai:	<i>KT</i> [77a]	
	<i>Tirumuru.</i> [210]	
	<i>Tirumuru.</i> [236-zz]	
	<i>Tirumuru.</i> [210-a]	
Tamil University Tañcāvūr:	<i>Tirumuru.</i> [128]	
MSSML Tañcāvūr:	<i>Tirumuru.</i> [2081i]	{cat., vol. XXVI, p. 237}
AUL Aṇṇāmalai:	<i>KT</i> [44600]	{not in the Aṇṇāmalai list}
	<i>NA</i> [44601]	{not in the Aṇṇāmalai list}
	<i>PN</i> [44552]	{= [44572] <i>Caṅkacceyyuḷ</i> ?}

ORIML Trivandrum:	<i>Pattup.</i> [2315]
	<i>Pattup.</i> [2315b]
	<i>Mullaip.</i> [11312]
	<i>Mullaip.</i> [2315C]
TSA Tamil College Coimbatore:	<i>PN</i> [148]
	<i>Neṭunal.</i> [148c]
	<i>Kuṛiñcip.</i> [148b]
Sri Venkateswara Univ. Tiruppati:	<i>Kali</i> [9703]

II.2.2 Manuscript Descriptions in the Editions

In general the early editions of *Caṅkam* classics contain a certain amount of information about the manuscripts at the disposal of the editor. In order to find this information, however, one has to go back to the original editions (for which the prefaces have recently been reprinted by Ayyappaṇ 2009), since in many later reprints, parts of the prefaces and/or introductions have been left out, shortened or rewritten. Sadly, from the point of view of a critical editor, the discussions as they are found even in the early prints are usually elusive and very scanty. Very often they consist only in a list of the manuscripts that were examined, including the type of material (palm-leaf or paper) and the provenance (either a library, or an individual, referred to by a proper name and a hometown, occasionally augmented by a profession or professional position). As a rule such individuals are no longer traceable, with the exception of a very few who seem to have been part of scholarly networks. Even for a number of institutions it is not clear where or what they were, or what might have become of them and their inventory. In a minority of cases the state of completeness or the general condition of the manuscript is mentioned. Still, if we put all these accounts together we find that they cover almost exactly one century, beginning with Tāmōtaram Piḷḷai's *Kali* edition in 1887 and ending with Caṇmukam Piḷḷai's *Kuruntokai* edition in 1985.

Another general problem is the mapping of these terse descriptions onto the physical reality of the manuscripts that can still be located today. It appears reasonable to suppose that, while a number of early manuscripts must have been lost due to age, negligence or the unwillingness of their private owners to part with them, the majority should be identical with the ones still found today in the various institutions concerned with collecting, as described in the first part of this chapter. Such a state of affairs, however and alas, is not at all suggested by the evidence. Only a minority of actual manuscripts can be identified with any degree of certainty as being the ones mentioned by one of the editors. And this is

true even in the most ideal of cases, that of the UVSL, where the collection of the great editor himself, described by himself in a catalogue printed by the library that bears his name, is still intact and available. To be sure, in order to argue in detail for or against identity, it is necessary to have an intimate, in other words, editorial knowledge of the manuscript in question. A detailed discussion for one case, the *Kuruntokai*, is available in the introduction to the recent critical edition of that text (*Kuruntokai*, Wilden 2010, vol. 1: 13–15). In brief, the situation is as follows: Cāminātaiyar enumerates nine manuscripts as sources for his edition, six on palm-leaf and three on paper. Today the UVSL holds a single palm-leaf and four paper copies (of which the last two are complementary and cover together only half of the text). In sum, while it is possible to form a hypothesis for perhaps as many as three of the witnesses, it is not possible to identify even one with any predecessor on Cāminātaiyar's list with reasonable confidence.

Attempts will have to be renewed after the critical edition of the whole corpus is complete, in a concerted effort made by the group of editors. For now it will have to suffice, firstly, to give a list of the older editors who discuss particular manuscripts, and, secondly, to list their enumerations text by text. However, one special case must be mentioned, namely that of Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai, the editor of *Caṅka Ilakkiyam*, the first full edition of the *Caṅkam* corpus published in 1940. He no longer gives variants, but nonetheless his original introduction contains a fairly detailed tabular account of the sources he examined, including manuscripts, editions and quotations from the commentaries (apparently those too based on manuscript evidence). His edition in turn was to become the main source for the later team of editors hidden behind the pseudonym “Rājam”, who were to make the first popular edition with full *sandhi*- and word split, western punctuation marks for outlining the syntax and without commentary, that was published for the first time in 1957. Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai's voluminous manuscript collection, including a number of *Caṅkam* texts, went to the National Library in Kolkatta, a stroke of good fortune for Classical Tamil, since the care with which the manuscripts have been preserved there has been far better than that observed in any South Indian library until well after the turn of the last millennium.

List of Caṅkam Editions That Discuss Manuscripts¹⁰⁹

Ci.Vai. Tāmōtaram Piḷḷai	1887, <i>Kalittokai</i>
U.Vē. Cāminātaiyar	1889, <i>Pattuppāṭṭu</i>
U.Vē. Cāminātaiyar	1894+1923, <i>Puraṇāṇūru</i>
U.Vē. Cāminātaiyar	1903, <i>Aiṅkuṇūru</i>
U.Vē. Cāminātaiyar	1904, <i>Paṭiruppattu</i>
Pi. A. Nārāyaṇacāmi Aiyar	1915, <i>Narriṇai</i>
U.Vē. Cāminātaiyar	1918, <i>Paripāṭal</i> (vide F. Gros 1968)
Rā. Irākavaiyaṅkār	1923/24, <i>Akaṇāṇūru</i>
U.Vē. Cāminātaiyar	1937, <i>Kuṇṭtokai</i>
C. Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai,	1940, complete corpus
Au.Cu. Turaicāmi Piḷḷai	1957, <i>Aiṅkuṇūru</i>
Au.Cu. Turaicāmi Piḷḷai	1966, <i>Narriṇai</i>
Mū. Caṇmukam Piḷḷai	1985, <i>Kuṇṭtokai</i>

The amount of information provided for each manuscript varies from edition to edition, the minimum being a place of origin or a proprietor who gave or lent his copy. With luck we are informed about the material, the state, the amount of text copied and the presence or absence of a commentary, and in rare cases the number of leaves is mentioned. In order to preserve the individuality of the original printing (moreover sometimes hard to come by), the respective editor's full text will be quoted here, except in the case of the *Kalittokai* and the *Paripāṭal*, where the discussions are dispersed over many pages; the following summary for *Kali* was kindly provided by the T. Rajeswari (Kali editor of the EFEO *Caṅkam* project), the one for the *Paripāṭal* is taken from Gros 1968. In order to facilitate an overview of the material, the chapter will end with a tabular summary of the presented information.

***Kuṇṭtokai*: 9+5+4**

Cāminātaiyar 1937:

1. *tirunelvēli srī ampalavāṇa kavirāyar avarkaḷ ēṭṭup pirati*
palm-leaf ms. of Srī Ampalavāṇa Kavirāyar from Tirunelvēli
2. *mantit tōppumaṭattiṇ kiṭaitta ēṭṭup pirati*
palm-leaf ms. obtained from the Mantit tōppu Maṭam

¹⁰⁹ Three further editions that made use of manuscript material, all of the *Kuṇṭtokai*, namely Irāmarattiṇa Aiyar 1930, Cō. Aruṇācala Tēcikar 1933 and Rā. Irākavaiyaṅkār 1946, are absent here, because I could not find copies of the originals, and the reprints do not contain any account of the manuscripts.

3. *ceṅkōl maṭattiṇ kaṇṭa kuraiyāṇa ēṭṭup pirati*
incomplete palm-leaf ms. seen in the Ceṅkōl Maṭam
4. *tirumayilai vitvāṇ sṛi caṇmukam piḷḷai avarkaḷ kaṭṭap pirati*
paper ms. of Vidvan Sṛi Caṇmukam Piḷḷai from Tirumayilai
5. *cōṭacāvatāṇam sṛi cupparāya ceṭṭiyar avarkaḷ ēṭṭup pirati*
palm-leaf ms. of Cōṭacāvatāṇam Sṛi Cupparāya Ceṭṭiyar
6. *toḷuvūr sṛi vēlāyuta mutaliyār avarkaḷ ēṭṭup pirati*
palm-leaf ms. of Sṛi Vēlāyuta Mutaliyār from Toḷuvūr
7. *ceṇṇai irācaṇkattup kaiyeḷuttu puttakacālai ēṭṭup pirati*
palm-leaf ms. from the manuscript library of the Ceṇṇai Government
8. *putukōṭṭai sṛi rātākirusṇaiyar avarkaḷ kaṭṭap pirati*
paper ms. of Sṛi Rātākirusṇaiyar from Putukōṭṭai
9. *tirukōṇamalai sṛi ti.ta. kaṇakacuntaram piḷḷai avarkaḷ kaṭṭap pirati*
paper ms. of Sṛi Ti.Ta. Kaṇakacuntaram Piḷḷai from Tirukōṇamalai

Table 2: Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai 1940, *Kuṇṭokai*

<i>nūl</i>	<i>ēṭu allatu kaṭṭam</i>	<i>uriyavar</i>	<i>kuṛippu</i>
amount of text	material	proprietor	significance
<i>muḷuppirati</i>	<i>ēṭu</i>	<i>Maturait Tamiḷ Caṇkam</i>	<i>pala piratikaḷai oppu nōkkip pāṭapētaṇ kuṛikkap peṇṇullatu</i>
complete ms.	palm-leaf		noting down variants from comparison with many mss.
<i>muḷuppirati</i>	<i>kaṭṭam</i>	<i>Ti.Ta. Kaṇakacuntaram Piḷḷai</i> (individual)	<i>pala piratikaḷai oppu nōkkip pāṭapētaṇ kuṛikkap peṇṇullatu</i>
complete ms.	paper		noting down variants from comparison with many mss.
<i>muḷuppirati</i>	<i>kaṭṭam</i>	<i>Rā. Rākavaiyaṇkāṇ</i>	<i>pala piratikaḷai oppu nōkkip pāṭapētaṇ kuṛikkap peṇṇullatu</i>
complete ms.	paper		noting down variants from comparison with many mss.
<i>muḷuppirati</i>	<i>kaṭṭam</i>	<i>Mutturattiṇa Mutaliyār</i> (individual)	<i>pala piratikaḷai oppu nōkkip pāṭapētaṇ kuṛikkap peṇṇullatu</i>
complete ms.	paper		noting down variants from comparison with many mss.
<i>muḷuppirati</i>	<i>kaṭṭam</i>	<i>Ceṇṇai Aracāṇka Nūlnilayam</i> GOML	<i>pala piratikaḷai oppu nōkkip pāṭapētaṇ kuṛikkap peṇṇullatu</i>
complete ms.	paper		noting down variants from comparison with many mss.

Caṇmukam Piḷḷai 1985

1. *ilaṇṭaṇiliruntu varavaḷaikkapperra nuṇpaṭam (kākitac cuvaṭiyiṇ nuṇpaṭam, eḷutapperra kālam: 1894)*
microfilm obtained from London (microfilm of a paper ms. written in 1894)
2. *aṇṇāmalaip palkalaikkalākattiliruntu varavaḷaikkapaṭṭa makāvittuvāṇ rā. irākavaiyaṇkār avarkaḷiṇ kaiyeḷuttuppaṭi (maturaiyil 1899-l eḷutap perratu)*
handwritten copy of Mahāvidvan Rā. Irākavaiyaṇkār sent from Aṇṇāmalai University (written in 1899 in Maturai)
3. *maturaip pulavar iḷaṇkumaraṇ avarkaḷiṭamiruntu perapperra pūṇṭiyappap pulavar avarkaḷiṇ eṭṭuk kuṟippu*
notes on palm-leaf by Pūṇṭiyappap Pulavar, obtained from Pulavar Iḷaṇkumaraṇ of Maturai
4. *tiru aṭikaḷāciriyaṇ avarkaḷiṇ vaḷiyākak kiṭaitta 226 pāṭalkaḷukkāṇa kākitac-cuvaṭi ākiya nāṇku cuvaṭikaḷ*
four mss. that are on paper with 226 songs obtained through Srī Aṭikaḷ Āciriyaṇ

Nārriṇai: 7+5+4

Pi. A. Nārāyaṇacāmi Aiyaṇ 1915

1. *Maṇṇārkuṭi miṣaṇ haiskūḷ tamilp paṇṭitar Nārāyaṇacāmai Piḷḷai avarkaḷiṇ kumāraruṇ pōḷisil uttiyōkam vakittiruppavaruṇmākiya Śrīmat Nā. Cōmacuntarappiḷḷai avarkaḷ yāṇ poruḷukku muṭṭupāṭuṇ vēṇṭiya aḷavu utavi, eṭukaḷ taruvittuc cōtikkumpaṭi ceytārkaḷ.*
Śrīmat Nā. Cōmacuntarappiḷḷai, who worked at the police and was the son of Nārāyaṇacāmai Piḷḷai, Tamil pandit of the Maṇṇārkuṭi mission high school, in helping me to buy, made the palm-leaves to be given and had them examined.
2. *ataṇpiṇ Śrīcuvāmi Vētācalam avarkaḷuṭaiya muyarciyaikkoṇṭu ceṇṇai irājāṇkak kaiyeḷuttup puttaka cālaiyilulla piratiyai kāppiceytu taruvittu oruvāru tirutti varukaiyil*
After that, when by the effort of Śrīcuvāmi Vētācalam I had a ms. copied in the GOML in Ceṇṇai and was correcting it,
- 3.+4. *mahāmahōpattiāyaṇ Brummaśrī U.Vē. Cāminātaiyaṇavarkaḷ iraṇṭu piratikaḷ aṇuppiṇārkaḷ.*
The Mahāmahopadhyāya Brahmaśrī U.Vē. Cāminātaiyaṇ sent two mss.
5. *avaṇrōṭu oppu nōkkiyaṇ maturaṭi tamilccaṇkaṇ ceṇṇu aṇkuḷḷa piratikaḷōṭu oppu nōkkiṇēṇ.*
After having compared them, I went to the Maturai Tamil Caṇkam and made a comparison with the mss. that were there.

- 6.+7. *piṇpu ceṇṇaiyilirukkum Śrīmāṇ Ti.Ta. Kaṇakacuntarampiḷḷai avarkaḷ tammiṭattilirunta piratikaḷ iraṇṭaṇaiyuṇ koṭuttutaviṇārkaḷ.*
 Afterwards Śrīmāṇ Ti.Ta. Kaṇakacuntaram Piḷḷai who was in Ceṇṇai provided me with two mss. that were with him.

Table 3: Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai 1940, *Narriṇai*

<i>nūl</i>	<i>ēṭu allatu kaṭitam</i>	<i>uriyavar</i>	<i>kurippu</i>
amount of text	material	proprietor	significance
<i>muḷuppirati</i>	<i>ēṭu</i>	<i>Maturait Tamiḷ Caṅkam</i>	<i>pala piratikaḷai oppu nōkkip pāṭapētaṇ kuṟikkaḷ perrullatu</i>
complete ms.	palm-leaf		noting down variants from comparison with many mss.
<i>muḷuppirati</i>	<i>kaṭitam</i>	<i>Rā. Rākavaiyaṅkāṛ</i>	<i>pala piratikaḷai oppu nōkkip pāṭapētaṇ kuṟikkaḷ perrullatu</i>
complete ms.	paper		noting down variants from comparison with many mss.
<i>muḷuppirati</i>	<i>kaṭitam</i>	<i>Ceṇṇai Aracāṅka Nūlnilayam</i>	
complete ms.	paper	GOML	
<i>muḷuppirati</i>	<i>kaṭitam</i>	<i>Pavāṇantar Kaḷakam, Ceṇṇai</i>	
complete ms.	paper		
<i>muḷuppirati</i>	<i>kaṭitam</i>	<i>Pavāṇantar Kaḷakam, Ceṇṇai</i>	
complete ms.	paper		

Au.Cu. Turaicāmp Piḷḷai 1966

ēṭukaḷ palm-leaf manuscripts:

1. Araciṇar kaiyeḷuttu Nūl Nilaiyam = GOML?
2. Maturait Tamiḷc Caṅkam (institution)
3. Ṭommiccēri [sic] Karuppaiyāt Tēvar (individual)
4. Putuppaṭṭi Civa Mu. Muttaiyā Ceṭṭiyār (individual)

Akanāṇūru: 7+4

Irākavaiyaṅkār 1923/24

1. *Ceṇṇai Oriental Manuscript Library piratiyaip pārṭtu eḷutikoṇṭa kaiyeḷuttu pirati – 1*
one handwritten copy made after seeing a ms. in the GOML in Ceṇṇai
(*itu centamiḷp pattirāciriyaṅ Tiru. Nārāyaṇa Aiyaṅkār svāmikaḷ tamilc caṅkattiṅkut tantutaviya Tēvarpirāṇ Kavirāyaravarkaḷ viṭṭup piratiyuṭaṇ oppunōkki tiruttam ceyyappaṭṭatu.*)
(This was corrected after comparison with a ms. from the house of Tēvarpirāṇ Kavirāyar, who had provided it to the Svāmikaḷ Tamil *Caṅkam* of Tiru. Nārāyaṇa Aiyaṅkār, teacher of high Tamil.)
2. *perumpalaṇai ēṭṭaip pārṭtu eḷutik koṇṭa kaiyeḷuttu pirati – 1*
one handwritten copy made after seeing a palm-leaf at Perumpalaṇai
3. *tirunelvēli Śrīmāṇ nellaiyappak kavirāyaravarkaḷ ēṭu – 1*
one palm-leaf ms. by Śrīmāṇ nellaiyappak kavirāyar from Tirunelvēli
4. *kālaṇ ceṇṇa ceṇṇai Śrīmāṇ Ti.Ta. Kaṇakacuntirampiḷḷaiyavarkaḷ ēṭu – 1*
one palm-leaf ms. by the late Śrīmāṇ Ti.Ta. Kaṇakacuntiram Piḷḷai from Ceṇṇai
5. *Śrī U. Vē. Aiyār kāyiṭap pirati – 1*
one paper ms. by Śrī U. Vē. Aiyār
6. *ceṇṇai mērirāṇiyār kallūṇit tamil paṇṇitar Śrīmāṇ Kā. Rā. Namaccivāya mutaliyāravarkaḷ pirati – 1*
one ms. by Śrīmāṇ Kā. Rā. Namaccivāyamutaliyar, Tamil pandit at the Queen Mary High School in Ceṇṇai
7. *Tirumayilai vitvāṇ Śrīmāṇ Caṇmukam Piḷḷaiyavarkaḷ ēṭu (itu kuṇai) – 1*
one damaged palm-leaf ms. by the Vidvan Śrīmāṇ Caṇmukam Piḷḷai from Tirumayilai

Table 4: Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai 1940, *Akanāṇūru*

<i>nūl</i>	<i>ēṭu allatu kaṭitam</i>	<i>uriyavar</i>	<i>kuṟippu</i>
amount of text	material	proprietor	significance
<i>muḷuppirati</i>	<i>ēṭu</i>	<i>Kampar Vilāsam, Vē. Irājakōpālaiyaṅkar</i>	<i>nalla nilai uḷḷatu</i>
complete ms.	palm-leaf	(publisher; cf. early AN editions)	in good condition
<i>kuṟaippirati</i>	<i>kaṭitam</i>	<i>Kampar Vilāsam, Vē. Irājakōpālaiyaṅkar</i>	<i>mikavum citilamāy uḷḷatu; pala piratikaḷai oppu nōkkip pāṭapētaṅ kuṟikkap peṟrullatu</i>
incomplete ms.	paper		very dilapidated; noting down variants from comparison with many mss.
<i>muḷuppirati</i>	<i>kaṭitam</i>	<i>Ceṇṇai, Sarvakalācālai Intiya Carittira Ārāyccit Tuṟai</i>	<i>iṭaiyiṭaiyē cila ceyyuṭkaḷ kāṇapperavillai</i>
complete ms.	paper	Madras University, Department of Indian History	in between some verses missing
<i>muḷuppirati</i>	<i>kaṭitam</i>	<i>Ceṇṇai Aracāṅka Nūlnilayam</i>	ibid.
complete ms.	paper	GOML	

Puṇaṇāṇūru: 16+5+4

Cāminātaiyar 1894+1935:

mūlappiratikaḷ mss. with text only

1. Tiruvāvaṭutuṟai Ātiṇattu Śrī Cuppiramaṇiyatēcīkaravarkaḷ: 1–400
2. Tiruttanikaic Caravaṇap Perumāḷaiyaravarkaḷ (*utavi* with the help of: Yālp-pāṇam, Rāvpakatūr Ci. Vai. Tāmōtaram Piḷḷaiyavarkaḷ): 1–400
3. Yālp-pāṇattu (Jaffna) Nallūr, Catācivappiḷḷaiyavarkaḷ. Tiru Ta. Kaṇakacuntaram Piḷḷaiyavarkaḷ (*utavi*: Ceṇṇai, Pā. Vācutēva Mutalaravarkaḷ): 267–369
4. Yālp-pāṇam, Vi. Kaṇakacapaip Piḷḷaiyavarkaḷ: 1–366
5. Tirumayilai Vittuvāṇ Caṇmukam Piḷḷaiyavarkaḷ (*utavi*: Tiruvaṇantapuram, Pi. Cuntaram Piḷḷaiyavarkaḷ): 3–399
- +6. Mantittōppil uḷḷa Śrī Caṅkaracuvāmi Ātiṇakarttar Mahantu Śrīmat Caṅkara-cuppiramaṇiya tatta Cuvāmikaḷ: 1–400
- +7. Tirunelvēli Śrīkavirāja Icuvara Mūrttip Piḷḷaiyavarkaḷ: 1–400
- +8. Ariyūr Śrī Es. Cāminātaiyaravarkaḷ: 1–400

uraippiratikaḷ mss. with commentary

1. Tiruvāṇṇatturāi Āṭṇattu Śrī Cuppiramaṇiya Tēcikaravarkaḷ: 1–260
2. Tiruvāṇṇatturāi Āṭṇattu Śrī Ampalavāṇṇatēcikaravarkaḷ: 1–170
3. Ālvārtirunakari, Tāyavalantirtta Kavirāyaravarkaḷ (*utavi*: Śrīvaikuṇṭam, Ī. Cupparāya Mutaliyaravarkaḷ): 1–261
4. Mitilaippaṭṭi, Aḷakiya Cīrrampalak Kavirāyaravarkaḷ (*utavi*: piratik kuriyavarkaḷatu paramparaiyōrākiya Aḷakiya Cīrrampalak Kavirāyaravarkaḷ): 1–266
5. Ibid.: 1–177
6. Tirunelvēliyaic cārnta Vaṇṇārpēṭṭai, Tiruppārkaṭaṇāta Kavirāyaravarkaḷ (*utavi*: Yāḷppāṇam, Rāvpakatūr, Ci. Vai. Tāmōtaram Piḷḷaiyavarkaḷ): 1–260
7. Teṇkāci Cuppaiyāp Piḷḷaiyavarkaḷ (*utavi*: Mēlakaram Tirikūṭarācappak Kavirāyaravarkaḷ): 1–48
8. Ibid. (*patavuraicitilam*): 1–57
9. Ibid. (*patavuraicitilam*): 7–48
10. Tūttukkuṭi, Kumārācāmiṇ Piḷḷaiyavarkaḷ (*utavi*: Āṇumukamaṇkalam, Ē. Cuntaramūrttiyā Piḷḷaiyavarkaḷ): 1–216
11. Ibid.: 1–196
- +12. Maturait TamiḷcCaṇkam: pirati
- +13. Yāḷppāṇattu Vaṇṇainakar Śrī Cuvāmināta Paṇṭitar: pirati

Table 5: Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai 1940, *Aiṅkurunūru*

<i>nūl</i> amount of text	<i>ēṭu allatu kaṭitam</i> material	<i>uriyavar</i> proprietor	<i>kuṟippu</i> significance
<i>muḷuppirati</i>	<i>kaṭitam</i>	<i>Ceṇṇai Aracāṅka Nūlnilayam</i>	<i>uraiyuṭaṇ kūṭiyatu</i>
complete ms.	paper	GOML	joined with commentary
<i>muḷuppirati</i>	<i>kaṭitam</i>	<i>Ceṇṇai Aracāṅka Nūlnilayam</i>	<i>uraiyuṭaṇ kūṭiyatu</i>
complete ms.	paper	GOML	endowed with commentary

***Aiṅkurunūru*: 4+2+1+1**

Cāminātaiyar 1903

mūlamum karutturaiyum uḷḷa piratikaḷ

1. *Tiruvāṇṇatturāi yāṭṇattup pirati* – 1
one ms. from Tiruvāṇṇatturāi Āṭṇam
2. *māṭcimaiṇ poruntiya Śrī Jē. Em. Vēluppiḷḷaiyavarkaḷ. F. M. U. pirati* – 1
one ms. by the honourable Śrī Jē. Em. Vēluppiḷḷai, F. M. U.

3. *Tirumayilai Vitvāṇ māṭcimaip poruntiya Caṇmukam Piḷḷaiyavarkaḷ pirati* – 1
one ms. by the honourable Caṇmukam Piḷḷai, Vidvan of Tirumayilai
mūlamam karutturaiyum, paḷaiyavuraiyum uḷḷa pirati
4. *Ālvārtirunakari māṭcimaip poruntiya Śrī Tē. Lakṣmaṇa Kavirāyaravarkaḷ*
pirati – 1
one ms. by the honourable Śrī Tē. Lakṣmaṇa Kavirāyar from Ālvārtirunakari
Ti. Catacivaiyar 1943:

... *karaveṭṭimērku metaṭist tamilp pāṭacālait talaimai āciriyarā yiruppavarum ākiya Tiruvāḷar*
A. Tā. Cuppiramaṇiyam avarkaḷ aiṇkuṇūru muḷuvataṟkum uraiyeḷutiya kākitaṁ kaiyeḷuttip
pirati onru ...

“one paper manuscript written with commentary for the whole *Aiṇkuṇūru* by A. Tā. Cuppiramaṇiyam, who was principal of the Methodist Tamil High School of East Karaveṭṭi”

Au.Cu. Turaicāṁip Piḷḷai 1957:

1. one additional ms. from Cīrkaḷi Kōvintacāmi Reṭṭiyar (containing a number of additional lines). [information provided by Thomas Lehmann]

Table 6: Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai 1940, *Puṛaṇāṇūru*

<i>nūl</i> amount of text	<i>ēṭu allatu kaṭitaṁ</i> material	<i>uriyavar</i> proprietor	<i>kuṟippu</i> significance
<i>kuṟaiṇṇipirati</i> incomplete ms.	<i>ēṭu</i> palm-leaf	<i>Maturait Tamīl</i> <i>Caṇkam</i>	<i>uraiyōṭu kūṭiyatu</i> endowed with commentary
<i>kuṟaiṇṇipirati</i> incomplete ms.	<i>kaṭitaṁ</i> paper	<i>Ceṇṇai Aracāṇka</i> <i>Nūlnilayam</i> GOML	<i>uraiyōṭu kūṭiyatu</i> endowed with commentary
<i>kuṟaiṇṇipirati</i> incomplete ms.	<i>kaṭitaṁ</i> paper	<i>Ti.Ta. Kaṇaka-</i> <i>cuntaram Piḷḷai</i> (individual)	<i>mūlapāṭam</i> text only
<i>kuṟaiṇṇipirati</i> incomplete ms.	<i>kaṭitaṁ</i> paper	<i>Maṇṇārkuṭi</i> <i>Cōmacuntaram</i> <i>Piḷḷai</i> (individual)	<i>mūlapāṭam</i> text only

Patirrupattu: 6+2

Cāminātaiyar 1904:

kiṭaitta kaiyeḷuttup piratikaḷ: handwritten copies that were acquired

1. *Tiruvāvaṭuturai ātiṇaṇattup pirati*
ms. from Tiruvāvaṭuturai Ātiṇam
2. *Ceṇṇaiyilulla iracāṇkattu kaiyeḷuttu pustaka cālai pirati*
ms. from the GOML in Ceṇṇai
3. *Ālvārtirunakari Śrī Tē. Ilaṭcmaṇa Kavirāyaravarkaḷ viṭṭu pirati*
ms. from the house of Śrī Tē. Ilaṭcmaṇa Kavirāyar from Ālvārtirunakari
4. *Ālvārtirunakari māṭcimai poruntiya Śrī Jē.Em. Vēluppiḷḷaiyavarkaḷ pirati*
ms. by the honourable Śrī Jē.Em. Vēluppiḷḷai from Ālvārtirunakari
5. *Tirumayilai vittuvāṇ Śrī Caṇmukam Piḷḷaiyavarkaḷ pirati*
ms. by Śrī Caṇmukam Piḷḷai, Vidvan¹¹⁰ from Tirumayilai
6. *Ti. Ta. Kaṇakacuntaram Piḷḷaiyavarkaḷ B. A. pirati*
ms. by Ti. Ta. Kaṇakacuntaram Piḷḷai, B. A.

Turaicāmp Piḷḷai 1950 mentions in his preface two further manuscripts without giving specifications.

Table 7: Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai 1940, *Patirrupattu*

<i>nūl</i> amount of text	<i>ēṭu allatu</i> <i>kaṭitam</i> material	<i>uriyavar</i> proprietor	<i>kuṟippu</i> significance
2-mpattu mutal, 9-mpattu mutiya 2 nd to 9 th decade	<i>kaṭitam</i> paper	Rā. Rākavaiyaṅkāṇ	<i>ciraṇta pirati</i> excellent ms.
2-mpattu mutal, 9-mpattu mutiya 2 nd to 9 th decade	<i>kaṭitam</i> paper	Ti. Ta. Kaṇaka- cuntaram Piḷḷai (individual)	<i>ciraṇta pirati</i> excellent ms.

¹¹⁰ *Vittuvāṇ* (Skt. *vidvan*) is a traditional grade, above *paṇḍitam*, acquired in places such as the Maturai Tamil *Caṅkam*.

Kalittokai: 10+2

Tāmōtaram Piḷḷai 1887:

1. one palm-leaf ms. from Tiruvāvaṭuturai Ātiṇam given by Carkurunāta Cuvāmikaḷ of that Maṭam
 - 2.+3. two palm-leaf mss. given by the Maṭam (they got these two mss. from the Southern part of Tamilnadu)
 4. one palm-leaf ms. from Śrī Ri. Kaṇakacapai Piḷḷai, son of Mallākam Vicuvanātapīḷḷai in Yālppāṇam (Jaffna), Sri Lanka
 5. one palm-leaf ms., incomplete and damaged, of Neytalkali from Cokkalinkam Piḷḷai Nellittoppu in Putuccēri
 6. one palm-leaf ms. of Neytalkali from Tintivaṇam (name of the owner is not mentioned)
 - 7.+8. two palm-leaf mss. of Neytalkali from Cēṇṇai Pirāciya Kirantamantapam (which may be the GOML)
 9. one palm-leaf ms. from Tirumaṇam Kecava Cupparāya Mutaliyar
 10. one palm-leaf ms. from Mayilai Rāmaliṅkampīḷḷai
- (T. received some palm-leaves from Tañcāvūr Caracuvatimakal Library in bad condition, hence he did not use them for his edition. He heard that there is one teacher at Mañcakuppam in Kaṭalūr who had a *Kalittokai* ms., but it was not to be located.)

Aṇantarāmaiyaṛ 19925+1931 mentions two further palm-leaf manuscripts he had received from Cāminātaiyaṛ and which T. Rajeswari identifies as UVSL 551/224 and 15/225.¹¹¹

Table 8: Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai 1940, *Kalittokai*

<i>nūl</i>	<i>ēṭu allatu kaṭitam</i>	<i>uriyavar</i>	<i>kuṛippu</i>
amount of text	material	proprietor	significance
<i>muḷuppirati</i>	<i>ēṭu</i>	<i>Nellai, Ampalavāṇak Kavirāyar</i> (individual)	<i>ciṛanta pirati; uraiyuṭaṇ kūṭiyatu</i> excellent manuscript; endowed with commentary
complete ms.	palm-leaf		
<i>kuṛaippirati</i>	<i>kaṭitam</i>	<i>Pavāṇantar Kaḷakam, Cēṇṇai</i>	<i>ciṛanta pirati; uraiyuṭaṇ kūṭiyatu</i> excellent manuscript; endowed with commentary
incomplete ms.	paper		

¹¹¹ The information about the *Kalittokai* manuscripts was gained through oral communication with T. Rajeswari; for a more detailed description, see her forthcoming critical edition.

Paripāṭal: 5+1

Cāminātaiyar 1918 as summarised in Gros 1968:

1. ms. appartenant au Tiruvāṇṭuṭṭurai Āṭiṇam dont manquent les premiers et derniers feuillets contient la fin du com. du première poème et conduit jusqu'au com. du v. 38 du poème XIX.
- 2.+3. deux mss. aquis par SA. chez Te. Lakṣmaṇakavirāyar d'Ālvārtirunakari, copies l'un sur l'autre, et tous les deux en assez mauvais état, constituent la base de l'édition. Ils contiennent le texte et le commentaire des poèmes II à XXII (incomplet). Ils sont aujourd'hui conservés dans la Bibliothèque Swaminathaiyar à Adyar (no 247 et 1077).
4. ms. de deux feuillets appartenant au maṭṭ de Tarumapura āṭiṇam contient le poème V avec l'indication du nom de Parimēlaḷakar pour auteur du commentaire.
5. ms. de deux feuillets (teste seul) a été donné à SA. par Rā. Irākavaiyaṅkar, poète du Ramnad.

Table 9: Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai 1940, Paripāṭal

<i>nūl</i>	<i>ēṭu allatu kaṭitam</i>	<i>uriyavar</i>	<i>kuṟippu</i>
amount of text	material	proprietor	significance
2 mutal 22 muṭiya	kaṭitam	Ti. Ta. Kaṇakacuntaram Piḷḷai	uraiyuṭaṇ kūṭiyatu
2-22	paper	(individual)	endowed with commentary

Pattuppāṭṭu: 11+5

Cāminātaiyar 1931:

1. *Tiruvāṇṭuṭṭurai yāṭiṇattu Makāvittuvāṇ Tiricirapuram Śrī Mīṇāṭci Cuntaram Piḷḷai avarkaḷ pirati: 1*
one ms. from the Mahāvidvan Śrī Tiricirapuram Mīṇāṭci Cuntaram Piḷḷai from Tiruvāṇṭuṭṭurai Āṭiṇam
2. *Tarumapura Āṭiṇattup Puttakacālaip pirati: 1*
one ms. from the library of Dharmapuram Āṭiṇam
3. *Vēlūr Śrī Kumāracāmi Aiyar avarkaḷ pirati: 1*
one ms. by Śrī Kumāracāmi Aiyar from Vēlūr
4. *Āṟumukamaṅkalam Śrī Kumāracāmi Piḷḷai avarkaḷ pirati: 1*
one ms. by Śrī Kumāracāmi Piḷḷai from Āṟumukamaṅkalam
5. *Tirunelvēli Śrī Kavirāja Nellaiyappa Piḷḷai avarkaḷum avarkaḷuṭaiya tampi Śrī Kavirāja Īcuvaramūrttip Piḷḷaiyavarkaḷum utaviya pirati: 1*

- one ms. with the help of Śrī Kavirāja Īcuvaramūrttip Piḷḷaiyavarkaḷum, younger brother of Śrī Kavirāja Nellaiyappa Piḷḷai from Tirunelvēli
6. *Tirunelvēliyaic cārnta Vaṇṇārppēṭṭai Śrī Tiruppārkaṭaṇāta Kavirāyar avarkaḷ pirati: 1*
one ms. by Śrī Tiruppārkaṭaṇāta Kavirāyar from Vaṇṇārppēṭṭai near Tirunelvēli
7. *Ālvārtirunakari Śrī Tēvapirāṇ Kavirāyar avarkaḷ pirati: 1*
one ms. by Śrī Tēvapirāṇ Kavirāyar from Ālvārtirunakari
8. *Polḷācci Vitvāṇ Śrī Civaṇpiḷḷai avarkaḷ pirati: 1*
one ms. by Vidvan Śrī Civaṇpiḷḷai from Polḷācci
9. *Śrī Tiruvampalattiṇṇamutampiḷḷai avarkaḷ pirati: 1*
one ms. by Śrī Tiruvampalattiṇṇamutampiḷḷai
10. *Śrī Ma. Vi. Kaṇakacapaip Piḷḷai avarkaḷ pirati: 1*
one ms. by Śrī Ma. Vi. Kaṇakacapaip Piḷḷai
11. *Ceṇṇai Irācaṇkattuk kaiyeḷuttu puttakacālaip pirati: 1*
one ms. from the GOML in Ceṇṇai

Table 10: Vaiyāpurippiḷḷai 1940, *Pattuppāṭṭu*

<i>nūl</i>	<i>ēṭu allatu kaṭitam</i>	<i>uriyavar</i>	<i>kuṟippu</i>
text	material	proprietor	significance
Pattuppāṭṭu			
<i>mūlam muḷuvatum</i> full text	<i>kaṭitam</i> paper	<i>Kā.Rā. Namacivāya Mutaliyār</i> (individual)	<i>cīranta pirati</i> excellent ms.
Tirumuru. <i>muḷupirati</i> complete ms.	<i>ēṭu</i> palm-leaf	<i>Em.Pi.Es. Turaicumai Mutaliyār</i> (individual)	<i>mūlapāṭam</i> text only
Porun. <i>muḷupirati</i> complete ms.	<i>ēṭu</i> palm-leaf	<i>Ampalavāṇak Kavirāyar</i> (individual)	<i>uraiyuṭaṇ</i> with commentary
<i>muḷupirati</i> complete ms.	<i>kaṭitam</i> paper	<i>Ceṇṇai Aracāṇka Nūlnilayam</i> GOML	<i>uraiyuṭaṇ</i> with commentary
Cīrup. <i>muḷupirati</i> complete ms.	<i>ēṭu</i> palm-leaf	<i>Ampalavāṇak Kavirāyar</i> (individual)	<i>uraiyuṭaṇ</i> with commentary
<i>muḷupirati</i> complete ms.	<i>kaṭitam</i> paper	<i>Ceṇṇai Aracāṇka Nūlnilayam</i> GOML	<i>uraiyuṭaṇ</i> with commentary

Perump. <i>muḷupirati</i> complete ms.	<i>ēṭu</i> palm-leaf	<i>Ampalavāṇak Kavirāyar</i> (individual)	<i>uraiyuṭaṇ</i> with commentary
<i>muḷupirati</i> complete ms.	<i>kaṭitam</i> paper	<i>Ceṇṇai Aracāṅka Nūlnilayam</i> GOML	<i>uraiyuṭaṇ</i> with commentary
Mullaip. <i>muḷupirati</i> complete ms.	<i>ēṭu</i> palm-leaf	<i>Ampalavāṇak Kavirāyar</i> (individual)	<i>uraiyuṭaṇ</i> with commentary
<i>muḷupirati</i> complete ms.	<i>kaṭitam</i> paper	<i>Ceṇṇai Aracāṅka Nūlnilayam</i> GOML	<i>uraiyuṭaṇ</i> with commentary
<i>muḷupirati</i> complete ms.	<i>kaṭitam</i> paper	<i>Ceṇṇai Aracāṅka Nūlnilayam</i> GOML	<i>mūlamaṭṭum</i> text only
Maturaik. <i>muḷupirati</i> complete ms.	<i>kaṭitam</i> paper	<i>Ceṇṇai Aracāṅka Nūlnilayam</i> GOML	<i>uraiyuṭaṇ</i> with commentary
<i>muḷupirati</i> complete ms.	<i>kaṭitam</i> paper	<i>Maṇṇārkuṭi Cōmacuntaram</i> <i>Piḷḷai</i> (individual)	<i>uraiyuṭaṇ</i> with commentary
Neṭunal. <i>muḷupirati</i> complete ms.	<i>kaṭitam</i> paper	<i>Maṇṇārkuṭi Cōmacuntaram</i> <i>Piḷḷai</i> (individual)	<i>uraiyuṭaṇ</i> with commentary
Kuṟiṅcip. <i>muḷupirati</i> complete ms.	<i>kaṭitam</i> paper	<i>Maṇṇārkuṭi Cōmacuntaram</i> <i>Piḷḷai</i> (individual)	<i>uraiyuṭaṇ</i> with commentary
Paṭṭiṇap. <i>muḷupirati</i> complete ms.	<i>kaṭitam</i> paper	<i>Ceṇṇai Aracāṅka Nūlnilayam</i> GOML	<i>uraiyuṭaṇ</i> with commentary
<i>muḷupirati</i> complete ms.	<i>kaṭitam</i> paper	<i>Maṇṇārkuṭi Cōmacuntaram</i> <i>Piḷḷai</i> (individual)	<i>uraiyuṭaṇ</i> with commentary
Malaip. <i>muḷupirati</i> complete ms.	<i>kaṭitam</i> paper	<i>Ceṇṇai Aracāṅka Nūlnilayam</i> GOML	<i>uraiyuṭaṇ</i> with commentary

Tabular Survey of the Manuscripts Described

Table 11: *Kuruntokai*: 9+5+4

material	provenance	state	identification ¹¹²	no°
Cāminātaiyar 1937				
palm-leaf	Tirunelvēli Ampalavāṇa Kavirāyar		UVSL 1075?	1
palm-leaf	Mantit Tōppu Maṭam		basis of UVSL 183?	2
palm-leaf	Ceṅkōl Maṭam – only seen!	incomplete	var. of UVSL 183?	3
paper	Tirumayilai Vitvāṇ Caṇmukam Piḷḷai		UVSL 184?	4
palm-leaf	Cōṭacāvatāṇam Cupparāya Ceṭṭiyar			5
palm-leaf	Toḷuvūr Vēlāyuta Mutaliyār			6
palm-leaf	Ceṇṇai Irācaṅkattup Kaiyeḷuttu Puttakacālai = GOML			7
paper	Putukōṭṭai Rātākirusṇaiyar		UVSL 185+186?	8
paper	Tirukōṇamalai Ti.Ta. Kaṇakacuntaram Piḷḷai		GOML D.224?	9
Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai 1940				
palm-leaf	Maturait Tamil <i>Caṅkam</i>	complete with variants	lost	1
paper	Ti.Ta. Kaṇakacuntaram Piḷḷai	complete with variants	GOML D.224?	2
paper	Rā. Rākavaiyaṅkār	complete with variants		3
paper	Mutturattiṇa Mutaliyār	complete with variants		4
paper	Ceṇṇai Aracāṅka Nūlnilayam = GOML	complete with variants	GOML R.5751/TR.1072	4
Caṇmukam Piḷḷai 1985				
paper	London [British Library]	dated 1894	BL Or.2726	1

112 This column presents my attempts at identifying the manuscripts described in the editions with those still extant in today's libraries. When the entry is followed by a question mark it means this is uncertain. Almost no identification is reliable; nonetheless I have operated on the basis of the pragmatic consideration that it is not reasonable to suppose that we are faced today will a whole new set of manuscripts, although this is certainly the impression one first has when looking at the disparity of materials.

material	provenance	state	identification ¹¹²	no°
paper	Aṇṇāmalaip Palkalaikkaḷakam, copy by Rā. Rākavaiyaṅkāṛ	dated 1899, Maturai		2
palm-leaf	Maturaip Pulavar Iḷāṅkumaraṇ	<i>kuṛippu</i>		3
paper	Srī Aṭikaḷ Ācīriyar	226 songs		4

Table 12: *Narriṇai*: 7+5+4

material	provenance	significance	identification	No°
Nārāyaṇacāmi Aiyar 1915				
palm-leaf	police officer Nā. Cōmacuntarappiḷḷai, son of Maṇṇārkuṭi miṣaṇ haiskūl tamiḷp paṇṭitar Nārāyaṇacāmai Piḷḷai		lost	1
paper	copied in Ceṇṇai Irāḷāṅkak Kaiyeḷuttup Puttakacālai = GOML by Śrīcuvāmi Vēṭācalam	corrected	G3?	2
ms.	sent by U.Vē. Cāminātaiyar		UVSL 1076?	3
ms.	sent by U.Vē. Cāminātaiyar		UVSL 509?	4
ms.	Maturai Tamil <i>Caṅkam</i>	compared	lost	5
ms.	Ceṇṇai, Ti.Ta. Kaṇakacuntaram Piḷḷai		GOML D.231/PS. 67? 6	
ms.	Ceṇṇai, Ti.Ta. Kaṇakacuntarampiḷḷai		GOML R.5743/ TR.1064	7
Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai 1940				
palm-leaf	Maturait Tamiḷ <i>Caṅkam</i>	complete + variants	lost	1
paper	Rā. Rākavaiyaṅkāṛ	complete + variants		2
paper	Ceṇṇai Aracāṅka Nūlnilayam = GOML	complete	GOML D.231/PS. 67? 3	
paper	Pavāṇantar Kaḷakam, Ceṇṇai → GOML	complete	GOML R.5743/ TR.1064	4
paper	Pavāṇantar Kaḷakam, Ceṇṇai → GOML	complete	GOML R.5745/ TR.1066	5
Turaicāmp Piḷḷai 1966				
palm-leaf	Araciṇar kaiyeḷuttu Nūl Nilaiyam = GOML		GOML R.5745/ TR.1066?	1
palm-leaf	Maturait Tamiḷc Cāṅkam		lost	2
palm-leaf	Ṭommiccēri [sic] Karuppaiyāt Tēvar			3
palm-leaf	Putuppaṭṭi Civa Mu. Muttaiyā Ceṭṭiyār			4

Table 13: *Akanāṇṭu*: 7+4

material	provenance	significance	identification	No°
Irākavaiyaṅkār 1923/24				
paper	made in Ceṇṇai Oriental Manuscript Library	corrected after a ms. by Tēvarpirāṇ Kavirāyar given to Centamiḷp Pattirāciriyaṛ U. Vē. Tiru. Nārāyaṇa Aiyaṅkār Svāmikaḷ Tamil <i>Caṅkam</i>	UVSL 11/73?	1
paper	Perumpaḷaṇai	seen and copied	UVSL 5/67 + 10/71?	2
palm-leaf	Tirunelvēli Nellaiyappak Kavirāyar		UVSL 1075?	3
palm-leaf	Ceṇṇai Ti.Ta. Kaṇakacuntiram Piḷḷai		UVSL 394?	4
paper	Aiyār		UVSL 4/66?	5
ms.	Ceṇṇai Mērirāṇiyār Kallūḷit Tamil Paṇṭitar Kā. Rā. Namaccivāya Mutaliyār		UVSL 6/68?	6
palm-leaf	Tirumayilai vitvāṇ Caṇmukam incomplete Piḷḷai		UVSL 28?	7
Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai 1940				
palm-leaf	Kampar Vilāsam, Vē. Irājakōpālaiyaṅkar	complete in good condition	NLK 3141/ S. P.V. 91	1
paper	Kampar Vilāsam, Vē. Irājakōpālaiyaṅkar	incomplete, with variants	UVSL 11/73	2
paper	Ceṇṇai, Sarvakalācālai Intiya Carittira Ārāyccit Tuṛai	in between some verses missing	GOML R.5735/TR.1051	3
paper	Ceṇṇai Aracāṅka Nūlnilayam = GOML	ibid.	GOML R.5734/TR.1050	4

Table 14: *Puraṇāṇūru*: 16+5+4

material	provenance	state	identification	No°
Cāminātaiyar 1894				
palm-leaf	Tiruvāvaṭuṭurai Ātīṇam, Cuppiramaṇiyatēcīkar	1–400, text only	lost	1
palm-leaf	Tiruttaṇikaic Caravaṇap Perumāḷaiyar	1–400, text only		2
palm-leaf	Yāḷppāṇattu Nallūr, Catācivappiḷḷai	267–369, text only		3
palm-leaf	Yāḷppāṇam, Vi. Kaṇakacapaip Piḷḷai	1–366, text only		4
palm-leaf	Tirumayilai Vittuvāṇ Caṇmukam Piḷḷai	3–399, text only		5
palm-leaf	Tiruvāvaṭuṭurai Ātīṇam, Cuppiramaṇiya Tēcīkar	1–260, with comm.	TAM 76?	6
palm-leaf	Tiruvāvaṭuṭurai Ātīṇam, Śrī Ampalavāṇatēcīkar	1–170, with comm.		7
palm-leaf	Āḷvārtirunakari, Tāyavalantirtta Kavirāyar	1–261, with comm.		8
palm-leaf	Mitilaippaṭṭi Aḷakiya Cīrṇampalak Kavirāyar	1–266, with comm.		9
palm-leaf	Mitilaippaṭṭi Aḷakiya Cīrṇampalak Kavirāyar	1–177, with comm.		10
palm-leaf	Tirunelvēliyaic cārnta Vaṇṇārpēṭṭai, Tiruppārkaṭaṇāta Kavirāyar	1–260, with comm.		11
palm-leaf	Teṇkāci Cuppaiyāp Piḷḷai	1–48, with comm.		12
palm-leaf	Teṇkāci Cuppaiyāp Piḷḷai	1–57, with comm.		13
palm-leaf	Teṇkāci Cuppaiyāp Piḷḷai	7–48, with comm.		14
palm-leaf	Tūttukkuṭi, Kumāracāmip Piḷḷai	1–216, with comm.		15
palm-leaf	Tūttukkuṭi, Kumāracāmip Piḷḷai	1–196, with comm.		16
Cāminātaiyar 1935				
palm-leaf	Mantittōppu Caṇkaracuvāmi Ātīṇakarttar Caṇkaracuppiramaṇiyam	1–400, text only		1
palm-leaf	Tirunelvēli Śrīkavirāja Icuvara Mūrttip Piḷḷai	1–400, text only		2
palm-leaf	Ariyūr Es. Cāminātaiyar	1–400, text only		3
palm-leaf	Maturait Tamilc <i>Caṇkam</i>	with comm.	lost	4

material	provenance	state	identification	No°
palm-leaf	Yālpṣpāṇattu Vaṇṇainakar Cuvāmināta Paṇṭitar	with comm.		5
Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai 1940				
palm-leaf	Maturait Tamiḷ <i>Caṅkam</i>	incomplete, endowed with commentary	lost	1
paper	Ceṇṇai Aracāṅka Nūlnilayam = GOML	incomplete, endowed with commentary	GOML D.284	2
paper	Ti.Ta. Kaṇakacuntaram Piḷḷai	incomplete, text only	lost	3
paper	Maṇṇārkuṭi Cōmacuntaram Piḷḷai	incomplete, text only	lost	4

Table 15: *Aiṅkuṟunūru*: 4+2+1+1

material	provenance	significance	identification	No°
Cāminātaiyar 1903				
ms.	Tiruvāvaṭuturai Ātīṇam	compl., text + kiḷavi	UVSL 173	1
ms.	Jē. Em. Vēluppiḷḷai F. M.U.	text + kiḷavi		2
ms.	Tirumayilai Vitvāṇ Caṇmukam Piḷḷai	text + kiḷavi		3
palm-leaf	Ālvārtirunakari Tē. Lakṣmaṇa Kavirāyar	text + kiḷavi + old comm	UVSL 1075	4
Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai 1940				
paper	Ceṇṇai Aracāṅka Nūlnilayam GOML	complete + endowed with commentary	GOML D.202?	1
paper	Ceṇṇai Aracāṅka Nūlnilayam GOML	complete + endowed with commentary	GOML D.203?	2
Catacivaiyar 1944				
paper	Karaveṭṭimēṟku metaṭiṣṭ tamiḷp pāṭacālaiṭ talaimai ācīriyar Tiruvāḷar A. Tā. Cuppīramaṇiyam	compl. with comm.	lost	1
Turaicāmp Piḷḷai 1957				
ms.	Cīrkaḷi Kōvintacāmi Reṭṭiyar	additional lines		1

Table 16: *Paṭirrupattu*: 6+2

material	provenance	state	identification	No ^o
Cāminātaiyar 1904				
palm-leaf	Tiruvāṇṭuṭurai Āṭiṇam	2 nd to 9 th decade	TT	1
	Ceṇṇai, Iracāṅkattu kaiyeḷuttu pustaka cālai = GOML		lost?	2
	Ālvārtirunakari Tē. Ilaṭcmaṇa Kavirāyar			3
	Ālvārtirunakari Jē.Em. Vēluppiḷḷai			4
	Tirumayilai Vittuvāṇ Caṇmukam Piḷḷai			5
	Ti.Ta. Kaṇakacuntaram Piḷḷai, B. A.		UVSL 559?	6
Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai 1940				
paper	Rā. Rākavaiyaṅkāṇ	2 nd to 9 th decade, excellent ms.		1
paper	Ti.Ta. Kaṇakacuntaram Piḷḷai	2 nd to 9 th decade, excellent ms.	UVSL 559?	2

Table 17: *Kalittokai*: 10+2

material	provenance	state	identification	No ^o
Tāmōtaram Piḷḷai 1887				
palm-leaf	Tiruvāṇṭuṭurai Āṭiṇam, given by Carkurunāta Cuvāmikaḷ		lost	1
palm-leaf	Tiruvāṇṭuṭurai Āṭiṇam (from the South)		lost	2
palm-leaf	Tiruvāṇṭuṭurai Āṭiṇam (from the South)		lost	3
palm-leaf	Ri. Kaṇakacapai Piḷḷai, son of Mallākam Vicuvanāṭapiḷḷai in Yalppanam, Sri Lanka			4
palm-leaf	Putuccēri Cokkaliṅkam Piḷḷai Nellittoppu	incomplete + damaged, Neytal-kali		5
palm-leaf	Tintivaṇam	Neytal-kali		6
palm-leaf	Ceṇṇai Pirāciya Kirantamantapam	Neytal-kali		7
palm-leaf	Ceṇṇai Pirāciya Kirantamantapam	Neytal-kali		8
palm-leaf	Tirumaṇam Kecava Cupparāya Mutaliyar			9

material	provenance	state	identification	No°
palm-leaf	Mayilai Rāmalinkampiḷḷai			10
Aṇantarāmaiyar 1925+1931				
palm-leaf	U.Vē. Cāminātaiyar		UVSL 511/224	1
palm-leaf	U.Vē. Cāminātaiyar		UVSL 5/225	2
Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai 1940				
palm-leaf	Nellai, Ampalavāṇak Kavirāyar	complete, excellent ms., with commentary		1
paper	Pavāṇantar Kaḷakam, Ceṇṇai	incomplete, excellent ms., with commentary	GOML R.5783/ TR.1112	2

Table 18: *Paripāṭal*: 5+1

material	provenance	state		No°
Cāminātaiyar 1918 (found in Gros 1968)				
palm-leaf	Tiruvāvaṭutuṟai Ātīṇam	1–38, with comm., first and last f. missing	TAM 75	1
palm-leaf	Āḷvārtirunakari Te. Lakṣmaṇakavirāyar	2–32	UVSL 247	2
palm-leaf	Āḷvārtirunakari Te. Lakṣmaṇakavirāyar	2–32 copy of former	UVSL 1077	3
palm-leaf	Tarumapura Ātīṇam maṭam	2 folios with Parimēlaḷakar's name	lost	4
palm-leaf	Ra. Irākavaiyaṇkar, poète du Ramnad	2 folios	lost	5
Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai 1940				
paper	Ti.Ta. Kaṇakacuntaram Piḷḷai	2–22 with commentary	lost	1

Table 19: *Pattuppāṭṭu*: 11+6

material	provenance	state	identification
Cāminātaiyar 1931			
	Tiruvāvaṭuturai Ātiṇam, Makāvittuvāṇ Tiricirapuram Mīṇāṭci Cuntaram Piḷḷai		1
	Tarumapura Ātiṇam, Puttakacālai		2
	Vēlūr Kumāracāmi Aiyar		3
	Ārumukamaṅkalam Kumāracāmi Piḷḷai		4
	with the help of Śrī Kavirāja Īcuvaramūrttip Piḷḷaiyavarkaḷum, younger brother of Śrī Kavirāja Nellai- yappa Piḷḷai from Tirunelvēli		5
	Tirunelvēliyaic cārnta Vaṇṇārappēṭṭai Tiruppārkaṭaṇāta Kavirāyar		6
	Ālvārtirunakari Tēvapirāṇ Kavirāyar		7
	Polḷācci Vitvāṇ Śrī Civaṇpiḷḷai		8
	Tiruvampalattiṇṇamutampiḷḷai		9
	Ma. Vi. Kaṇakacapaip Piḷḷai		10
	Ceṇṇai Irācaṅkattuk kaiyeḷuttu puttakacālai = GOML	GOML D.120/ TP.47	11
Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai 1940			
paper	Kā.Rā. Namacivāya Mutaliyār	complete, excellent ms. lost	1
palm-leaf	Em.Pi.Es. Turaicumai Mutaliyār	Tirumuru. complete, text only	2
palm-leaf	Ampalavāṇak Kavirāyar	Porun., Ciṟup., Perump., NLK 3112 Mullaip. with comm.	3
paper	Ceṇṇai Aracāṅka Nūnilayam GOML	Porun., Ciṟup., Perump., GOML D.120/ Mullaip., Maturaik., TP.47 Paṭṭiṇap., Malaip. with commentary	4
paper	Ceṇṇai Aracāṅka Nūnilayam = GOML	Mullaip. text only	5
paper	Maṇṇārkuṭi Cōmacuntaram Piḷḷai	Maturaik., Neṭunal., Kuṟiṇṇicp., Paṭṭiṇap. with commentary	6

II.3 Colophons and Library Information

Caṅkam manuscripts come with two types of colophons, found at the beginning, or at the end. This classification does not include the miniature commentaries on the poetic state of affairs that are called *kiḷavi* in the tradition. This is, however, often mistranslated as ‘colophon’ in secondary literature. The *kiḷavi* are found at the end of the individual poems, and are in their turn followed by the name of the author and the poem’s number. Marginal intertitles, always on the left, are only found in palm-leaf manuscripts. They basically give short religious invocations or blessings, titles of texts and of sections (sometimes subsections) – as a rule at the beginning – and in some cases even a *pada* index. The end of a section (such as a decade) is sometimes announced in the running text. Paper manuscripts usually make use of layout devices to convey such information by inserting blank spaces, moving to the next page, or giving headings. Also for the *kiḷavi*-s the scribes make use of a variable group of set phrases. A rather exceptional practice seems to have been prefixing a head colophon to a small group of palm-leaf manuscripts;¹¹³ in the paper manuscripts this gives way to an extended title page. Scribal end colophons containing information about the manuscript’s date and provenance or the name of the copyist are rare. Such information is, especially in the case of paper manuscripts, more frequently found on the cover or title pages. Invocations and blessings as found at the end of most complete manuscripts (except, presumably, in some of the paper copies commissioned by the larger libraries such as the GOML) can be regarded as minimal scribal colophons.

However, fixed colophons (in the following referred to as “traditional colophon”) are found at the end of most complete manuscripts. They explain the rationale of anthologisation (sometimes in verse form). In the case of the *Eṭṭuttokai*, they name the patron and the compiler of the anthology, and in the case of the *Pattuppāṭṭu*, the respective poet. Certain additions, such as (generic) references to the scribe, are variable, as are stray verses in the style of additional *kaṭavuḷ vāḷttu*-s. Auspicious phrases in the form of short religious benedictions, such as *kuruvē tuṇai* or *civamayam*, are found on title pages, in marginal intertitles, or at the end. It is most probable that at least some of these indicate the religious affiliation of the institution where the manuscript was copied. This is usually a Śaivite monastery, but we also find evidence of copyists with Vaiṣṇava affiliations.

¹¹³ Only one manuscript (of the *AN*) contains a detailed colophon at the beginning, about which see below.

II.3.1 List of Available Colophons (Not Containing the Fragmentary Mss.)

II.3.1.1 *Eṭṭuttokai*

Kuṟuntokai:

C1a [UVSL 1075]	traditional colophon
C2 [UVSL 183]	traditional colophon
C3 [UVSL 184]	traditional colophon
C4 [UVSL 185] 41–99	information on cover page
C5 [UVSL 186]	information on cover page
L1 [BL London Or. 2726]	scribal colophon
G1 [GOML D.224]	traditional colophon, information on cover page
G2 [GOML R.5751/TR.1072]	traditional colophon
G3 [GOML R.7159]	information on title page

Narriṇai:

C1 [UVSL 1076]	traditional colophon
C2 [UVSL 509]	no information
G1 [GOML D.231/PS-67]	no information
G2 [GOML R.5743/TR.1064]	no information
G3 [GOML R.5745/TR.1066]	no information

Akanāṇūru:

TT [TVM no number]	traditional colophon
NL [NLK 3141//S. V.P. 91]	traditional colophon
C1b [UVSL 237]	traditional colophon
C2 [UVSL 28]	no information
C3 [UVSL 107]	scribal head colophon
C4a [UVSL 292]	no information
C4c [UVSL 297]	scribal colophon
C5 [UVSL 7/69, 8/70, 9/72]	printed cover pages, C5c traditional colophon, corrector's colophon on final cover page
C6 [UVSL 4/66]	traditional colophon
C7a [UVSL 5/67]	traditional colophon
C8 [UVSL 6/68]	traditional colophon
C9 [UVSL 11/73]	no information
G1 [GOML R.5734/TR.1050]	traditional colophon
G2 [GOML R.5735/TR.1051]	no information
G3 [GOML R.5736/TR.1052]	no information

Puranāṇūru:

TT [TVM 76]	no information
C1 [UVSL 237]	no information
C2 [UVSL 707]	no information
C3 [UVSL 940]	no information
C4 [UVSL 440]	no information
C5 [UVSL 128]	no information
C6 [UVSL 96]	no information
C7 [UVSL 576]	no information
C8 [UVSL 35]	no information
C9 [UVSL 549]	no information
A1 [AUL 37/44572]	no information
TU1 [TU Tañcāvūr 792]	no information
G1 [GOML R.8842/TR.3156]	no information
G2 [GOML D.284]	information on front page

Aiṅkurunūru:

TT [TVM no number]	traditional colophon
C2 [UVSL 173]	no information
C3 [UVSL 97]	traditional colophon, information on cover page
C4 [UVSL 98]	information on cover page
G1 [GOML D.202]	no information
G2 [GOML 203]	information on front page

Paṭṭirrupattu:

TT [TVM no number]	intermediate colophon
NL [NLK 3087]	not yet copied
C1 [UVSL 1075/2233]	intermediate colophon
C2 [UVSL 98a]	intermediate colophon
C3 [UVSL 560]	intermediate colophon
C4 [UVSL 559]	i.c. + information on cover page
C5 [UVSL 439]	information on title page
G1 [GOML D.114/TD.44]	i.c. + information on title page
G2 [GOML D.115]	information on title page
G3 [GOML D.116]	i.c. + information on first page

Paripāṭal:

TT [TVM 75]	no information
C1 [UVSL 247]	no information
C2 [UVSL 1077]	no information

Kalittokai:

C1 [UVSL 73H/226]	no information
C2 [UVSL 5/225]	scribal colophon
C3 [UVSL 511/224]	scribal colophon (damaged)
G1 [GOML D.210/TD.127]	[authors' names for Pālaikkali]
G2 [GOML R.2075/TR.2229]	no information
G3 [GOML D.212/TD.61]	no information
G4 [GOML R.5783/TR.1112]	no information, but blessing + one stray stanza
G5 [GOML R.6843/R.5784]	information on cover page
G6 [GOML R.5754/TR.1075]	traditional colophon
G7 [GOML D.209/TD.59]	information on front page
G8 [GOML D.211]	information on first page

II.3.1.2 *Pattuppāṭṭu*

C1 [UVSL 1074] 3 rd batch	scribal colophon
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Tirumurukārrupaṭai: {to be treated in detail by E. Francis}

C1 [UVSL 1074]	traditional colophon
C2 [UVSL 589-M]	scribal colophon
C3 [UVSL 548-A]	
C4 [UVSL 854]	
C5 [UVSL 416]	traditional colophon
C6 [UVSL 813-A]	traditional colophon
C7 [UVSL 892]	scribal colophon (difficult to read)
C8 [UVSL 704]	
C9 [UVSL 743]	
C10 [UVSL 1071]	title colophon
C11 [UVSL 1072]	title colophon
C12 [UVSL 1073]	
G1 [GOML D.1199/TD.76]	
G2 [GOML R.1236/TD.939]	trad. + scribal colophon
G3 [GOML D.1195/TD.316/D.525]	
G4 [GOML D.1196/TD.583]	
G5 [GOML D.1197/TD.584]	
G6 [GOML R.1269/TR.964]	traditional colophon
G7 [GOML R.5253]	
G8 [GOML R.2865/TR.1635]	
G9 [GOML R.2688/TR.1506]	title colophon
G10 [GOML R.2806/TR.1588]	

G11 [GOML R.5184/TR.2303]	colophon
G12 [GOML R.2929/TR.1669]	
G13 [GOML R.2970]	title colophon
G14 GOML [R.5503/TR.2435]	title colophon
T1 [ORIML Trivandrum 6272]	
T2 [ORIML Trivandrum 4108]	scribal colophon
T3 [ORIML Trivandrum 6389]	colophon
T4 [ORIML Trivandrum 8849A]	colophon
T5 [ORIML Trivandrum 11500]	
TU1 [TU Tañcāvūr 2391]	
TU2 [TU Tañcāvūr 2522-1]	
TU3 [TU Tañcāvūr 2522-2]	
SM1 [MSSML 227]	
SM2 [MSSML 823b]	
SM3 [MSSML 973]	title colophon
SM4 [MSSML 1587b]	
SM5 [MSSML 1607c]	title colophon
A1 [AUL Aṇṇāmalai 860]	title- and scribal colophon
I1 [IFP Pondy RE-04420]	colophon
I2 [IFP Pondy RE-25365]	scribal colophon
I3 [IFP Pondy RE-45898e]	colophon
I4 [IFP Pondy RE-47681a]	colophon
I5 [IFP Pondy RE-47752]	colophon
NL1 [NLK 3092]	not yet copied
NL2 [NLK 3152]	not yet copied
P1 [BN Paris 66]	colphon; catalogue date
P2 [BN Paris 67]	scribal colophon
P3 [BN Paris 28]	scribal colophon
<i>Porunarārruṭai:</i>	
C1 [UVSL 1074]	traditional colophon,
C2 [UVSL 579-B(=A)]	traditional colophon
C3 [UVSL 231a]	traditional colophon, scribal colophon
NL [NLK 3112]	not yet copied
G1 [GOML D.268]	traditional colophon
<i>Cirupāṇārruṭai:</i>	
C1 [UVSL 1074]	traditional colophon
C2 [UVSL 184-A]	traditional colophon
C3 [UVSL 579-A(=B)]	traditional colophon

C4 [UVSL 1070]	no information
C5 [UVSL 41-C]	traditional colophon, scribal colophon
C6 [UVSL 285]	no information
C7 [UVSL 166]	traditional colophon
NL [NLK 3112]	not yet copied
G1 [GOML D.266]	traditional colophon

Perumpāṇārupātai:

C1 [UVSL 1074]	traditional colophon
C2 [UVSL 184-B]	traditional colophon
C3 [UVSL 579-B]	traditional colophon
C4 [UVSL 231c]	no information
C5 [UVSL 166]	traditional colophon
NL [NLK 3112]	not yet copied
G1a+c [GOML D.267?]	traditional colophon
G1b [GOML D.120?]	traditional colophon

Mullaippāṭṭu:

C1 [UVSL 1074]	traditional colophon
C2 [UVSL 184-C]	traditional colophon
C3 [UVSL 579-C]	traditional colophon
NL [NLK 3112]	not yet copied
G1 [GOML D.234]	traditional colophon

Maturaikkañci:

C1 [UVSL 1074]	traditional colophon
C2 [UVSL 184-D]	traditional colophon
C3 [UVSL 579-D]	traditional colophon
C4 [UVSL 166-A]	no information

Neṭunalvātai:

C1 [UVSL 1074]	traditional colophon
C2 [UVSL 184-E]	traditional colophon
C3 [UVSL 579-E]	traditional colophon

Kuṛiṇcippāṭṭu:

C1 [UVSL 184-F]	traditional colophon
C2 [UVSL 579-E(1)]	traditional colophon

Paṭṭinappālai:

C1 [UVSL 184-F(2)]	traditional colophon
C2 [UVSL 579-F]	traditional colophon
G1 [GOML D.232]	traditional colophon

Malaipaṭukaṭām:

C1 [UVSL 184-G]	no information
C2 [UVSL [579-G]	traditional colophon
G1 [UVSL D.269]	traditional colophon, scribal colophon for <i>Pattuppāṭṭu</i> serial mss. G1

II.3.2 Scribal Colophons and/or Information on Title Pages**II.3.2.1 *Eṭṭuttokai***

Since neither of the two serial manuscripts of the *Eṭṭuttokai* (from Tiruvāṇṭuṭurai and from the UVSL) is complete, no colophon is available.

Kuṟuntokai:

C3: according to the cover page, notes from U.Vē. Cāminātaiyar himself (*aiyar avarkaḷ kuṟippukaḷum*); gift from Ka. Cuppiramaṇiya Aiyar, B. A.

C4, C5: according to the cover page, gift from Ka. Cuppiramaṇiya Aiyar, B. A.

L1 [BL Or.2726]: copied 1874 in Maturai for A. C. Burnell (acquired by the BL 18.01.1884). Colophon on right hand corner of folio 1 contains signature of Dr. Burnell dated 1878. Page 116 reads, after the traditional end colophon and a devotional verse to Sarasvatī:

aiṅkuṟunūṟṟumul[sic]. kuṟuntokai muṟṟum.

Of the *Aiṅkuṟunūṟu* too(?).¹¹⁴ The *Kuṟuntokai* is completed.

iktu makākaṇam poruntiya makācāstiriyārākiya tākṭar paṇṇal turaiyavarkaḷ kaṭṭalaippaṭi y-eḷutappaṭṭuṣyār muṇiṣi maturai muttup piḷḷaiyāl pārvaiyiṭappaṭṭatu.

This was written on the order of the Honourable great scholar Dr. Burnell under the supervision of his Munshi Muttup Piḷḷai from Maturai.

¹¹⁴ This reference to the *AiN* might be due to the fact that the manuscript contains one more page with poems from the *AiN*'s first decade, although those follow the colophon.

G1: dated to 1893/94 on cover page

G3: Rno 5752

toḷakkam tēti “beginning date” 9.2.59

muṭivu tēti “end date” 17.2.58

Copied by M. R. Sivaprakacam Pillai

[added in blue ink]

Restored in 1957–58 from the manuscript described under R. no. 5752.

Akanāṇūru:

Apart from the well-attested traditional end colophon there is one instance of a colophon prefixed on p. 1 in C3 [UVSL 107]. Apart from four slightly irregular verses of invocation for the spiritual teacher, for Tirumāl and for Śrī, along with several short prose invocations of various Vaiṣṇavite entities (among them Nammālvār, the most important of the early Vaiṣṇava poet-saints), it gives some minimal information about the copying of the manuscript and a short characterisation of its content, calling the anthology “*neṭuntokai*” and referring to the *kīḷavi*-s by the term *tuṟai*. Incidentally, this manuscript is one of two exponents of a second strand of transmission for the text of the AN. This shows that apart from the well-attested vulgata, mostly transmitted in Śaiva institutions (such as Tiruvāvaṭuturai mutt) and recognisable by their brief invocations in the margins and at the end, there is a second line which appears to have been transmitted in a Vaiṣṇava context.

C3: [marginal title in *Grantha*]

śrī ##m śubham astu ... Śrī ... Let there be purity.

[four devotional stanzas]

veṇ tamaraiyā! viḷaṅku maṇi nūpuraṇ cūḷ taṇ tamaraiyē caraṇa[m]. ālvār tiru aṭikaḷē caraṇam.

[1.4] 902 k° kārttikai māta mutal reṅkanātaṇ eḷuti varukīratu. [1.5] *vaṇaca maṇṭapattil aracu*

vīṟirukkum vakuḷa mālikaic ceṇṇakac caṭakōpak kārīmāṟavar taṇ rīru aṭikaḷē caraṇam.

paṭcirācak kaṭavuḷ pātāravinta keti. [1.6]

*caṅkattār pāṭiya neṭuntokaiyum tuṟaiyūṇ kavi pāṭiṇ pērkaḷum eḷutiṟukkutu.*¹¹⁵ *maḷimāṟavar taṇ malar aṭiyē taṅcam.* [grantha:] śubham astu. ## rāma jayam. keruṭāya namaḥ.

Refuge the cool lotus surrounding the shining jewel anklet of her on the white lotus! Refuge the sacred feet of the Ālvār! [This manuscript] is being written by Reṅkanātaṇ beginning in the month of Kārttikai in the year 902 Kollam (= November 1726 C. E.). Refuge the holy feet of Caṭakōpaṇ Kārīmāṟavar with Campaka for a garland of Vakuḷam, who sits in distinction as king of the lotus temple hall. Refuge the lotus feet of the god [seated] on the king of birds. The “long collection” sung by those of the academy and the miniature commentaries and the names of the songs’ poets have been written. Greatness to the flower feet of joyful Māṟavar. Let there be purity. Victory to Rāma. Obeisance to Garuḍa.

¹¹⁵ *eḷutiṟukkutu*: this form has to be read as the standard colloquial for the written continuous *eḷutiṟukkīratu*.

C4c: Scribal colophon on p. 48, l. 9:

neṭuntokai ###[to]ṇṇūru pāṭṭukk' urai ~eḷuti muṭintatu. [grantha] dēvi sahāyam.

The commentary to ### ninety songs of *Neṭuntokai* is written [and] completed. Relying on the goddess.

C5: printed front page reads:

Eṭṭuttokaiyuḷ onṛākiya Akanānūru. mutalāvatu Kaḷṛṛiyāṇainirai. itu paṛpala eṭṭuppiratikaḷaik koṇṭu āṛayntu piṇṇattūr, A. Nārāyaṇacāmi Aiyar eḷutiya pustakam. cōpakirutu-v°.

Akanānūru, which is one among the *Eṭṭuttokai*. 1. *Kaḷṛṛiyāṇainirai*. After research into various palm-leaf manuscripts written by A. Nārāyaṇacāmi Aiyar of Piṇṇattūr.¹¹⁶ The year of Jupiter = 1903/04 C. E.

The last page of vol. 3 adds some additional information in blue pen that is not fully decipherable.

puttakapparru##

5-3-10	<i>maruttukuṭi pō(?)kiyār-iṭam – kokkōkam</i>	
	<i>ariccantirapurāṇam</i>	[signature]
27-3-10	<i>tañcāvūr ulakanātaṭiḷḷai-y-iṭam – akanānūru 37 pāṭalurai</i>	
	<i>yāpparuṅkala virutti.</i>	[signature]
3-4-10	<i>tiricirāppaḷḷi</i>	[signature]
	<i>ārumukanayiṇār vacam</i>	
	<i>tamiḷ naṅḷal caritai</i>	
	<i>cōḷa maṇṭala catakam</i>	
	<i>paḷamoḷiyurai.</i>	

This seems to be a correction colophon; the manuscript has been seen by Pōkiyār(?) from Maruttukuṭi on the 5th March 1910, by Ulakanātaṭiḷḷai from Tañcāvūr on 27th March 1910 and by Ārumukanayiṇār from Trichy on 3rd April 1910.

Further there appears to be a list of the manuscripts that these three persons possess, namely Pōkiyār(?) the *Kokkōkam* and the *Ariccantira Purāṇam*, Ulakanātaṭiḷḷai a commentary for 37 songs in the *AN* and the *Yāpparuṅkala Virutti*, and Ārumukanayiṇār the *Tamiḷ Nāṅḷal Caritai*, the *Cōḷamaṇṭala Catakam* and the *Paḷamoḷi* with commentary – quite a mixture of materials: an erotic treatise, a *Purāṇam*, an *AN* commentary, one of the oldest and most important commentaries in the field of Tamil metrics, a collection of verses from Tamil poets in “historical” order (see Introduction, n. 68), a 17th-century poem on the Cōḷa country, and finally one of the didactic *Kiḷkkaṇakku* collections with commentary. The exciting bit is of course the reference to the “commentary on 37 songs of the *Akanānūru*”: it is quite possible that we still possess a paper copy of this manu-

¹¹⁶ This is the first editor of the *Narṛṇai*; he died in 1914 before seeing the publication of his work.

script, namely G3 (GOML R.5736/TR.1052), which indeed contains the invocation stanza plus the first 36 verses of the *AN* (though the space for the verses is mostly left blank) accompanied by an extensive unknown commentary. It was judged to be rather modern by both my teachers T. V. Gopal Iyer and T. S. Gangadharan, who suggest dating it to the 18th or early 19th century.

C8: note on last page (red pen): “checked by N. Srinivasan, 2-8-70.”

Puṛaṇāṇūru:

G2: front page presumably gives date: 9-1-16 (= 1916)

Aiṅkuṛunūru:

C3: according to the front page, with notes from Cām.’s hand (*aiyar avarkaḷ kuṛippukaḷuṭaṇ*); according to the cover page, gift from Ka. Cuppiramaṇiya Aiyar, B. A.

C4: according to the cover page, gift from Ka. Cuppiramaṇiya Aiyar, B. A.

G2: according to the front page, purchased in 1893/94

Paṭiṛruppattu:

Here the intertitles have been recorded with some repetitive detail, because there has been some argument as to whether the lost decades of the *Paṭiṛruppattu* are really the first and the last, an argument worth reporting as one of the rare instances where scholars of the later generation base themselves on manuscript evidence. Marr (1971: 20 f.) takes as his starting point the evidence of a colophon (as reported in the edition by Turaicāṁip Piḷḷai 1950 from one of the additional manuscripts now lost): “*paṭiṛruppattu mūlamum uraiyum muṭintatu; cubham astu*. ‘Root text and commentary of the *Paṭiṛruppattu* end [here]; let it be pure.’” From this colophon the editor had drawn the conclusion that the loss of decade 1 and 10 must have already been a well-established fact in the tradition. Marr, however, argues that if there is a colophon, this means that the text really ended there. Furthermore he adduces a number of reasons based on content why the lost decade is in fact the seventh, not the tenth.

The first counterargument is that if this were the case, one would expect not just any sort of colophon at the end, but a traditional end colophon that names the compiler and the patron, as is the case with the other complete anthologies. Moreover, the evidence of the remaining witnesses is sufficient to settle the matter in favour of Turaicāṁip Piḷḷai’s interpretation. Four of seven manuscripts end with the mere statement that the ninth decade is complete. One continues with the number ten, which is then only followed by a blessing (thus suggesting that something is missing). Two other manuscripts add the information that the copied text comprised only the second to ninth decade.

TT, C1, C2, G3: intermediate colophon (= colophon at the end of decade 9):

onpatām pattu murrum.
End of the ninth decade.

C3: intermediate colophon (= colophon at the end of decade 9):

onpatām pattu muṭintatu. 10. kaḷḷapirāṇ tiruvaṭikaḷē caraṇam.
End of the ninth decade. 10. Refuge at the holy feet of Kaḷḷapirāṇ.

C4: according to the cover page, *taṇikkākitanḱaḷ* = “[from Aiyar’s] own manuscripts”

intermediate colophon (= colophon at the end of decade 9):

onpatām pattu murrum. iraṇṭām pattu mutal onpatām pattu varaikkum.
End of the ninth decade. Begins with the second and ends with the ninth decade.

C5: according to the cover page, gift from Ka. Cuppiramaṇiya Aiyar, B. A.

G1: date according to half sheet, pasted in front: 9-6-27

intermediate colophon (= colophon at the end of decade 9):

onpatām pattu murrum. iraṇṭām pattu mutal onpatām pattu varaikkum. eḷuti muṭintatu.
End of the ninth decade. Begins with the second and ends with the ninth decade. Writing finished.

G2: date according to pasted inner title page: 9-6-28

G3: date according to first page: 9-6-22

What is slightly suspicious about the dates of the three manuscripts is the fact that they all were finished on a 9th of June, namely, in 1922, 1927 and 1928.

Kalittokai:

C2: Scribal colophon on p. 380:

tirumayilai aṇṇācāmiyuppāttiyar eḷutiyatu. kuḷir varuvatu neytal ākum.
Written by Aṇṇācāmiyuppāttiyar from Tirumayilai. It is Neytal, the coming of the cold season.

C3: Scribal colophon on im. 200, last folio, damaged:

850 v^o māci 29 tiruvarūrilirukkum ceṇkamalaporpatam maṛaiñāṇa paṇṭarattiṇ puttiraṇ civakuruṇātaṇ taṇ eḷuttu. [+ 12 illegible akṣara-s]
Year 850 Kollam = 1675 C. E., Māci (February/March) 29, script of Civakuruṇātaṇ, the son of Ceṇkamala Porpatam Maṛaiñāṇa Paṇṭaram who is from Tiruvarūr. [rest illegible]

G1: mentions authors' names for *Pālaikkali* [Rajeswari 2009]

G4: Title on first page reads: Śrī rāmajayam. *Kalittokai*

G5: Cover page reads

kalittokai. toṭakam teti 11.12.57, muṭivu teti 29.12.57. Copied by M. R. Sivaprakasam Pillay. [Added in blue:] Restored in 1957 from a manuscript of R no. 5784.)

G6: traditional colophon

G7: front page presumable gives date: 17-5-7

G8: first page gives date: 9-1-6

II.3.2.2 *Pattuppāṭṭu*

G1 [GOML D.120/TP.47]: dated on second cover page to 175.29; ending with the traditional colophon of the *Malaipaṭukaṭām*, followed by an unpublished stanza (*murukāru porunāru ...*) in which line 5 ff. reads: *aruvārum poḷil puṭai cūḷ kaḷantai mū [tūrvaru civappapuvan aruḷ velpu(?)paṇ | uraiyoṭum eḷutiṇan*, that is, the text and its commentary have been written “by Velpupaṇ(?) grace to Civappapuvan who comes from the old town of Kaḷantai surrounded outside by groves overflowing with perfume.”¹¹⁷

Tirumurukārrupaṭai: {to be treated in detail by E. Francis}

C7 [UVSL 892] dated to *kīlaka v°* [= 1848/49 C. E.]

T1 [ORIML 6272] dated to 1080 Kollam = 1904/5 C. E. This is also the reading of the Library staff. Cf. “*étiquette*” with “M. E. 1080”.

T2 [ORIML Trivandrum 4108] dated to 988 *va°* [Kollam = 1812/13 C. E.]

A1 [AUL Aṇṇāmalai 860] dated to *piramāṭica va°* [= 1853/54 or 1913/14 C. E.]

I2 [IFP Pondy RE-25365] gives a double date, namely *rudrorkkāri varṣam* [= *uruttirōrkāri* = 1863/64 or 1923/24 C. E.] and *virodhi varṣam* [= 1889/90 or 1949/50 C. E.].

I4 [IFP Pondy RE 47681a] dated to 982 *va°* [Kollam = 1806/7 C. E.]

P1 [BN Paris 66] before 1855: around 1830 according to Vinson (1867: 21). Part of the “legs Ariel” to Société Asiatique (1855), then transferred to the BN. Vinson (1867: 21) seems to have further information as he gives a date “around 1830.”

P2 [BN Paris 67] *cupā[ṇu] va°* [= at the latest 1823/24 because mentioned by Vinson (1867: 21)]. Vinson (1867: 21) seems to have further information as he gives a date “30 avril 1763.”

¹¹⁷ This late paper manuscript copied without commentary presumably reproduces a verse attached to the older palm-leaf manuscript on which it was based. The mentioned name might refer to the sponsor (or owner) of the palm-leaf manuscript.

Porunarāruppaṭai:

C3 [UVSL 231a] p. 26, l. 3 f.: [traditional colophon]

iḱtu mayilai aṇṇācāmi y-upāttiyā[l e]lutiyaṭu – civamayam

This was written by the teacher Aṇṇācāmi from Mayilai – the essence of Śiva.

Cirumpāṇāruppaṭai:

C5 [UVSL 41-C] p. 37, l. 8 f.: [traditional colophon]

itai mayilai aṇṇācuvāmi y-upāttiyāl elutiyaṭē y-ām.

This was written by the teacher Aṇṇācuvāmi from Mayilai.

*Neṭunalvāṭai:*C1 [UVSL 1074], third batch, begins with two broken leaves between *Maturaikkāñci* and *Neṭunalvāṭai*, one of them reading:*tirunelvēli intukālej tamilppaṇṭitar corṇampiḷlai y-aṇuppiyaṭu.*¹¹⁸

Sent by the Tamil pandit Corṇampiḷlai from the Tirunelvēli Hindu College.

p. 414 ending with the traditional colophon of the *Neṭunalvāṭai* in another hand, plus some illegible words:*muṇippanāṭu vayiravaṇāta piḷḷaikku yiṭaile**nallakurṛālam kavirāyar ēṭu irunta ēṭu**vāṇṇiṇatu.*

The palm-leaf, which was Kavirāyar's from Nallakurṛālam, has been sold to Vayiravaṇāta Piḷḷai of Muṇippānāṭu(?).

II.3.2.3 Information from Scribal Colophons and Title Pages

Possible dates:

KT L1 [BL Or.2726]: copied in 1874 in Maturai for Burnell (acquired by the BL 18.01.1884).

KT G1 [GOML D.224]: dated to 1893/94 on cover page.

KT G3 [GOML R.7159]: dated to 17.2.[19]58 on title page.

AN C3 [UVSL 107]: dated to Kārttikai month, year 902 Kollam = November 1726 C. E., scribe named Reṇkanāṭaṇ.

118 Since the two folios are clearly inserted, being of a different type of palm-leaf, they might just as well relate to the preceding text, that is, the *Maturaikkāñci* (if they were not simply inserted here by mistake).

AN C5a-c [UVSL 7/69 + 8/70 + 9/72]: Dated on printed title page in all three volumes: *Pinṇattūr, A. Nārāyaṇacāmi Aiyar eḷutiya pustakam. cōpakirutu-v^o*. “written by A. Nārāyaṇacāmi Aiyar of Pinṇattūr. The year of Jupiter = 1903/04 C. E..” Last page of vol. 3 gives correction dates 25-3-10, 27-3-10, 3-4-10 and mentions Ulakarāta Piḷḷai from Tañcāvūr and Ārumukanayiṇār from Tiricirāppaḷḷi.

PN G2 [GOML D.284]: front page presumably gives date: 9-1-16 (= 1916).

Pati G1+2+3 [GOML 114–116]: first and or title pages date respectively to 9-6-27, 9-6-28 and 9-6-22.

Kali C1 [GOML 511]: dated to Kollam 850 (= 1675 C. E.), Māci 29th, scribe Civakuruṇātaṇ, son of Ceṅkamala Porṇpatam Maṇaiñāṇa Paṇṭaram from Tiruvārūr.

Kali G5 [GOML R.6843/R.5784]: cover page refers to restoration from 11.12.57 to 29.12.57 by M. R. Sivaprakasam Pillay.

Kali G6 [GOML 209/TD.59]: dated on front page to 17-5-7.

Pattup. G1 [GOML D.120] (serial ms.): dated on second cover page to 17. 5. 29.

Tirumuru. C7 [UVSL 892]: dated to 1848/49.

Tirum. T1 [ORIML 6272]: dated to 1080 Kollam = 1904/5 C. E.

Tirumuru. T2 [ORIML 4108]: dated to 988 Kollam = 1812/13 C. E.

Tirum. A1 [AUL 860]: dated to 1853/54 or 1913/14 C. E..

Tirumuru. I2 [IFP Pondy RE-25365] dated to *uruttirōrkāri va^o* = 1863/64 or 1923/24 C. E.) and *virodhi va^o* = 1889/90 or 1949/50 C. E.

Tirum. I4 [IFP Pondy RE-47681a] dated to 982 Kollam = 1806/7 C. E.

Tirumuru. P1 [BN Paris 66]: catalogue date “around 1830”.

Tirum. P2 [BN Paris 27]: dated to *cupā[ṇu] va^o* = at the latest 1823/24 C. E.; Vinson: “30 avril 1763”.

Other information:

Kali C3 [UVSL 5] written by Aṇṇācāmiyuppāttiyar from Tirumayilai.

Poruṇ. C3 [UVSL 231a] and Ciṟu C5 [UVSL 41-C]: written by the teacher Aṇṇācāmi/Aṇṇācuvāmi from Mayilai.

Pattup. serial ms. G1 [GOML 269]: ms. sponsored by Civappapuvaṇ from Kaḷantai?

Neṭunalvāṭai C1 [UVSL 1074, batch 3]: [Sent by the Tamil pandit Coṇampillai from Tirunelvēli Hindu College.] – Sold by Kavirāyar’s from Nallakuruṟālam to Vayiravaṇāta Piḷḷai of Muṇippānāṭu(?).

KT C3, C4, C5 [UVSL 183 + 185 + 186]: according to the cover page, gift from Ka. Cuppiramaṇiya Aiyar, B. A.

AiNC3, C4 [UVSL 97 + 98]: according to the cover page, gift from Ka. Cuppiramaṇiya Aiyar, B. A.

Pati C5 [UVSL 439]: according to the cover page, gift from Ka. Cuppiramaṇiya Aiyar, B. A.

KT C3, AiN C3, Pat. C4(?): notes from UVC.'s hand.

Table 20: Titles of texts according to the manuscripts

text	title	manuscript
Eṭṭuttokai	<i>eṭṭuttokai</i>	m. C1
Kuṟuntokai	<i>kuṟuntokai</i>	col. C1+2+3, G1+2, L1; m. C1
Narriṇai	<i>narriṇaip pāṭṭunāṇūru</i>	col. C1; m. C1
Akanāṇūru	<i>akam neṭuntokai kaḷiṟriyāṇainirai maṇiyiṭaipavaḷam nittilakkōvai akanāṇūru</i>	m. NL col. C3; m. C2+3; col. C4c col. TT, C1+6+7, G1 col. C5: <i>maṇimiṭaipavaḷam</i>
Aiṅkuṟunūru	<i>aiṅkuṟunūru (pēyaṇār) mullai</i>	col. TT, C3+4; m. C1 col. TT, C3+4
Puṟanāṇūru	<i>puṟam puṟampāṭṭu puṟappāṭṭu puṟanāṇūru</i>	m. T1 m. C1+2 m. C4+7+8+9 m. C6
Patirruppattu	<i>[iraṇṭāmpattu]</i>	m. TT, C2
Kalittokai	<i>kalittokai pālai</i>	col. G5, m. C2+3 m. G2
Parippāṭal	/	/
Pattuppāṭṭu	<i>pattuppāṭṭu</i>	i.t. C1
Tirumurukāṟruppaṭai	<i>murukāṟruppaṭai tirumurukāṟruppaṭai</i>	col. C1 m. C1+2+3+4+5+8+10+11+12
Porunarāṟruppaṭai	<i>porunarāṟruppaṭai</i>	col. C1+2, G1; m. C2+3
Ciṟupāṇāṟruppaṭai	<i>ciṟupāṇāṟruppaṭai ciṟupāṇāṟru ciṟupāṇāṟru</i>	col. C1+2; m. C1+2+5+6 col. C3+5, G1 m. C3

text	title	manuscript
Perumpāṇāruppaṭai	<i>perumpāṇāruppaṭai</i> <i>perumpāṇāru</i> <i>perumpāṇāru</i>	col. C1+2, G1; m. C1+2 col. C1+3+5, G1; m. C4 m. C3+5
Mullaippāṭṭu	<i>mullai</i> <i>mullaippāṭṭu</i>	col. C1+2+3; m. C3 col. G1; m. C1+2
Maturaikkāñci	<i>maturaikkāñci</i>	col. C1+2+3; m. C1+2+3+4
Neṭunalvātai	<i>neṭunalvātai</i>	col. C1+2+3; m. C1+2+3
Kuṛiṇcippāṭṭu	<i>peruṇkuṛuñci</i> <i>kuṛiñci</i> <i>kuṛuñci</i>	col. C1; m. C1 col. C2 m. C2
Paṭṭiṇappālai	<i>paṭṭiṇappālai</i>	col. C1+2, G1; m. C1+2
Malaipaṭukaṭām	<i>kūttarāruppaṭai</i> <i>malaipaṭukaṭām</i>	col. C2, G1 m. C1+2

Table 21: References to texts in the *Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram* commentaries

	<i>Pattuppāṭṭu</i>	Pāṭṭum + <i>Pāṭṭiṇum +</i>	
Pattuppāṭṭu			
Eṭṭuttokai		+ Tokaiyum + <i>Tokaiyiṇum</i>	Tokaikaḷilum + <i>Tokaiyettu</i>
Kuṛuntokai	Kuṛuntokaippāṭṭu		Kuṛuntokai Kuṛuntokaippāṭṭu
Narriṇai	Narriṇaippāṭṭu	<i>Narriṇai</i>	Narriṇai Narriṇaippāṭṭu
Akanāṇūru	Akappāṭṭu Neṭuntokaippāṭṭu Kaḷiṇṇiyāṇai	Maṇimiṭai Pavaḷam	Akam Akappāṭṭu Kaḷiṇṇiyāṇainirai Maṇimiṭaipavaḷam <i>Neṭuntokai</i>
Puṛanāṇūru	Puṛappāṭṭu	<i>Puṛanāṇūruppāṭṭu</i>	Puṛam Puṛappāṭṭu
Aiṅkuṛunūru		Kuṛiṇcippāṭṭu	Aiṅkuṛunūru <i>Aiṅkuṛunūru</i>
Patirruppattu			Patirruppattu

Kalittokai	Kalittokai	<i>Kaliyuḷḷum +</i>	<i>Kaliyum +</i>
	Kali	<i>Kaliyuḷ</i>	Kali
	Kalippāṭṭu	<i>Kaliyinuḷ</i>	Kalittokai
	Neytarṭāṭṭu	<i>Kalippāṭṭu</i>	Kalippāṭṭu
	Pālaikkali	<i>Kuṟiṇcippāṭṭu</i>	Kuṟiṇcikkali
	Marutakkali	<i>Kuṟiṇcittiṇaippāṭṭu</i>	Neytarṭali
	<i>Kali</i>	<i>Neytarriṇaik Kalippā</i>	Neytarṭāṭṭu
	<i>Kalippā</i>	<i>Neytarriṇaippāṭṭu</i>	Pālaikkali
	<i>Kuṟiṇcikkali</i>	<i>Pālaippāṭṭu</i>	Marutakkal
	<i>Pālaikkali</i>	<i>Marutakkali</i>	Mullaikkali
	<i>Mullaikkali</i>	<i>Maruttiṇaik Kalippā</i>	<i>Kali</i>
		<i>Marutappāṭṭu</i>	<i>Kuṟiṇcippāṭṭu</i>
		<i>Mullaikkali</i>	<i>Marutappāṭṭu</i>
		<i>Mullaippāṭṭu</i>	<i>Marutakkali</i>
			<i>Mullaippāṭṭu</i>
Paripāṭal	<i>Paripāṭal</i>	<i>+ Paripāṭalullum</i>	<i>+ Paripāṭalum</i>
		<i>Paripāṭal</i>	<i>Paripāṭal</i>
Tirumurukārruppaṭai	Murukārruppaṭai		Murukārruppaṭai
Porunarārruppaṭai			Porunarārruppaṭai
Ċirupāṇārruppaṭai			Pāṇārruppaṭai
Perumpāṇārruppaṭai			
Mullaippāṭṭu	Mullaippāṭṭu		
Maturaikkāñci			<i>Maturaikkāñci</i>
Neṭunalvāṭai			
Kuṟiṇcippāṭṭu			Peruṅkuṟiṇci
Paṭṭiṇappālai	Paṭṭiṇappālai		<i>Paṭṭiṇappālai</i>
Malaipaṭukaṭām			

II.4 Summary: Age and Distribution of the Remaining Witnesses

After about ten years of searching, we still do not have a final number of extant *Caṅkam* anthology manuscripts, in part because at some libraries it took a long time to receive permission to digitise (still not allowed by the National Library in Kolkata), partly because cataloguing is still in process and occasionally brings fresh material to light, and new searches continue to report fruitful results (which have to be verified in each case). Current figures include the manuscripts that have already been digitised, scanned or microfilmed, and ones that have recently

been seen and thus, with a fair amount of certainty, probably still exist. All in all the EFEO collection now contains copies of 171 *Caṅkam* manuscripts, while 183 have been located. For the *Eṭṭuttokai* we have located 81 manuscripts, along with 2 miscellaneous manuscripts containing a few stray poems.¹¹⁹ For the *Pattuppāṭṭu* we have digitised 93 and located 9 others, but 52 plus 5 of these are copies of the *Tirumurukārruppāṭai*, which is a special case in that it was primarily perceived as a devotional, not a literary text.

Table 22: Manuscripts of the *Caṅkam* corpus

text	total	palm-leaf ms.	paper ms.	missing ms.
<i>Kuṟuntokai</i>	11	2	9	1 (London), 1 (GOML)
<i>Narriṇai</i>	5	1	4	
<i>Akanāṇṇūru</i>	19	8	11	
<i>Aiṅkuṟunūru</i>	7	3	4	
<i>Puṟanāṇṇūru</i>	15	14	1	
<i>Paṭiṟruppattu</i>	9+1	4	6	1 (Kolkatta)
<i>Kalittokai</i>	11	5	6	
<i>Paripāṭal</i>	3	3		
<i>Pattuppāṭṭu</i>	41+4	35	10	4 (Kolkatta)
[<i>Tirumuru.</i>]	52+5	57		5 (MSSML, Kolkatta)

The distribution of palm-leaf and paper manuscripts is surprisingly uneven. For all of the Akam collections, paper manuscripts outnumber palm-leaf ones. Of the other texts it is only for the *Paṭiṟruppattu* that we have a large number of paper manuscripts; for the *PN* we have 14 palm-leaves against a single paper copy, for the *Pattuppāṭṭu* songs the balance is similar, and for the *Paripāṭal* (the least well transmitted text), there is no paper copy at all. For the *Tirumuru.*, too, of 52 copied and another 5 located mss. there is not a single paper manuscript. There are certainly various reasons for this, but it might be significant that the three former texts, *PN*, *Pattup.* and *Pari*, were first edited by U.Vē. Cāminātaiyar. Whereas for most of the Akam collection there were several early attempts at editing, these three are early works that Cāminātaiyar alone took up. Unlike in the case of the *Aiṅ* and the *Kuṟuntokai*, which were among his later editions, for these earlier editions no trace of his editing process in the form of annotated or corrected paper copies has been preserved. Some material might survive among his papers in the UVSL, but for the time being the contents of that collection have not been made public.

¹¹⁹ The London manuscript is a special case in that it has been collated but not digitised: one exposure costs more than 30£ at the Imaging Services of the BL.

The following libraries have preserved *Caṅkam* manuscripts, most of them in Tamilnadu:

UVSL	U. V.Cāminātaiyar Library, Ceṇṇai
GOML	Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Ceṇṇai
TAM	Tiruvāvaṭuturai Ātiṇam, Caracuvati Makal Library and Research Centre
AUL	Aṇṇāmalai University Library
MSSML	Caracuvatimakāl Library, Tañcāvūr
TU	Tamil University, Tañcāvūr
ORIML	Kerala University, Trivandrum
IFP	French Institute Pondicherry
NLK	National Library, Kolkatta
BL	British Library, London
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale Paris

According to the Computerised International Catalogue there should also be manuscripts in the Tamil College Coimbatore (Kōyamputtūr) and the Sri Venkateswara University Tirupati. However they could not be located. Other discrepancies between catalogues and reality have been reported in chapter II.2. The three primary causes of deviation are imprecise information (catalogues that are catalogues of other catalogues and not of manuscripts), loss or misplacement of manuscripts and, for the opposite case of uncatalogued manuscripts appearing, updated information in the library. For many of the larger libraries, such as the two Tañcāvūr ones, the GOML in Ceṇṇai and the ORIML in Trivandrum, descriptive catalogues are still in the process (often painfully slow) of being produced.

As a rule it is not possible to find out where the manuscripts that are preserved in these libraries actually have come from. The GOML catalogue entries occasionally mention older collections that have been incorporated into their inventory. The Paris catalogue notes the manuscripts that came from the Ariel collection. The London *Kuṇṭokai* manuscript is noted as coming from the collection of Burnell, and the colophon mentions the place where it was written, Maturai. Only one other manuscript, the *Porunarārruppaṭai* held in the UVSL, provides similar information, namely that it was copied in Mayilai (see Table 23). Quite a number of locations are mentioned in the manuscript lists we have from the early editions, but it has turned out to be nearly impossible to clearly identify a manuscript mentioned in those lists with the ones that are still extant (except for a few manuscripts mentioned in 1940 by Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai, most of them found in Ceṇṇai). Moreover, as mentioned above, some of the institutions that are named cannot be identified with certainty. Then, last but not least, a location is mentioned for the majority of manuscripts obtained from individuals, but in

most cases it is impossible to distinguish the owner's birthplace and/or residence from the location where the manuscript was kept (which again is not necessarily identical with where it was copied).

Table 23: Simplified information from scribal colophons

text	manuscript	place	date	scribe	corrector
Eṭṭuttokai					
KT	L1	Maturai	1874	M. R. Sivaprakasam Pillai	
	G1		1893/94		
	G3	GOML	1958		
NA	/				
AN	C3		1726	Reṅkanātaṅ	Taṇcāvūr Ulakarāta Piḷḷai, Tiricirāppaḷḷi Āṟumukanayinār
	C5		1903/04	Piṇṇattūr A. Nārāyaṇacāmi Aiyar	
			corrected 1910		
PN	G2		1916		
AiN	/				
Pati	G1		1927		
	G2		1928		
	G3		1922		
Kali	C2			Tirumayilai Aṇṇācāmiyuppāttiyar.	
	C3		1675	Tiruvārūr Ceṅkamala Poṟpatam Maṟaiñāṇa Paṇṭaram Civakuruṇātaṅ.	
	G5		1957	M. R. Sivaprakasam Pillay.	
	G7		1907		
	G8		1906		
Pari	/				
Pattuppāṭṭu	G1		1929		sponsor: Kaḷantai Mūtūr Civappapuvan

text	manuscript	place	date	scribe	corrector
TMAP	C7		1848/49		
	T1		1904/05		
	T2		1812/13		
	A1		1853/54 or 1913/14		
	I2		1863/64 or 1889/90		
	I4		1806/07		
	P1		1830		
	P2		1823/24 or 1763		
Porun.	C3			Mayilai Aṇṇācāmi	
Cirup.	C5			Mayilai Aṇṇācuvāmi	
[Neṭunal.	C1	Tirunelvēli]			

Dates are somewhat more frequent than locations. At face value, of 183 manuscripts only 22 are dated, but quite a number of them are serial manuscripts. Discounting these, we have only 126 physical units, which brings up the percentage of datable items up to a little more than 15%. Among these several are in fact ambiguous, either because the graphemes are not completely legible (sadly the case of one of the two early dates, 1726), because the date pertains to the Tamil sixty-year cycle and thus there are several candidate years for transcription, or finally because a European year has been used (exclusively in the paper manuscripts), but without the first two digits. The general problem of dating Tamil manuscripts will be taken up in chapter IV.1.

The map given in Figure 1 shows the geographical location of today's libraries in the Tamilnadu and Kerala region (among which two, Tirupati and Coimbatore, reported *Caṅkam* manuscripts that cannot be located). The next map (Figure 2) shows the location of the institutions (triangles), places (circles) and individuals (squares) mentioned in the lists as holding or having bequeathed manuscripts.

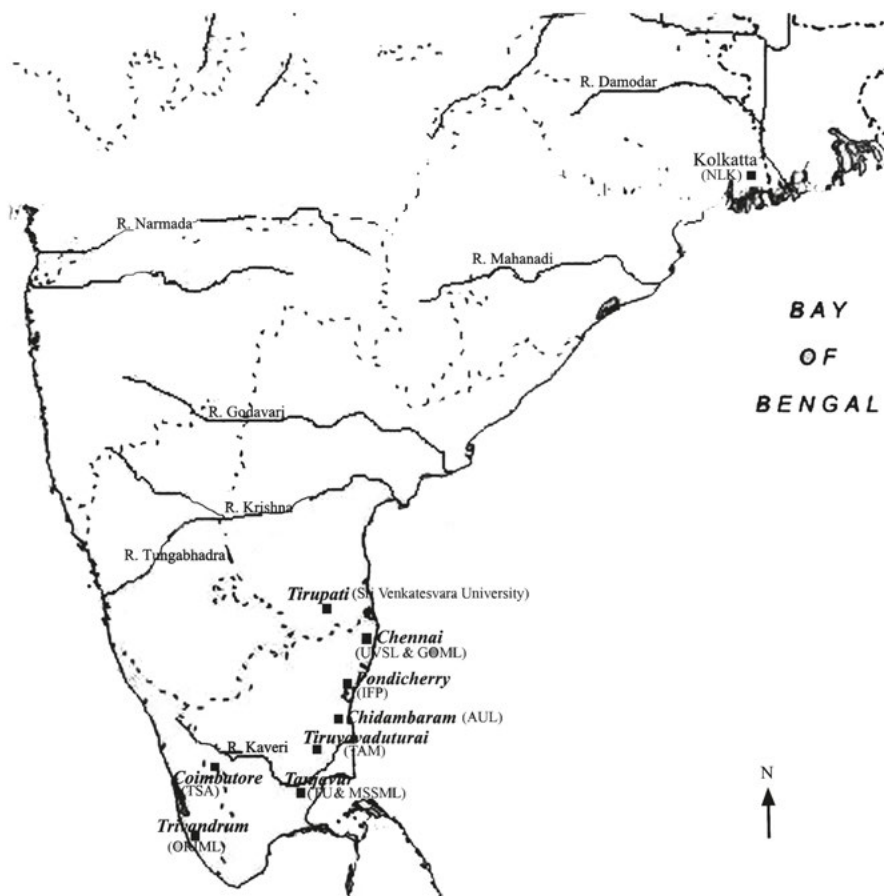


Illustration 1: Libraries holding *Caṅkam* manuscripts

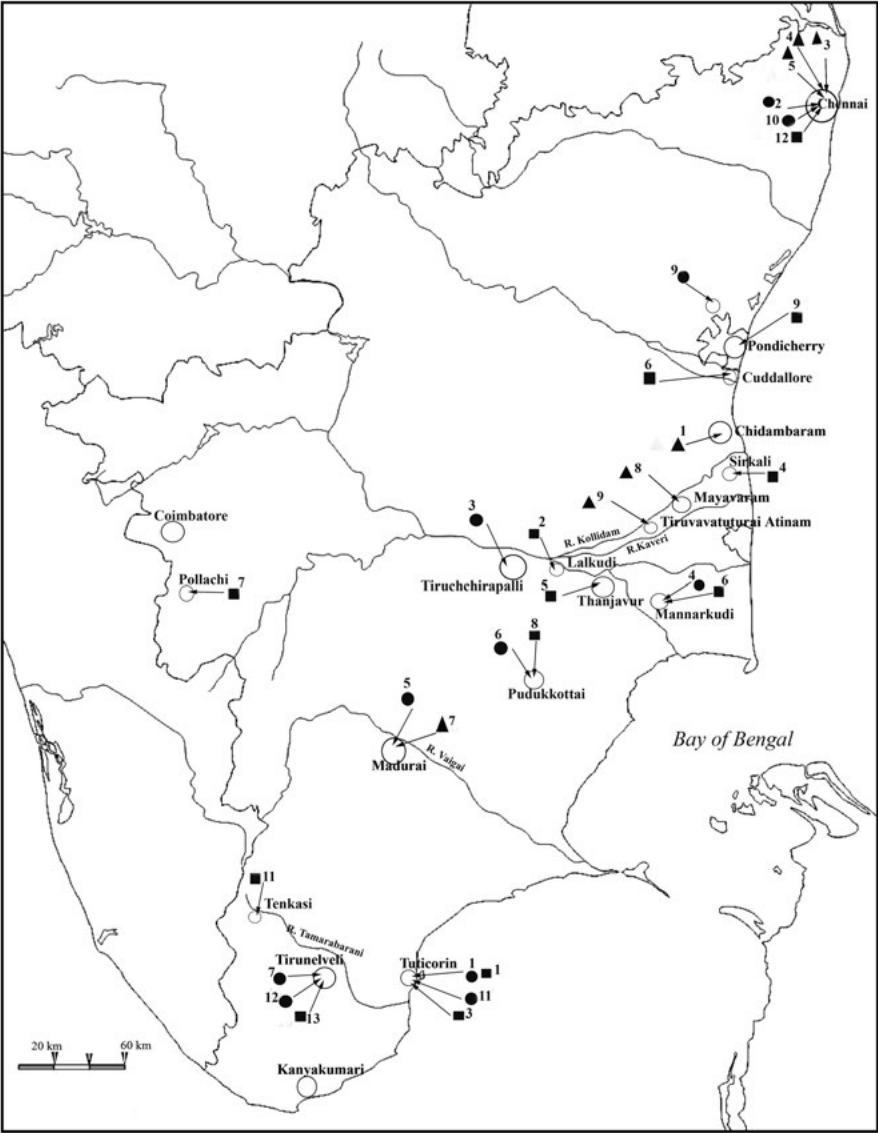


Illustration 2: Institutions, locations and individuals mentioned in the lists as holding or having bequeathed *Caṅkam* manuscripts

▲ 1 Aṇṇāmalaip Palkalaikkalākam; 2 Ceṅkōl maṭam(?); 3 GOML Ceṇṇai; 4 Pavāṇantar Kaḷakam, Ceṇṇai [today GOML]; 5 Sarvakalācālai Intiya Carittira Ārāyccit Tuṟai, Ceṇṇai; 6 Mantit Toppu maṭam(?); 7 Maturait Tamil *Caṅkam*; 8 Tarumapura Āṭiṇam; 9 Tiruvāvaṭuturai Āṭiṇam 10 Svāmikaḷ Tamil *Caṅkam*

● 1 Ālvārtirunakari; 2 Ceṇṇai; 3 Karaveṭṭi; 4 Maṇṇārkuṭi; 5 Maturai; 6 Mitilaippaṭṭi; 7 Nellai; 8 Perumpaḷaṇai(?); 9 Tintivaṇam; 10 Tirumayilai; 11 Tūttukkuṭi; 12 Vaṇṇārpēṭṭai (near Tirunelvēli); 13 Yāḷppāṇam (Jaffna)

■ 1 Ālvārtirunakari; 2 Ariyūr; 3 Āṟumukamaṅkalam; 4 Cirkalī; 5 Kaḷantai; 6 Maṇṇārkuṭi; 7 Poḷḷācci; 8 Putukōṭṭai; 9 Putuccēri; 10 Putuppaṭṭi(?); 11 Teṇkāci; 12 Tirumayilai; 13 Tirunelvēli; 14 Ṭommiccēri(?); 15 Toḷuvūr(?); 16 Vēlūr(?); 17 Tirukōṇamalai (Srilanka); 18 Yāḷppāṇam (Jaffna)

III Transmissional History

More accessible than archaeology, more tangible than ethnology, literary histories are culturally constructed narratives in which the past is reimagined in the light of contemporary concerns.

(Blackburn 2000: 449)

III.1 The Invocation Stanzas (*kaṭavuḷ vāḷttu*)

Placing a verse of obeisance to a god at the beginning of a text is a pan-Indian custom. The Sanskrit term is *maṅgala*, “auspicious verse”, the Tamil counterpart is *kaṭavuḷ vāḷttu*, “praise of the deity”, later also *kāppu* (“protection”). Usually it is supposed to address the poet’s chosen deity (Skt. *iṣṭadevatā*). This kind of short paratext has not attracted much scholarly attention.¹²⁰ The most important point to make from the perspective of manuscript studies is that, as is the case of most paratexts, the invocation stanza has a certain fluidity. For some texts, a traditionally accepted stanza has become more or less part of the transmission of the text itself. However, copyists have felt free to alter or even exchange such verses, or to add others; indeed there are manuscripts that have a whole row of invocations. The verses to be examined in this subchapter are of the former category, that is, verses firmly established as part of the text in question. Incidentally, in the case of the *Caṅkam* corpus there are, as already mentioned in the introduction, a series of stanzas that link parts of the corpus together and tell us something about the process of anthologisation.

III.1.1 *Kuṟuntokai* 1

The first poem that will be considered is not traditionally seen as an invocation stanza. It has been counted as No. 1 in the *Kuṟuntokai*. This little four-liner has been taken to be an Akam poem on the strength of the interpretation of the miniature commentary, the *kiḷavi*, which reads it as a refusal of the hero’s gift on the part of a confidante: a gift of red flowers would be inauspicious. In fact the text contains neither a confidante (*tōḷi*) nor a hero (*talaivaṇ*), and not even a reference to plucking flowers.

¹²⁰ Recent reflections on the topic are found in Slaje 2008.

KT 1: தோழி கையிறை மறுத்தது: The confidante refusing [the acceptance of the hero's] present.

செங்களம் படக்கொன் றவுணர்த் தேய்த்த
செங்கோ லம்பிற் செங்கோட் டியானைக்
கழறொடிச் சேளய் குன்றங்
குருதிப் பூவின் குலைக்காந் தட்டே.

cem kaḷam paṭa koṇṭ' avuṇar tēytta
cem kōl ampiṇ cem kōṭṭ(u) yāṇai
kaḷal toṭi cēey kuṇṇam
kuruti pūviṇ kulai kāntaṭṭē.

Red the ground from killing, the demon reduced
by red-stemmed arrows, red-tusked [his] elephant,
anklets, bracelets – the Red One's hill
full of Malabar lilies, bunches of blood-flowers.

This variation on the topic “red” decodes as a depiction of the domain of Murukaṇ, the red god, namely his hill, where the colour of the predominant flower, the red Malabar lily, evokes one of the god's constitutive mythic deeds, namely the bloody killing of the demon (*avuṇar*). To be sure, the god is not mentioned directly. The word translated as referring to him, *cēey*, a short form of his fuller name *cēyōṇ* (“the red one”), could even be understood here as merely a colour designation (“red”), were it not for the extended attributes of anklets and bracelets, which are not usually epithets of a hill. Moreover, there are a number of unequivocal allusions: the location (mountain), the vehicle (elephant), and the primordial enemy (*avuṇar*). This poem is puzzling if read in isolation, but in fact there is a series of parallels in another early classical Tamil text, namely the *Cilappatikāram* (“The Story of the Anklet”), generally called an epic, but better described as a *mahākāvya*. Among its narrative cantos we find three theistic ones, one each to the goddess, to Kṛṣṇa, and to Murukaṇ, respectively depicting rituals current among the local people. All three contain a series of poems to the deity, of which in some it is easily possible to recognise the type of poem seen in KT 1. This is not the place to enter into a detailed investigation, but a comparison with the following three poems from the *Cilappatikāram* speaks for itself:

Cilappatikāram 12.2

நாகா நாறு நரந்தை நிரந்தன
ஆவு மாரமு மோங்கின வெண்கணுஞ்
சேவு மாவுஞ் செறிந்தன கண்ணுதல்
பாக மாளுடை யாள்பலி முன்றிலே.

*nākām nāru narantam nirantaṇa.
 āvum āramum ōṇikaṇa. eṇkaṇum
 cēvum māvum ceṇintaṇa. kaṇ-nutal
 pākam āl uṭaiyāl palī munṛilē.*

Nāka and wild orange stand dense.
 Āvu and sandal are high. Everywhere
 crowd Cē and mango – in the front yard of offerings
 for Her who is one half man, with an eye on [her] forehead.

Cilappatikāram 17.20

பாம்பு கயிறாக் கடல்கடைந்த மாயவன்
 ஈங்குநம் ஆனுள் வருமேல் அவன்வாயில்
 ஆம்பலந் தீங்குமூல் கேளாமோ தோழீ.

*pāmpu kayir’ ā kaṭal kaṭainta māyavaṇ
 īṅku nam āṇ-uḷ varum-mēl avaṇ vāyil
 āmpalam tīm kuḷal kēḷāmō tōḷī.*

The dark/deceitful one who churned the ocean with a snake as a rope,
 when he comes here among our cows, won’t we hear
 from his mouth the sweet bamboo flute, friend?

Cilappatikāram 24.8

சீர்கெழு செந்திலுஞ் செங்கோடுங் வெண்குன்றும்
 ஏரகமு நீங்கா விறைவன்கை வேலன்றே
 பாரிரும் பௌவத்தி னுளபுக்குப் பண்டொருநாள்
 சூரமா தடிந்த சுடரிலைய வெள்வேலே.

*cīr keḷu centilum ceṇkōṭum veṇkuṇṇum
 ērakamum nīṅkā īrai val kai vēḷ aṇṇē
 pār irum pauvattiṇ uḷa pukkup paṇṭ’ oru nāl
 cūra mā taṭinta cuṭar ilaiya veḷ vēlē.*

The lance in the strong hand of the lord who does not leave famous Centil,
 Ceṇkōṭu, Veṇkuṇṇu and Ērakam, is – isn’t it? –
 the victorious lance with glowing tip that felled the demoniac mango tree,
 on a former day, upon entering into the wide dark ocean.

Constitutive for all four poems is the fact that the deity is not present at the scene of worship, but is evoked or represented through one of his or her attributes. In the case of *KT 1* it is the lord’s place, the mountain, covered with his flowers, in *Cilappatikāram 12* the connection is weaker, but here too it is the place where

the worshippers of the goddess are standing, in *Cilappatikāram* 17 it is the flute playing the music for the Kuravai dance of the girl devotees, reminiscent of Kṛṣṇa. In *Cilappatikāram* 24 it is the lance carried by Murukaṇ's priest, the Vēlaṇ. In each case the reference to the attribute is sufficient to identify the deity in question. This game of allusion develops into one of the most powerful and ubiquitous poetic techniques employed in the subsequent devotional poetry. Part of it may be explained as an expression of respect: in a similar way one does not talk directly about worshipping the deity; it is his or her feet, or even anklets, that are referred to. Perhaps part of it has also to be taken at face value. The beginnings of this technique might go back to a time when there was not yet a figurative image of the deity, that is, before a temple cult developed, one of the distinctive features of the bhakti period. This fact might be used as an argument for giving these poems an early date; indeed they look like the earliest theistic poems in the Tamil language.¹²¹ Since the temple cult is already present in the late *Caṅkam* texts of the *Paripāṭal* and the *Tirumurukārruppaṭai* and well established in the early works of the Vaiṣṇava canon, the three *Antātis* of Poykaiyālvār, Pūtattālvār and Pēyālvār which date to the 6th century, dating these poems to the late 5th century would appear plausible.

The other reason *KT* 1 looks suspicious in its present surroundings has already been mentioned in the introduction. The *KT* does not contain, as do its three old sister anthologies *NA*, *AN* and *PN*, four hundred poems, although it is called, in the famous first enumeration of the works from the third *Caṅkam*, *kuṟuntokai-nāṇūru* “the *Kuṟuntokai* four hundred”. It contains four hundred and one poems. And number 401 is a perfectly inconspicuous Akam poem. It is *KT* 1 that does not fit in, and the most reasonable explanation is the one suggested by this poem's character. Theistic and yet in the old style and metre, it fits perfectly as an invocation stanza. The obvious conclusion is that the *KT*, as an anthology, was already in existence when the stanza was composed and prefixed to it. This is the first *Caṅkam* text to contain evidence of this type.

III.1.2 The Series by Pāratam Pāṭiya Peruntēvaṇār

More was soon to follow in the series of five *kaṭavuḷ vāl̥ttu*-s ascribed to Pāratam Pāṭiya Peruntēvaṇār. What they all have in common is a direct approach to the deity. In each poem one god is depicted as the creator or saviour god of the world.

¹²¹ In the *Cilappatikāram*, this type of poems occurs thrice in little series of three poems, of which I have chosen one each for illustration.

The group is interlinked by a net of intertextual references. The metre is Ācīriyappā of the old type as it is used in the anthologies. The number of lines always follows the requirements of the anthology in question. Of the five verses, one is addressed to Murukaṇ, one to Viṣṇu, two to Śiva, and one contains a *double entendre*, decoding either as Viṣṇu or Śiva. What, however, is meant by “old Ācīriyappā”? Here a brief excursion into the history of Tamil metre is unavoidable.

To put it briefly, the most prominent difference between the *Caṅkam*-period metrical system and the later one lies in the calculation of metrical feet. In ancient times, the two basic types of metrical sub-unit (*acai*) to a foot (*cīr*), called *nēr* and *nirai*, were complemented by two sub-categories, *nēṟpu* and *niraiṟpu*, that is, graphically speaking, the ubiquitous over-short -u at the end of a word was metrically discounted. This practice went hand in hand with a set of restrictions concerning the splitting of words across the boundaries of metrical feet. The later system did away with both; all metrical feet were counted exclusively as made up of *nēr* and *nirai*, and word boundaries gradually ceased to coincide with metrical boundaries.

Somewhat simplified,¹²² this shift affected especially four situations related to the assessment of hypo- and hyper-metricity in the standard feet of Ācīriyappā, which were made up of two *acai*:

- 1) By the book, a simple, single *nēṟpu* or *niraiṟpu* was an *acai*, not a full metrical foot. However, on some poetic occasions it had to be counted as a full *cīr*. In *Caṅkam* poetry this possibility is restricted to the absolutive (*vinaiyeccam*; examples: *ceṇṇru*, *aṟintu*) and occurs only rarely. In later times this type of foot became standard and was counted as *nēr-nēr* and *nirai-nēr*.
- 2) Since *nēṟpu* and *niraiṟpu* were counted as *acai* in *Caṅkam* times, the combination of either of them with a *nirai* or *nēr* or with each other would not make a foot hypermetrical. The new system had uneven consequences, depending on the combination pattern. *Nēṟpu-nēr* and *niraiṟpu-nēr* were still possible, since they could be re-analysed as *nēr-nirai* and *nirai-nirai*. The other combinations, however, became hypermetrical.
- 3) Hypermetrical feet were possible in *Caṅkam* poetry, but restricted to a number of exceptions, the most frequent among them being the predicate. Complex verbal or pronominal noun forms are, by their morphological nature, often longer than a single metrical foot, especially if combined with an enclitic particle, as is customary. Now, in a left-branching language such as Tamil the natural position of such forms is at the end of a sentence, which very often

¹²² A more detailed account of the peculiarities of the older metre is given in Wilden (forthcoming b): “Ācīriyappā – The Unwritten Rules of Classical Tamil Metre”.

coincides with the end of a line, and in the frequent type of one-sentence poem, with the very end of the poem. Given the tendency to postposition a simple subject or object to the position behind the predicate, statistically speaking the slot with the highest number of hypermetrical feet is the penultimate foot in the last line of a poem (as is the case in the invocation stanzas of both the *KT* and the *AN*). Poets of later Ācīriyappā, even when trying to imitate earlier metrical patterns, were not aware of this fact. They tend to place three-*acai cīr* at any place in the poem and do no longer restrict them to predicative forms.

- 4) A special licence for word split occurs in *Caṇkam* literature when a predicative form is longer than three *acai*. In this case, the form is simply distributed over two metrical feet. A special case is a pronominal predicate noun, subject or subject apposition with an attribute of *acai*-length, again mostly to be found at the end of a poem or at least a sentence. There, too, the permission for word split is given (as to be seen in the invocation stanzas to the *NA* and the *PN*). The old rule against word split was slow in falling. Even under the new system it took quite some time before scanning was completely independent of word boundaries. The early post-classical texts and later Ācīriyappā begin by allowing multiple word splits in analogy to those already observed in the classical poetry itself.

Coming back now to the issue in hand, namely the five invocation stanzas composed by Peruntēvaṇār, it clearly has to be stated that metrically speaking the poems are conservative, not only because they employ the classical metre, but also in their structuring of metrical feet, still calculated on *nēṛpu/niraipu* basis.¹²³

The *Kuṟuntokai* invocation stanza takes up the play on the colour red, thus establishing a link with *KT* 1. The poem is nevertheless obviously a devotional poem, for Murukan̄ is depicted as a world saviour and thus as one of the great gods.

123 My points of comparison have been on the one hand the poems from the anthologies, and on the other, fairly extensive checks in the Ācīriyappā portions of the *NalaVenpā* (9th century?) and in the *Kallāṭam*, a remarkable attempt at poetic revival of the older conventions from the time of the first Tamil Renaissance, in about the 11th or 12th century (extracts of which are quoted in chapter III.4 on the *Caṇkam* legends).

Kuruntokai, Invocation

தாமரை புரையுங் காமர் சேவடிப்
 பவழத் தன்ன மேனித் திகழொளிக்
 குன்றி யேய்க்கு முடுக்கைக் குன்றின்
 நெஞ்சபக வெறிந்த வஞ்சுடர் நெடுவேற்
 சேவலங் கொடியோன் காப்ப
 ஏம வைக லெய்தின்றா லுலகே.

tāmarai puraiyum kāmar cēv aṭi
pavaḷatt' aṇṇa mēṇi tiḷaḷ oḷi
kuṇṇi ēykkum uṭukkai kuṇṇin
neṇcu paka eṇṇa am cuṭar neṭu vēl
cēval-am koṭiyōṇ kāppa
ēmam vaikal eytiṇṇāl ulakē.

Red the foot, in beauty similar to lotuses,
 glittering brightness the body, like corals,
 [his] dress [red] like Kuṇṇi seeds, long the spear
 of beautiful glow, thrown to split the heart of the hill
 – since the one with the cock on [his] banner stood guard
 the world attained a day of joy.

The first half almost reads like a gloss of *KT* 1; we get to know why Murukaṇ is called *cēy*, “the red one”. The mythical deed evoked here, however, is the killing of another demon, or rather of the destruction of his mountain fortress, equally well attested in the early literature on Murukaṇ that is available (*Paripāṭal* and *Tirumurukāṇṇuppaṭai*); the *Paripāṭal* gives the name of the mountain as *kuruku*, a Tamilisation of Sanskrit Krauñca, the stronghold of the demon Tāraka for whose destruction Murukaṇ-Skanda was born into the world.

The verse belonging to the *Narṇṇai* concerns Viṣṇu, taking up the old myth of the *puṇṇa*, the cosmic man whose body makes up the universe, found for the first time in *Rigveda* 10.90, here with some modification of details. As in the *KT* verse, the description of the god’s body, here a cosmic one, is followed by a main sentence referring to the god in a more mundane form.

Narṇṇai, Invocation

மாநிலஞ் சேவடி யாகத் தூநீர்
 வளைநரல் பௌவ முடுக்கை யாக
 விசும்புமெய் யாகத் திசைகை யாகப்
 பசங்கதிர் மதியமொடு சுடர்கண் ணாக
 வியன்ற வெல்லாம் பயின்றாகத் தடக்கிய
 வேத முதல்வ னென்ப
 தீதற விளங்கிய திகிரி யோனே.

*mā nilam cēv aṭi āka tū nīr
 vaḷai naral pauvam uṭukkai āka
 vicumpu mey āka ticai kai āka
 pacum katir matiyamoṭu cuṭar kaṇ āka
 iyaṇṇa ellām payinṛ' akatt' aṭakkiya
 vētam mutalvaṇ eṇṇa
 tīt' ara viḷaṇkiya tikiriyoṇē.*

That [his] red feet be the great land, that [his] garment
 be the curved, roaring ocean with pure water,
 that [his] body be the sky, that [his] hands be the [four] directions,
 that [his] eyes be the sun with the fresh-rayed moon,
 that he, who has concealed inside [himself and] who resides in all that is,
 is the first in the Vedas, they say,
 he with the shining discus to cut off evil.

Here we are given an image of a cosmic Viṣṇu, encompassing the world in his body, as in the Vaiṣṇava bhakti corpus is very often said of Nārāyaṇa. There is virtually no play on the various *avatāra*-s, the incarnations of Viṣṇu so frequently evoked later, except for the reference to his weapon, the discus, which implies a form of Kṛṣṇa.

The following poem, belonging to the *Aiṅkuṛunūru*, is read as ambiguous by tradition, being applicable either to Viṣṇu or to Śiva.

Aiṅkuṛunūru, Invocation

*நீல மேனி வாலிழை பாகத்
 தொருவ னிருதா ணிழன்கீழ்
 மூவகை யுலகு முகிழ்த்தன முறையே.*

*nīla mēṇi vāl ilai pākatt'
 oruvaṇ iru tāḷ nīlal-kīḷ
 mū vakai ulaku mukilṭtaṇa muraṇiyē.*

Viṣṇu:

Under the shade of the two feet of the One
 with blue body [and] a place [taken by her] with pure jewels
 the world unfolded one by one in three parts.

Śiva:

Under the shade of the two feet of the One
 with a blue throat [and her with] pure jewels as one part
 the world unfolded one by one in three parts.

The poetic trick employed to make the double solution plausible lies in the fact that both readings are in fact slightly awkward. In the case of Viṣṇu, that is, actually Kṛṣṇa with his blue body, *pākattu* has to be taken as a reference to the chest where the goddess Śrī is found, while this word is often used in the description of *Ardhanarīśvara*, Śiva who has a woman on one side of him. In the case of Śiva, who has the goddess Umā as one of his halves, it is *nīla mēṇi* that obstructs a smooth reading, for *mēṇi* has to be understood as “throat” (blue by the cosmic poison he has swallowed), while its usual meaning is “body”.

The following two invocations, the longest, are unequivocally for Śiva: bull-rider, wearer of Laburnum, the moon and the Gaṅgā, his throat adorned with poison and his body shared with the lady. All of this is new from the perspective of *Caṅkam* poetry. While there are a few late references to the god in the younger parts of the *Puraṇāṇūru*, and of course in the *Paripāṭal* and *Tirumurukāṇruppaṭai* in connection with the mythology of Śiva’s son Skanda-Murugaṇ, these invocations seem to be the first fullfledged praise poems for the later chief deity in the Tamil realm. The poetic structure is the same as in the poems already seen, that is, an enumeration of his characteristics is followed by a main sentence relating the god to the world.

Akaṇāṇūru, Invocation

கார்விரி கொன்றைப் பொன்னேர் புதுமலர்த்
தாரன் மாலையன் மலைந்த கண்ணியன்
மார்பி னஃதே மையி னுண்ணா
னுதல திமையா நாட்ட மிகலட்டுக்
கையது கணிச்சியொடு மழுவே மூவாய் 5
வேலு முண்டத் தோலா தோற்கே
யூர்ந்த தேறே சேர்ந்தோ ளுமையே
செவ்வா னன்ன மேனி யவ்வா
னிலங்குபிறை யன்ன விலங்குவால் வையெயிற்
றெரியகைந் தன்ன வவிர்ந்துவிளங்கு புரிசடை 10
முதிராத் திங்களொடு சுடருஞ் சென்னி
மூவா வமரரு முனிவரும் பிறரும்
யாவரு மறியாத் தொன்முறை மரபின்
வரிகிளர் வயமா னுரிவை தைஇய
யாழ்கெழு மணிமிடற் றந்தணன் 15
றாவி றாணிமுற் றவிர்ந்தன்றா லுலகே.

kār viri koṇṇai poṇ nēr putu malar
tāraṇ mālaiyaṇ malainta kaṇṇiyaṇ
mārpiṇaktē mai-y-il nuṇ ṇāṇ.
natalat’ imaiyā nāṭṭam. ikal aṭṭu
kaiyatu kaṇicciyoṭu maḷuvē. mū vāy 5

vēlum uṇṭu at tōlātōrkē.
ūrntat' ēṛē. cēmtōḷ umaiyē.
cem vāṇ aṇṇa mēṇi. av vāṇ
ilaṅku pīrai aṇṇa ilaṅku vāl vai eyīr'.
eri akaint' aṇṇa avirtu vīlaṅku puri caṭai. 10
mutirā tiṅkaḷoṭu cuṭarum cenṇi.
mūvā amarakum muṇivarum pīrarum
yāvarum aṛiyā tol muṛai marapiṇ
vari kiḷar vāya māṇ urivai tāiyya
yāl-keḷu maṇi miṭṭar' antaṇaṇ 15
tāv-il tāḷ nīlal tavirtanṇāl ulakē.

Laburnum expanding in the rainy season, gold-like new blossoms
 – he with a wreath, he with a garland, he with a chaplet put on,
 on his chest is the speckless fine thread.
 On [his] forehead is an unblinking eye. For killing in fight
 is in [his] hand with the hatchet the axe. And three-tipped
 is the spear of him who has not been vanquished.
 He is mounted on the bull. Joined [with him] is Umā.
 Like the red sky [is his] body. Like that sky's
 shining crescent moon [are his] shining white sharp teeth.
 Like flames burning [are his] brightly glimmering strands of matted hair.
 With the unripe moon glows [his] top.
 Not understood by anyone:
 the ageless celestials and the sages and others,
 according to the custom of old order,
 the world came to rest in the spotless foot shade
 of the brahmin with sapphire-throat, having a lute,
 tied with the hide of the strong animal lustrous with stripes.

This long song takes up the predicate found in the brief *AiN* verse, i.e. the reference to the god's status as a just ruler of the world, which rests in peace and safety under the shade of his foot. With a number of short nominal sentences devoted to the body, attire and entourage of the lord, the author at the same time skilfully emulates the one-sentence structure of a typical *AN* poem.

Very similar if slightly shorter is the *PN* stanza. The peculiarity here is that, since the end of the anthology has been lost, the invocation at some point in the textual transmission (already followed by all the extant manuscripts) has come to be counted as the number 1, unlike any of the others that are all preludes. It is most probably for this reason that scholars since the late 19th century have regarded Pāratam Pāṭiya Peruntēvaṇār not only as the author of the stanza, but as the compiler of the anthology. Historically speaking, however, it is much more plausible that *PN* 400 vanished in the depths of time along with the colophon, and that the poem torso found at the end belongs in fact to *PN* 399.

Puranāṇūru, Invocation

கண்ணி கார்நறுங் கொன்றை காமர்
வண்ண மார்பிற் றாருங் கொன்றை
ஊர்தி வால்வெள் ளேறே சிறந்த
சீர்கெழு கொடியு மவ்வே நென்ப
கறைமிட றணியலு மணிந்தன் றக்கறை 5
மறைநவி லந்தணர் நுவலவும் படுமே
பெண்ணுரு வொருதிற் றனாகின் றவ்வுருத்
தன்னு ளடக்கிக் கரக்கினுங் கரக்கும்
பிறைநுதல் வண்ண மாகின் றப்பிறை
பதினெண் கணனு மேத்தவும் படுமே 10
எல்லா வுயிர்க்கு மேம மாகிய
நீரற வறியாக் கரகத்துத்
தாழ்சடைப் பொலிந்த வருந்தவத் தோற்கே.

kaṇṇi kār narum koṇrai kāmar
vaṇṇa mārpiṇ tārum koṇrai
ūrti vāl veḷ ēṇē ciraṇta
cīr-keḷu koṭiyum av ēṇ' eṇpa.
karai miṭar' aṇiyalum aṇintanru. ak karai 5
marai navil antaṇar nuvalavum paṭumē.
peṇ uru oru tiṇaṇ ākiṇru. av uru
taṇṇuḷ aṭakki karakkiṇum karakkum.
piṇai nutal vaṇṇam ākiṇru. ap piṇai
paṭiṇeṇ kaṇaṇum ēttavum paṭumē. 10
ellā uyirkkum ēmam ākiya
nīr aṇa aṇiyā karakattu
tāl caṭai polinta arum tavattōrkē.

Laburnum, fragrant of the rainy season, for a chaplet
Laburnum too as garland on [his] desirable shapely chest –
A pure white bull [is his] vehicle. On [his] banner too
of superior excellence [is] that bull, they say.
Poison adorns as adornment [his] throat. That poison
is praised by brahmins experienced in the Vedas.
One side [of him] took the form of a woman. That form
is hidden, [but] even when hidden is retained inside.
[His] forehead decoration is the crescent moon. That crescent moon
is also praised by the eighteen troops.
– has the rare ascetic whose hanging matted hair shines
with water [as if] from an unceasing jar
that is a joy to all beings.

Here the syntactic structure takes up an old rhetoric figure called “the drawn bow” (*pūṭṭu viḷ*), where the end links to the beginning. The possessor of the Laburnum garland and chaplet mentioned in lines 1 and 2 is added at the very end of the poem in the form of a possessive dative. The parallels to the *AN* poems are striking. Where the *AN* enumerates the Laburnum worn both on his head and chest, the third eye on his forehead, the weapons battle axe and trident, the bull as his mount, the lady sharing his body, the moon in his hair and the poison in his throat, the *PN* has the Laburnum, the bull, the poison, the lady, and the Gaṅgā flowing from his hair. Here the main sentence is given to a cosmic deed, as in the case of the *KT*, namely his bringing the vital fluid, water, to the earth; in both cases the respective god gives *ēmam* to the world, that is, with the Tamil etymology of the word, “joy”, or, as a loan from Sanskrit *kṣema*, “protection”. The verse is intertextually linked to the one of the *NA* by the use of the inserted *enpa* of older authority: there is no need to take the poet’s word for it, because it has been said so before.

By the way of contrast it might be useful to add here the only other traditional invocation verse found with an anthology, that of the *Kalittokai*. The one printed in some modern editions of the *Paṭiruppattu* has been added, in the course of its print history, at some point during the 20th century.¹²⁴ In a similar fashion Gros (1968) playfully adds a poem found among the anonymous quotations in the poetological commentaries as a possible invocation stanza for the *Paripāṭal*. It is indeed plausible that both texts once possessed such a stanza, but since both of them have lost their beginnings, this is mere guess work. The other hyper-anthology, the *Pattuppāṭṭu*, is complete and as such could be expected to have a *kaṭavuḷ vāḷttu*. It has indeed been suggested, by Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai (1956) for one, that the *Tirumurukārruppaṭai*, the only theistic song of the ten, was added as an invocation. Like those of the *Eṭṭuttokai* it follows the formal requirements – metre and number of lines – of the anthology it precedes and, since the *Pattuppāṭṭu* is an anthology of long songs (between 103 and 782 lines), the *Tirumurukārruppaṭai* is, with 317 lines, exceptionally long for an invocation verse.

The Kali verse is easily detected as an alien in the group of *kaṭavuḷ vāḷttu*-s presented so far. Of course there is reason to expect it to be different; if like the others it is meant to give an example of the form followed by the anthology, to begin with it should be in the later, stanzaic Kali metre. Tradition in fact never saw it as part of the series. Nonetheless there is some evidence in the earliest surviving *Kalittokai* manuscript that it was a part, as pointed out by Rajeswari

¹²⁴ The poem in question is quoted by Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar on *Poruḷatikāram*, *Puṇṇaṭṭiṇaiyiyal* 81 as an invocation stanza, and it is Kaṇēcaiṇar, in his edition of the *Poruḷatikāram* from 1948, who suggests for the first time that it might belong to the *Paṭiruppattu*. This is, in my view, unlikely because of metrical reasons.

(2009). This singular source, as already mentioned, names the authors of the various poems belonging to *Pālaikkali* and ascribes the invocation to Pāratam Pāṭiya Peruntēvaṇār.

Kalittokai, Invocation

ஆற்றி யந்தணர்க் கருமறைப பலபகர்ந்து
 தேறுநீர் சடைக்கரந்து திரிபுரந் தீமடுத்துக்
 கூறாமற் குறித்ததன்மேற் செல்லுங் கடுங்கூளி
 மாறாப்போர் மணிமிடற் றெண்கையாய் கேளினி
 படுபறை பலவியம்பப் பல்லுருவம் பெயர்த்துநீ 5
 கொடுகொட்டி யாடுங்காற் கோடுய ரகல்குல்
 கொடிபுரை நுகப்பினாள் கொண்டசீர் தருவாளோ
 மண்டமர் பலகடந்து மதுகையா னீறணிந்து
 பண்டரங்க மாடுங்காற் பணையெழி லணைமென்றோள்
 வண்டரற்றுங் கூந்தலாள் வளர்தூக்குத் தருவாளோ 10
 கொலையுழுவைத் தோலசைஇக் கொன்றைத்தார் சுவற்புரளத்
 தலையங்கை கொண்டுநீ காபால மாடுங்கான்
 முலையணிந்த முறுவலாண் முற்பாணி தருவாளோ
 எனவாங்கு
 பாணியுந் தூக்குஞ் சீரு மென்றிவை 15
 மாணிழை யரிவை காப்ப
 வாணமில் பொருளெமக் கமர்ந்தனை யாடி.

āru ari antaṇarkku aru maṛai pala pakarntu
tēru nīr caṭai karantu tiripuram ti maṭuttu
kūrāmal kuṟittataṇ mēl cellum kaṭum kūli
mārā pōr maṇi miṭarṇu eṇ kaiyāy kēḷ inī.
paṭu paṛai pala iyaṃpa pal uruvam peyarttu nī 5
koṭukoṭṭi āṭum-kāl kōṭu uyar akal alkul
koṭi purai nucuppiṇāḷ koṇṭa cīr taruvāḷō?
maṇṭu amar pala kaṭantu matukaiyāl nīru aṇintu
paṇṭaraṇkam āṭum-kāl paṇai eḷil aṇai mel tōḷ
vaṇṭu araṇṇum kūntalāḷ vaḷar tūkku taruvāḷō 10
kolai uluvai tōḷ acaii koṇṛai tār cuval puraḷa
talai aṇkai koṇṭu nī kāpālam āṭum-kāl
mulai aṇinta muṇuvālāḷ muṇ pāṇi taruvāḷō
eṇa āṇku
pāṇiyum tūkkum cīrum eṇru ivai 15
māṇ ilai arivai kāppa
āṇam il poruḷ emakku amarntaṇai āṭi.

Announcing many rare secrets (Veda words) to brahmins who know the path,
 hiding clear water in [your] matted hair, goring the three cities with a fiery [arrow],
 listen now, you with eight arms [and] sapphire throat of unrelenting battle
 with fierce demon [troupes], who go according to [your] intention, without being told.

While many beaten drums sound, you dispelling many forms,
 at the time [you] dance the Koṭukoṭṭi, will she [of the] high-curved broad hips
 [and] a waist resembling a creeper give the melody taken [up]?
 At the time [you] dance the Paṇṭaraṅkam, winning many vehement battles
 by [your] strength, adorned with ashes, will she with soft shoulders touched by grace [and]
 tresses in which bees sound give the ascending rhythm?
 At the time you dance the skull dance, taking a skull in [your] palm,
 tying the hide of the murderous tiger, while the Laburnum garland is rolling on [his] neck,
 will she with a smile that adorns [her] breast give the beat in front [of you]?
 that is to say,
 while the young woman with glorious jewels
 guards these: melody and rhythm and beat,
 you keep dancing, not a small wealth for us.

Not only does the form betray a different time and origin of this verse, also its contents place it in a far more advanced stage in the development of devotional poetry. The mythology of Śiva is fully implemented and heavily Sanskritised, not only from the point of view of the narrative adopted, but also by the way of loan words (*caṭai*, *tiripuram*, *paṇṭaraṅkam*, *kāpālam*). As for morphology, it contains the Middle Tamil negative absolutive *kūrāmal*.

This brings us back to the initial question of a plausible date for the series of invocations found with *KT*, *NA*, *AiN*, *AN* and *PN*.¹²⁵ To summarise the argument, metrically speaking these poems are completely on the conservative side and still written in *Caṅkam* style. From the point of view of contents, however, they are preceded by an earlier stage of theistic poetry, represented not only by *KT* 1, but also by a number of small hymns in the epic poem *Cilappatikāram*, a stage still uniconic and apparently under a taboo of addressing or describing the deity directly. This is no longer the case with our series, and the terms chosen to describe the deities, especially Śiva and Murugaṅ, with their flowers and garments, may well refer to images actually present at the place of worship, even if worship or, what is more, temple worship, is not yet mentioned. Still, the role played by Śiva as a main god brings them into the vicinity of the Śaivite bhakti corpus proper, the *Tēvāram*, with its fully established iconic temple ritual. A reasonable date to argue for might thus be the late 6th or early 7th century, that is, a time when the metrical memory is still intact and when the institution of the temple is already in existence (as is shown by the early Vaiṣṇava canonical poems of the 6th century), but not yet the exclusive matrix for personal devotion. Inci-

¹²⁵ This question is briefly discussed in Marr 1985 [1958]: 70 ff. who, starting from the *PN* stanza, suggests a 9th-century date on the basis of Teruntēvaṇār's supposed Pallava connection. This is untenable, I believe, in the light of the evidence discussed here.

dentially this is also the period when the rivalry of the legendary three houses, Cōla, Cēra and Pāṇṭiya, had sufficiently sunken into the past to make it possible for one of them, actually a new dynasty, but one trying to reconnect with former eras of Pāṇṭiya glory, to take up the task of reassembling the remnants of earlier literature as a whole. This was the Puṛam poetry of the three great houses (plus many minor ones) and the Akam poetry, which was mostly neutral, except for the information gathered from the traditional colophons.

If we accept the Pāṇṭiya relation of Pāratam Pāṇṭiya Peruntēvaṇār¹²⁶ – and I see no *prima facie* reason not to do so, even if the historical identity of this author is unclear to say the least, – because the entire later tradition is unanimous in attributing the *Caṅkam* and its anthologies to that dynasty, we would have evidence, in the form of the *kaṭavuḷ vālttu*-s, for a first process of hyper-anthologisation, concerning five or six anthologies of the later *Eṭṭuttokai*. This occurred at the latest in about the early 7th century. This evidence is confirmed, in the 9th and 10th century, by several Pāṇṭiya inscriptions ascribing the establishment of the academy (*Caṅkam*) in Maturai to their predecessors (see introduction, p. 7 + p. 10, n. 21). Five is the number when one thinks of the actually transmitted invocation stanzas, six if one accepts that the *Patirruppattu* is sufficiently close to the *AiN* to allow for the hypothesis that its Peruntēvaṇār stanza has been lost along with its first decade.

III.2 Traditional Colophons¹²⁷

As already mentioned in the sub-chapter on scribal colophons, most of the anthologies come with fixed colophons, which I have termed “traditional” since they seem to form an integral part of the respective textual transmission. They are almost invariably found provided the manuscript reaches the end of the text. The basic information they contain is the name of the anthology’s patron and compiler in the case of the *Eṭṭuttokai*, and of the royal addressee and sponsor and the respective poet in the case of the *Pattuppāṭṭu*. For the Eight Anthologies we moreover often find a brief sentence about poetic organisation, that is, in the case of the three old Akam anthologies, the number of lines. They integrate anonymous stanzas, mostly in Veṇpā metre, that pertain to literary and poetic contexts. Occasionally there are (generic) references to the scribe in the form of a caveat, even

¹²⁶ For a discussion of this controversial figure, see Introduction p. 9ff. + n. 19 + 22; cf. Wilden 2009a: 40, n.8, Francis (forthcoming): 108ff.

¹²⁷ For literature dealing with those colophons, see Civarācap Piḷḷai 1932, Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai 1956, Marr 1985 [1958].

a verse found with some variation in several places. Even devotional and panegyric verses occur, the latter predominantly in connection with the *Pattuppāṭṭu*. Just like the scribal colophons, the traditional ones are sometimes followed by auspicious phrases and/or blessings. Obviously this type of colophon can only be expected in cases where the transmission of the text has been intact. Accordingly, three texts within the *Eṭṭuttokai* whose ends have been lost come without a colophon, namely *Puṛaṇāṇūru*, *Patirruppattu* and *Paripāṭal*. The *Pattuppāṭṭu* seems to have come down to us with ten separate colophons, that is, one at the end of each song. There is no colophon for either of the hyper-anthologies; in the case of the *Eṭṭuttokai* there is not even evidence for a manuscript (or a manuscript series) that assembled all the eight texts. It stands to reason, however, that since anonymous verses enumerating the texts in the hyper-anthologies do exist, such colophons might once have existed (see the following sub-chapter).

III.2.1 *Eṭṭuttokai*

Kuṛuntokai:

C1 [UVSL 1075] im. 100, p. 92, 4 f.; C2 [UVSL 183] im. 409; C3 [UVSL 184] im. 215; G1 [GOML D.224] im. 130; G2 [GOML TR.1072/R.5751] im. 421, L1 [BL Or.2726], p. 116

kuṛuntokai murrum (G2: *murriṛru*). *ittokai muṭittāṇ pūrikkō. ittokai pāṭiya kavikaḷ irunūṛraivar. ittokai nālaṭi cīṛrellaiyākavu meṭṭaṭip pērellaiyākavun toṭukkap* (C2v, G2: *tokukkap*) *paṭṭatu*. [G2 stops here]

ōrāt' eḷutiṇeṇ āyinuṁ oṇ-poruḷ
ārāynt' uṇarnta (C2v: *uṇarka*) *v-aṛivuṭaiyōr cīrāyntu*
kuṛraṇ kaḷaintu kuṛai-peytu vācittal
kaṛṛarinta māntar kaṭaṇ.
civamayam (C2: /). [L1 continues with a devotional stanza: *umalmēṇi vāḷilai ...*]

The *Kuṛuntokai* (the collection of brief [poems]) is completed. This collection has been accomplished by Pūrikkō. The poets who have sung this collection [are] 205. This collection has been compiled [in poems] with 4 lines as the lower limit and 8 lines as the upper limit. Even if I have written thoughtlessly – considering the excellence, of those who have the knowledge gained from research on the bright subject matter to read/learn [them], removing mistakes [and] throwing out deficiencies [is] the duty of learned¹²⁸ people.¹²⁹
 The essence of Śiva.

¹²⁸ *kaṛru aṛintu*: literally: “who have understood [them] after having been taught”.

¹²⁹ This overt scribal caveat is formulaic and has a (shorter) counterpart in one *Kalittokai* ms. [GOML R.5754/TR.1075].

Narriṇai:

C1 [UVSL 1076] im. 4562, f. 130, l. 5 f.

*ittokai y-onṇpataṭi cūrumaiyākap paṇiraṇṭaṭi kārūm uyarp peṇṇatu. ittokai tokuppittāṇ[.]¹³⁰
paṇṇāki(?)¹³¹ tanta pāṇṭiyaṇ māraṇ vaḷuti[.] nārriṇaiṇ pāṭṭunāṇūru murrup peṇṇu muṭintatu.
kuruvē tuṇai.*

This collection contains [verses] from at least 9 lines up to 12 lines. This collection has been caused to be made by Paṇṇākitanta Pāṇṭiyaṇ Māraṇ Vaḷuti. The full 400 of songs from the *Narriṇai* (or: songs with good setting) is accomplished [and] completed [here]. O teacher, help.

Akanāṇūru:

TT [TVM /] p. 39, ll. 13 f.–40.7, NL [NLK 3141/SVP91] f. 102b: illegible, C1 [UVSL 237] p. 1, C5c [UVSL 11/73] p. 201 f., C6 [UVSL 4/66] p. 258 f., C7a [UVSL 5/67] im. 320 ff., C8 [UVSL 6/68] p. 181 f.: almost illegible, G1 [GOML R.5734/TR.1050] p. 262 f.

[only C5c:

tuṇaittokai viḷakkam “elucidation of the anthology principle¹³²]

[C5+7a: *nēricaivenṇā* (specification of metre)]

[Veṇṇā about the *tiṇai* arrangement: *pālai viyamellām* ...]

ittokaiyir pāṭṭir kaṭiyaḷavu paṭiṇmūṇṇir koṇṭu muppattēḷaḷavu muyarap perum.

The line measure for the songs of this collection goes from 13 up to 37.

*‘vaṇṭupaṭat tatainta’ v-enṇpatu mutalāka, ‘neṭuvēṇ mārpil (C1+6, G1: mārpil)’ enṇpatirāka
kiṭanta nūṇṇirupatu pāṭṭuṇ kaḷirriyāṇainirai. ippeyar kāraṇappeyar. ceyyutkāraṇamō
poruṭkāraṇamō v-enṇir poruṭkāraṇam eṇa v-uṇarka.*

All hundred and twenty songs that go from AN 1 up to AN 120¹³³ [are] the hundred and twenty *Kaḷirriyāṇainirai*. This name [is] a name with a reason. If one asks “a reason [based]

130 The manuscript reads a hyphen (i.e., a full stop) here, but syntax demands a stop after *vaḷuti* in order to give the sentence a subject.

131 *paṇṇāki* is obviously part of the king’s name, but what does it mean? Traditionally the name of the king (known otherwise only from AN 253.5: *nāṭu pala tanta pacum pūṇ Pāṇṭiyaṇ*) is reported as *paṇṇāṭu-tanta* (“who has given many countries”), but this is decidedly not what the ms. reads.

132 This brief phrase is found only in this late (collated) manuscript, not in any of the earlier sources. Its meaning is clear enough, but how can the compound *tuṇaittokai* be explained? It would be understandable the other way around: *tokai-tuṇai*, the “ford to the anthology”, i.e. the easy way to understand its composition.

133 Here the first two (sometimes only one) *cir* of a poem are used to refer, in the traditional manner, to the poem itself. The numbers are added in the ms., but never used as references.

on metre or a reason [based] on subject matter?” let us understand [it as] a reason [based] on subject matter.

‘nākanakai y-uṭaiya (C5+7a: yuṭaiyai) neñcē’ y-enpatu mutalāka ‘nālvalai [C5+7a: mukanta]’ y-enpatirākak kiṭanta nūrrenpatu maṇiyiṭaipavaḷam (C5: maṇimiṭaipavaḷam); ippeyar uvamaiyār perṛa peyar ceyyūḷum poruḷun tammuḷ (C5+7a: tammil) ovvāmaiyaḷ [C5: eṇa v-uṇarka].

All the songs that go from AN 121 up to AN 300 [are] the hundred and eighty *Maṇimiṭaipavaḷam*. This name [is] a name obtained by similarity, because in them metre and subject matter are dissimilar. (?)

‘varaṇūru (C5+7a, G1: varaṇuru) [C5: ceytiyīn]’ v-enpatu mutalāka ‘nakaināru (C5+7a: nakainān ṛamma)’enpatirākak kiṭanta pāṭṭu nūru nittilakkōvai. ivai ceyyūḷum poruḷun tammuḷe (C5+6+7a, G1: /) okkum ākalīn.

All the songs that go from AN 301 up to AN 400 [are] the hundred *Nittilakkōvai*, because in them metre and subject matter are similar.

vaḷakkattār pāṭṭārāyntu tokuttān maturai y-uppurikilār makaṇavān (C5+7a: uppurikuṭikilār makaṇāvān) uruttiracarumaṇ. tokuppittān pāṇṭiyaṇ ukkirap peru vaḷuti. akanānūru muṭintatu (C5+7a: murrirru) [G1: murrum]. civamayam (C5+6+7a: /).

After researching the songs according to custom, Uruttiracarumaṇ, who is son of Uppurikuṭikilār from Maturai, has made the collection. [It] has been caused to be made by Pāṇṭiyaṇ Ukkirapeḷuvaluti.¹³⁴ The *Akanānūru* is completed. The essence of Śiva.

Aiṅkuṇūru:

TT [TVM /] p. 122 = im. 102-0202, C3 [UVSL 98] im. 118, {C4 [UVSL 97] im. 160, G1 [GOML D-202] im. 157}

varavuccirappuraitta pattu murrum. pēyaṇār mullai murrum. [G1 stops here.] 500 (C4: /). aiṅkuṇūru murrum. [C4 stops here.]

The decade that talks about the superiority of coming is completed. Pēyaṇār’s Mullai is completed. 500. The *Aiṅkuṇūru* is completed.

134 Here we see a coincidence with Nakkiraṇ’s legend: the Pāṇṭiya king who patronised the compilation of the AN also “rediscovered” the *Iraiyaṇār Akapporuḷ* and had the commentary written and authorised by the same scholar (who is called Uruttiracaṇmaṇ in the IA transmission).

[Veṇṇpā about the five authors: *maruta mōrampori* ...]

*ittokai tokuttār pulattuṛai muṛṇiya kūṭalūr kiḷār – ittokai tokuppittāṇ (C3: tokuppittār)
yāṇaikkaṭ cēymān tarañcēral irumpoṛaiyār – civantāypātamē tuṇai-*

This collection was made by Kūṭalūr Kiḷār who completed Pulattuṛai. This collection was caused to be made by Yāṇaikkaṭ Cēymāntaram Cēral Irumpoṛaiyār. O feet of the mother of Śiva, help.

Kalittokai:

C2 [UVSL 5] p. 380:

kalittokai muṭintatu. mullai nilattup pāṭṭukku nacciṇārkkīṇiyār ceyta v-urai muṭitintatu.

Kalittokai is completed. The commentary made by Nacciṇārkkīṇiyār for the songs of the Mullai region is completed.

G1 [GOML D.210/TD.127] f. 232a, ll.7–233a:

*pālai¹³⁵ [kuṛiñci maru]ta mullai neytaleṇac vimmuṛaiyē kōttār nallantuvāṇār. neytaṛku
ācīriyaṇ pārattuvāci nacciṇārkkīṇiyāṇ ceyta v-urai muṛrum. 33.*

Nallantuvāṇār has strung this collection in this order: Pālai, Kuṛiñci, Marutam, Mullai, Neytal. The commentary made by the teacher Nacciṇārkkīṇiyāṇ for Neytal is completed. 33 [= end of *Neytal*-Kali 33].

[3 verses on the commentator:

*pārkaṭa[r] pōlap ...
tolkāppiyattir rokutta ...
paccamā laṇaiya ...]*

*kalittokaikku nacciṇārkkīṇiyār ceyta v-urai muṛrum.
orāt' eḷutiṇeṇ āyiṇum oṇporuḷai
ārā[y]ntu koḷka aṛivuṭaiyār cīr-āyntu
kuṛraṇ kaḷaikūṛai peytu vācittal
kaṇṇarinta māntar kaṭaṇ.
kāntimati y-ammāl pātāravintamē [k]eti*

The commentary made by Nacciṇārkkīṇiyār for the *Kalittokai* is completed.
Even if I have written thoughtlessly, considering the excellence

135 Actually the ms. reads another *mullai* here, but the correct reading is obvious.

of those who have the knowledge to be gained from researching the bright subject matter to read/learn [them], removing deficiencies [and] mistakes [is] the duty of learned people.¹³⁶
 Refuge at the lotus feet of Kāntimati Ammāl.

G6 [GOML R.5754/TR.1075] im. 250 f.:

mullai kuṛiñci maruta neytalenac
*colliya muṛaiyār collavum paṭumē.*¹³⁷
eṇpulic collāta muṛaiyār collavum paṭum eṇṛaliṇ ittokaiyaip pālai kuṛiñci maruta mullai
neytalenā v-immuṛaiyē kōttār nallantuvaṇār. neyṭarṭu ācīriyaṇ pāratuvāci nacciṇārkkīṇiāṇ
ceyta v-urai muṛum.

The [settings] have been uttered in the following order:
 Mullai, Kuṛiñci, Marutam, Neytal.¹³⁸

As they are not uttered in the order that was used when they were taught, Nallantuvaṇār has strung this collection in this order: Pālai, Kuṛiñci, Marutam, Mullai, Neytal. The commentary made by the teacher Nacciṇārkkīṇiāṇ for Neytal is completed.

[followed by a set of three verses, one of them 57 lines long, in honour of the commentator Nacciṇārkkīṇiāṇ:

pārkaṭal pōlap ...
tolkāp piyattir ...
paccaimā laṇaiya ...]

kalittokaikku nacciṇārkkīṇiāṇ ceyta v-urai muṛum.
ōrāteḷutiṇēṇ āyiṇum oṇ poruḷai y-ārā[y]ntu koḷka vācittal karraṇṛinta māntar kaṭaṇ. [grantha:]
śrī gurubhyo nama. śrī rāma jayam – śāli vāḷi śurasvāmi pādamē gati.
campūraṇam

The commentary made by Nacciṇārkkīṇiāṇ for the *Kalittokai* is completed. Even if I have written thoughtlessly, [it is] the duty of learned people to read/learn [this], after having researched the bright subject matter.¹³⁹ Hail, obeisance to the teachers. Hail, victory to Rāma. Refuge at the feet of Śāli Vāḷi Śurasvāmi. Completion.

¹³⁶ Cf. the almost identical version of this caveat in the *KT* ms. [UVSL 1075].

¹³⁷ These two lines look decidedly like yet another stanza in *Ācīriyappā*, possibly quoted from a not yet identified compendium of poetics, but it is an integral part of the colophon argument, which is why it must be left in this chapter on colophons.

¹³⁸ Presumably this is a reference to *Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram*, *Akattiṇai-iyal* 5, where the four settings (*tiṇai*) corresponding to a landscape are enumerated along with their deities (with the central, unlocated one, *pālai*, missing).

¹³⁹ Here the already familiar caveat verse has been shortened so much that the metre does no longer work.

III.2.2 *Pattuppāṭṭu*

Since the *Pattuppāṭṭu* has very little in the way of scribal colophons, but is endowed with numerous little invocations and blessings, it seems more sensible to leave the colophons intact and include all of them in this section instead of splitting them up into a traditional and a devotional part. Especially in songs transmitted in numerous manuscripts, it can moreover be seen that the traditional colophons have a sort of phrasal kernel, but the details are quite variable. A standardised version is known from the edition of U.Vē. Cāminātaiyar, and it seems probable to me that he himself produced a sort of standard form condensed from the even greater number of manuscripts at his disposal. This version is put as a comparative reference at the end of each song's colophons.

Tirumurukārrupaṭai:

C1 [UVSL 1074] p. 74, l. 1

murukārrupaṭaikḱ' āciriyaṇ pāratuvāci naccinārkkiniyāṇ ceyta v-urai muṭintatu -

The commentary made by the teacher Pāratuvāci Naccinārkkiniyāṇ for the *Murukārrupaṭai* is completed.

naṇṛāka – ārumukam [pāṭa?]l kuruvē tuṇai -

Let it be good. He with six faces, o teacher, help singing.

tirumurukārrupaṭaiyurai murratu

The commentary of the *Tirumurukārrupaṭai* ends.

Cāminātaiyar edition of the *Pattuppāṭṭu*:

kumaravēlai maturaik kaṇakkāyaṇarmakaṇār nakkāraṇār pāṭiya tirumurukārrupaṭaikku maturaḱ y-āciriyaṇ pāratuvāci naccinārkkiniyaṇ ceyta v-urai murriru.

Porunarārrupaṭai:

C1 [UVSL 1074] p. 114, l. 4 f., C2 [UVSL 579-B(=A)] p. 29, l. 2 f., C3 [UVSL 231a] p. 26, l. 3 f., G1 [GOML D.268 = D.120/TP.47] p. 43

porunarārruppaṭaikk' āciriyaṇ pāratuvāci nacciṇārkkiniyāṇ ceyta v-urai muṭintatu –

The commentary made by the teacher Pāratuvāci Nacciṇārkkiniyāṇ for the *Porunarārruppaṭai* is completed.

[C1: three Veppās:

ēriyu mēttattiṇ ...

arimā cumanta ...

muccak karamum ...]

[C2+3, G1: *itu karikār peruvaḷattānai*] *muṭattāmak* (G1: *muṭittāmak*) *kaṇṇiyār pāṭiya porunarārruppaṭai murrum* (G1: *murriru*).

Porunarārruppaṭai sung by Muṭattāmak Kaṇṇiyār is completed.

aḷakiya tirucciṇrampalam eḷuttu. kuruvē tuṇai. naṇṇāka.

Writing of beautiful Tirucciṇrampalam. O teacher, help. Let it be good.

C2: [traditional colophon]

śrīc ceyam/śrī rā[ma]ceyam.

Hail, victory, hail, victory to Rā[ma].

C3: [traditional colophon]

iktu mayilai aṇṇācāmi y-upāttiyā[l e]lutiyaṭu – civamayam

This was written by the teacher Aṇṇācāmi from Mayilai – the essence of Śiva.

Cāminātaiyar edition of the *Pattuppāṭṭu*:

cōḷaṇ karikār peruvaḷattānai muṭattāmakkaṇṇiyār pāṭiya porunarārruppaṭaikk maturaṭi y-āciriyaṇ pāratuvāci nacciṇārkkiniyāṇ ceyta v-urai murriru.

Cirupāṇārruppaṭai:

C1 [UVSL 1074] p. 158, l. 9 ff.

īṭaikkaḷināṭṭu nallūr naṇṇattānār pāṭiya cirupāṇārruppaṭaikk' āciriyaṇ pāratuvāci nacciṇārkkiniyāṇ ceyta v-urai muṭintatu –

The commentary made by the teacher Pāratuvāci Nacciṇārkkiniyāṇ for the *Cirupāṇārruppaṭai*, sung by Naṇṇattānār from Nallūr in *īṭaikkaḷināṭu* is completed.

[two Veṇṇpās:
aṇiyilaiyārk kāraṇai ...
neṭuvaraic canta ...]

C2 [UVSL 184-A] p. 20, l. 1 ff.

[two Veṇṇpās ibid.]

erumā nalliyakkōṭaṇai iṭaikkālīnāṭṭu nallūr narrattaṇār pāṭiya cīrupāṇārrupaṭai murrum.
kuruvē tuṇai. vēlē tuṇai.

The *Cīrupāṇārrupaṭai* sung by *Narrattaṇār* from *Nallūr* in *Iṭaikkālīnāṭu* on *Erumā* *Nalliyakkōṭaṇ* is completed. O teacher, help. O lance, help.

C3 [UVSL 579-A(=B)] p. 58, l. 4 f., C5 [UVSL 41-C] p. 37, l. 8 f., G1 [GOML D.266 = D.120/TP.47] p. 71

cīrupāṇārru[k]k' ācīriyaṇ pāratuvāci naccīṇārkkīyāṇ ceyta v-urai muṭintatu murrum (G1: murriru). *cokkar tuṇai aṇkayaṛkaṇṇammai tuṇai.*

The commentary made by the teacher *Pāratuvāci Naccīṇārkkīyāṇ* for the *Cīrupāṇārrupaṭai* is finished, is completed. O *Cokkar*, help. O *Aṇayaṛkaṇṇammai*, help.

C5: [traditional colophon ibid.]

itai mayilai aṇṇācuvāmi y-upāṭṭiyāl elutiyatē y-ām.

This was written by the teacher *Aṇṇācuvāmi* from *Mayilai*.

C7 [UVSL 166] p. 1, ll. 1–3

[two Veṇṇpās ibid.]

ōymānāṭṭu nalliyakkōṭaṇai iṭaikkālīnāṭṭu nallūr narrattaṇār pāṭiyatu.

Sung by *Narrattaṇār* from *Nallūr* in *Iṭaikkālīnāṭu* on *Nalliyakkōṭaṇ* from *Ōymānāṭu*.

G2 [GOML D.74? = D.120/TP.47] p. 282: *veṇṇpā* [followed by the first Veṇṇpā]

Cāminātaiyar edition of the *Pattuppāṭṭu*:

ōymānāṭṭu (v: ērumānāṭṭu) nalliyakkōṭaṇai iṭaikkālīnāṭṭu nallūr nattattaṇār pāṭiya
cīrupāṇārrupaṭaikku maturai y-ācīriyaṇ pāratuvāci naccīṇārkkīyāṇ ceyta v-urai murriru.

Perumpāṇāruppaṭai:

C1 [UVSL 1074] p. 230, l. 8 ff., C2 [UVSL 184-B] p. 41, l. 6 ff., C3 [UVSL 579-B] p. 114, l. 4 f., C5 [UVSL 166] p. 57, l. 6, G1c [GOML D.267 = D.120/TP.47] p. 6, G1b [GOML D? = D.120/TP.47] p. 119

perumpāṇāruppakkup [C3+5, G1b+c: *āciriyaṇ*] *pārattuvāci naccinārkkiṇiyāṇ ceyta v-urai muṭintatu* (C3+5: *muṭrum*, G1c: *muṭṭirru*) – (C2: /)

The commentary made by Pārattuvāci Naccinārkkiṇiyāṇ for the *Perumpāṇāru* is completed.

[C1+2, G1c: *Veṇpā: kaṇkulu naṇpakalun ...*]
tonṭaimāṇ ilantiraiyaṇaik kaṭiyalūr uruttiraṇ kaṇṇaṇār (G1c: *kaṇṇār*) *pāṭiya perumpāṇāruppaṭai* [C2: *muṭrum*, G1c: *muṭṭirru*] *aḷakiya tiruciṇṇampalam eḷuttu*. (C3, C5, G1b: /)

Perumpāṇāruppaṭai sung by Uruttiraṇ Kaṇṇaṇār from Kaṭiyalūr on Tonṭaimāṇ Ilantiraiyaṇ – Writing of beautiful Tiruciṇṇampalam.

C2: [traditional colophon]

cuppira[ma]ṇi####[ku]ruvē tuṇai “O teacher Cuppira[ma]ṇi ... help”

C3: [traditional colophon]

[grantha:] śubham astu. śrīr astu. vāṇi namaḥ. śāntir astu. a[v]ighnam astu. vāsi devi sahāyam uṇṭākavum.

Let there be purity. Let there be hail. Obeisance to Vāṇi. Let there be peace. Let there be no impediment. There is relying on Vāsi Devi.

Cāminātaiyar edition of the Pattuppāṭṭu:

tonṭaimāṇ ilantiraiyaṇaik kaṭiyalūr uruttiraṇ kaṇṇaṇār pāṭiya perumpāṇāruppaṭaikku maturai y-āciriyaṇ pārattuvāci naccinārkkiṇiyar ceyta v-urai muṭṭirru.

Mullaippāṭṭu:

C1 [UVSL 1074] p. 247, l. 1 ff.

kāviriippūmpaṭṭiṇattu poṇvāṇikaṇār nappūtaṇār pāṭiṇa mullaikkup pārattuvāci naccinārkkiṇiyāṇ ceyta v-urai muṭintatu –

The commentary made by the teacher Pārattuvāci Nacciṇārkkīṇiyāṇ for *Mullai*, sung by Nappūtaṇār, gold-merchant from Kāvīrippūmpaṭṭaṇam, is completed.

[two Veṇpās:

vaṇṭārnta kaṇṇi ...
puṇaiyum polampuraṭaip ...]

aḷakiya tirucciṛrampalam eḷuttu. naṇṛāka naṇṛāka. aḷakiya.

Writing of beautiful Tiruciṛrampalam. Let it be good. Let it be good. Beautiful.

C2 [UVSL 184-C] p. 46, l. 4 ff.

[Veṇpā: *vaṇṭārnta kaṇṇi ...]*

kāvīrippūmpaṭṭi[na]ttup poṇvāṇikaṇār nappūtaṇār pāṭiya mullai murṛum. aḷakiya tiruciṛrampalam.

Mullai sung by Nappūtaṇār, gold-merchant from Kāvīrippūmpaṭṭaṇam, is completed. Beautiful Tiruciṛrampalam.

C3 [UVSL 579-C] p. 129, l. 3 ff.

mullaikkup pārattuvāci nacciṇārkkīṇiyāṇ ceyta v-urai muṭintatu.

The commentary made Pārattuvāci Nacciṇārkkīṇiyāṇ for *Mullai* is completed.

[Veṇpā: *puṇaiyum polampuraṭaip ...]*
itu nappūtaṇār pāṭiyatu. mullaippāṭṭu murṛum. [grantha:] śubham astu. śrīr astu. śāntir astu.

This has been sung by Nappūtaṇār. The *Mullaippāṭṭu* is completed. Let there be purity. Let there be hail. Let there be peace.

G1 [GOML D.234 = D.120/TP.47] p. 120

itu nappūtaṇār pāṭiyatu. mullaippāṭṭu murṛiṛru.

This has been sung by Nappūtaṇār. The *Mullaippāṭṭu* is completed.

Cāminātaiyar edition of the *Pattuppāṭṭu*:

kāvīrippūmpaṭṭiṇattup poṇvāṇikaṇār makaṇār nappūtaṇār pāṭiya mullaippāṭṭiṛku maturai y-ācīriyar pārattuvāci nacciṇārkkīṇiyar ceyta v-urai murṛiṛru.

Maturaikkāñci:

C1 [UVSL 1074] p. 372, l. 7 f., C3 [UVSL 579-D] p. 220, l. 1 ff.

talaiyālañkāñattuc ceruvenṛa pāñṭiya neṭuñceliyaṇai māñkuṭi marutaṇār pāṭiya maturaikkāñcikk' āciriyaṇ pāratuvāci naccinārkkiniyāñ ceyta v-urai muṭintatu (C3: muṛrum).

The commentary made by the teacher Pāratuvāci Naccinārkkiniyāñ for the *Maturaikkāñci*, sung by Marutaṇār from Māñkuṭi on the Pāñṭiya Neṭuñceliyaṇ, called the ruin of Talaiyālañkāñam, is completed.

[C3: two Veṇpās:

*paiñka ṇilampakaṭṭu ...
colleṇnum pūmpōtu ...]*

C2 [UVSL 184-D] p. 80, l. 4 ff.

[Veṇpā: *paiñka ṇilampakaṭṭu ...]*
pāñṭiya+ talaiyālañkāñattuc ceruvenṛa neṭuñceliyaṇai māñkuṭi marutaṇār pāṭiya maturaikkāñci muṛ[rum].

Cāminātaiyar edition of the *Pattuppāṭṭu*:

talaiyālañkāñattuc ceruvenṛa pāñṭiyaṇ neṭuñceliyaṇai māñkuṭi marutaṇār pāṭiya maturaikkāñcikk maturai y-āciriyaṇ pāratuvāci naccinārkkiniyaṇ ceyta v-urai muṛṛiru.

Neṭunalvāṭai:

C1 [UVSL 1074] p. 414, l. 1

[neṭuñ]celiyaṇai nakkīrar pāṭiya neṭunalvāṭaikkū āciriyaṇ pāratuvāci [nac]cinārkkiniyāñ/r ceyta v-urai muṭintatu.

The commentary made by the teacher Pāratuvāci Naccinārkkiniyāñ¹⁴⁰ on the *Neṭunalvāṭai* sung by Nakkīrar on Neṭuñceliyaṇ is completed.

[end of this serial *Pattuppāṭṭu* mss.; on the rest of the page is a scribal colophon in another hand with a note of sale]

¹⁴⁰ Here the honorific form in *-r* is given as an underline variant in the manuscript.

C2 [UVSL 184-E] p. 91, l. 4 ff.

[Veṇṇpā: vāṭai naliya ...]

talaiyālaṅkāṇattuc ceruvenṇa neṭuñceḷiyaṇaik kaṇakkāyaṇār makaṇār nakkīrar pāṭiya neṭunalvāṭai murrum.

The *Neṭunalvāṭai* sung by Nakkīrar, son of Kaṇakkāyaṇār, on Neṭuñceḷiyaṇ, called the ruin of Talaiyālaṅkāṇam, is completed.

nanṇāka kuruvē tuṇai vēlē tuṇai mākkavallipātamē tuṇai āticcakuṭṭiyaṇṇāvi(?) pātamē tuṇai.

Let it be good. O teacher help, o lance, help, o Mākkavallipātam, help. O feet of Āticcakuṭṭiyaṇṇāvi(?), help.

C3 [UVSL 579-E] 240, l. 5 ff.

ippāṭṭu talaiyālaṅkāṇatu ceruvenṇa neṭuñceḷiyaṇ maṇṇacaivār cenṇu peru[ku]tal iṇippōr vañciyāl iṇvañcikk' ik korṇavai nilaiyu nilaiyuṇmaiyr korṇavaiyai verrip poruṭṭup paravutal kūṇiṇār. atu pālaittiṇaik. korṇaliṇ neṭunalvāṭaikkup pārattuvāci naccinārkkīṇiyāṇ ceyta v-uṭai muṭintutu. pāṇṇiyaṇ (n)etuñceḷiyaṇē maturaik kaṇakkāyaṇār makaṇ [n]akkīraṇār pāṭiyatu.

This song, they have said, is ongoing, because of a longing for land, [and] increasing of Neṭuñceḷiyaṇ, called the ruin of Talaiyālaṅkāṇam, [and] in praise, on the subject matter of victory, of Korṇavai, because of the permanent existence in which this Korṇavai stays for the sake of sweet conquest (Vañci), by [the theme of] sweet battle Vañci. It is in Pālaittiṇai. The commentary made by Pārattuvāci Naccinārkkīṇiyāṇ for the *Neṭunalvāṭai* is completed, because of killing. Sung by Nakkīraṇār, son of Kaṇakkāyaṇār from Maturai [on] the Pāṇṇiyaṇ Neṭuñceḷiyaṇ.

[Veṇṇpā: vāṭai naliya ...]

kumara kuru pācāvaṇaipavar tuṇai.

O those born from the teacher Kumara's word, help.

Cāminātaiyar edition of the *Pattuppāṭṭu*:

pāṇṇiyaṇ neṭuñceḷiyaṇai maturaik kaṇakkāyaṇār makaṇār nakkīraṇār pāṭiya neṭunalvāṭaikkumaturai y-ācīriyar pārattuvāci naccinārkkīṇiyar ceyta v-urai murriru.

Kuṛiñcippāṭṭu:

C1 [UVSL 184-F] p. 107, l. 2 ff., C2 [UVSL 579-E(1)] p. 268, l. 8 ff.

[two Venpās:

*ārralcol kēlvi ...**niṅkuṛṛa millai ...]**[C2: ikt]āriyavācaṇ piramatattāṇait (C2: pirattāṇaik) tamīl aṛivittarkuk kapilar pāṭiya peruṅkuṛuñci (C2: kuṛiñci) muṛṛum.**Peruṅkuṛuñci*, sung by Kapilar in order to teach Tamil to Piramatattāṇ whose language was Aryan,¹⁴¹ is completed.*vēlē tuṇai (C2: /). kuruvē tuṇai. mākkavallipātamē tuṇai (C2: /).*

O lance, help. O teacher, help. O Mākkavallipātam, help.

Cāminātaiyar edition of the Pattuppāṭṭu:*āriya v-aracaṇ pirakattāṇaik tamīl aṛivittarkuk kapilar pāṭiya kuṛiñcippāṭṭirku maturai y-ācīriyar pāratuvāci naccinārkkiniyar ceyta v-urai muṛṛiru.***Paṭṭiṇappālai:**

C1 [UVSL 184-F] p. 118, l. 5 ff.

[Venpā: iṇru nūrākāp ...]

*cōlaṇ karikār peruvaḷattāṇaik kaṭiyalūr uruttiraṇ kaṇ[ṇaṇā]r pāṭiya paṭṭiṇappālai muṛṛum.*The *Paṭṭiṇappālai*, sung by Uruttiram Kaṇṇaṇār from Kaṭiyalūr on the Cōla Karikāl Peruvaḷattāṇ, is completed.*naṇṇāka. kuruvē tuṇai. marakatavalli pātamē tuṇai. cuppiramaṇiyaṇ muṇṇirka vēṇ[t]um.*

Let it be good, o teacher, help. O the feet of Marakatavalli, help. It is necessary to stand before Cuppiramaṇiyaṇ.

C2 [UVSL 579-F] p. 299, l. 7 ff., G1 [GOML D.232 = D.120/TP.47] p. 199 f.

paṭṭiṇappālaikk' ācīriyaṇ pāratuvāci naccinārkkiniyāṇ ceyta v-urai muṭintatu.

¹⁴¹ Cāminātaiyar's reading of the name (p. 512) is, however: *āriyavaracaṇ pirakattāṇait*, "the Aryan king Pirakattāṇ".

The commentary made by the teacher Pārattuvāci Nacciṇārkkīṇiyāṇ for the *Paṭṭiṇappālai* is completed.

[Veṇpā: *muccak karamum* ...]
[traditional colophon: *cōlaṇ karikār* ...]

cokkara tuṇai kuruvē tuṇai kumarakurupara[nē tuṇai]

O Cokkara, help, o teacher help, o highest teacher Kumara, [help].

Cāminātaiyar edition of the *Pattuppāṭṭu*:

cōlaṇ karikār peruvaḷattāṇaik kaṭiyalūr uruttiraṇ kaṇṇaṇār pāṭiya paṭṭiṇappālaikku maturai y-ācīriyar pārattuvāci nacciṇārkkīṇiyar ceyta v-urai murriṇru.

***Malaiṇaṭukaṭām*:**

C2 [UVSL 579-G] p. 363, l. 9 + p. 364, l. 1 ff., G1 [GOML D.269 = D.120/TP.47] p. 280 f.

*kūttarārrippaṭai*kk' ācīriyaṇ pārattuvāci nacciṇārkkīṇiyāṇ ceyta v-urai muṭintatu.

The commentary made by the teacher Nacciṇārkkīṇiyāṇ for the *Kūttarārrippaṭai* is completed.

[Veṇpā: *tūut tīmpukait* ...]
veḷaṇ (G1: *veḷ*) *naṇṇaṇcey naṇṇaṇaik kaucikaṇār* (G1: *kavucikaṇār*) *pāṭiya kūttarārrippaṭai murriṇru.*

The *Kūttarārrippaṭai* sung by Kaucikaṇār on Veḷaṇ Naṇṇaṇcey Naṇṇaṇ is completed.

[grantha:] śubham astu.

Let there be purity.

[unpublished stanza: *murukāru poruṇāru* ...]

Cāminātaiyar edition of the *Pattuppāṭṭu*:

iraṇiya muṭṭattup peruṇkuṇṇūrp peruṇkaucikaṇār palkuṇṇak kōṭṭattup pāṭiya malaipāṭukaṭāttiṇku maturai y-ācīriyar pārattuvāci nacciṇārkkīṇiyar ceyta v-urai murriṇru.

III.2.3 Information from the Traditional Colophons

Table 24: *Eṭṭuttokai*, traditional colophons

text	title	compiler	patron	structure	commentator
<i>KT</i>	<i>Kuṛuntokai</i>	Pūrikkō	/	4–8 lines	(Nacc.)
<i>NA</i>	<i>Nāṛṛiṇai pāṭṭu nāṇūru</i>	/	Paṇṇākitanta (Paṇṇāṭut.) Pāṇṭiyaṇ Māraṇ Vaḷuti	9–12 lines	/
<i>AN</i>	<i>Akanāṇūru</i> <i>Kaḷiṛriyāṇainirai</i> <i>Maṇiyiṭaipavaḷam</i> , <i>Maṇimiṭaipavaḷam</i> <i>Nittilakkōvai</i>	Maturai Uppurī(kuṭi) kiḷār makaṇ Uruttiracarumaṇ	Pāṇṭiyaṇ Ukki- rapperuvaḷuti	13–37 lines	/
<i>AiN</i>	<i>Aiṇkuṛunūru</i>	Pulatturai muṛriya Kūḷalūrkiḷar	Yāṇaikkaṇ Cēymāntaram Cēral Irumpoṛaiyār	<i>tiṇai</i> -s + authors	/
<i>PN</i>	/	/	/	/	/
<i>Pati</i>	/	/	/	/	/
<i>Kali</i>	<i>Kalittokai</i>	Nallantuvaṇār, Navvantuvaṇār, Nallantuvācāṇ	/	<i>tiṇai</i> -s + authors	Maturāpuri (Maturai) yiṇiyaṇ Pārattuvāci (Paṛattuvācāṇ) Nacciṇārkkīṇiyāṇ Nacciṇārkkīṇiyāṇ Nacciṇārkkīṇiyāṇ
<i>Pari</i>	/	/	/	/	/

Table 25: *Pattuppāṭṭu*, traditional colophons

text	title	author	subject	commentator
<i>Tirumuru.</i>	<i>(Tiru)muruk- ārruppaṭai</i>	[Nakkīraṇār]		Pāratuvāci Nacciṇār- kiṇiyāṇ
<i>Porun.</i>	<i>Porunar- - ārruppaṭai</i>	Muṭattāmak (Muṭittāmak) Kaṇṇiyār	Karikāl Peruvaḷattāṇ	=
<i>Cirup.</i>	<i>Cirupāṇ- ārru(ppaṭai)</i>	Iṭaikkaḷināṭṭu Nallūr Nārattāṇār	Eṇumā(nāṭṭu), Ōymānāṭṭu Nalliyakkōṭaṇ	=
<i>Perump.</i>	<i>Perumpāṇ- ārru(ppaṭai)</i>	Kaṭiyalūr Uruṭtiraṇ Kaṇṇa(ṇā)r	Toṇṭaimāṇ Iḷantiraiyaṇ	=
<i>Mullaip.</i>	<i>Mullai(ppāṭṭu)</i>	Kāviriṇṇam- paṭṭiṇam Poṇṇaṇikaṇār Nappūtaṇār, Nampūtaṇār, Napputaṇār	/	=
<i>Maturaik.</i>	<i>Maturaikkāñci</i>	Māṇkuṭi Marutaṇār	Talaiyālaṅkāṇattu ceruveṇṇa Pāṇṭiya(ṇ) Neṭuñceliyaṇ	=
<i>Neṭunal.</i>	<i>Neṭunalvāṭai</i>	Maturaik Kaṇṇakāyaṇār makaṇ(ār) Nakkīrar, Nakkīraṇār	Talaiyālaṅkāṇattu ceruveṇṇa (Pāṇṭiyaṇ) Neṭuñceliyaṇ	=
<i>Kuṇṇicip.</i>	<i>(Peruṇ)Kuṇṇici, Kuṇṇici</i>	Kapilar	[Āriyavācāṇ Piramatattaṇ tamīl aṇivittarṇu]	=
<i>Paṭṭiṇap.</i>	<i>Paṭṭiṇappālai</i>	Kaṭiyalūr Uruṭtiraṇ Kaṇṇaṇār	Cōḷaṇ Karikāl Peruvaḷattāṇ, -tṭōṇ, -tṭōṇ	=
<i>Malaip.</i>	<i>Kūṭṭarārrippaṭai</i>	Kaucikaṇār, Kavucikaṇār	Veḷ(āṇ) Naṇṇaṇcey Naṇṇaṇ	=

III.3 Mnemonic Stanzas

Many manuscripts contain other verses in addition to the usual invocatory stanza (*kaṭavuḷ vāḷttu*) and occasional benedictions in the margins or at the end. These can be religious in context, panegyric (relating to the kings sponsoring the anthology), or poetological. The third category is the most interesting and frequent, ranging from a praise of Tamil and its literary genres to valuable information about the text at hand and its structure in a condensed and easily memorable form. It is for this reason that I have chosen the term “mnemonic stanzas”. Many of these verses are considered apocryphal material that is related to the anthologies and has been printed in the various editions, either in the introductions or with or after the text. As such they do not stand alone. Mnemonic verses are found with many texts and textual traditions, amounting to a veritable literary history in verse, a phenomenon in itself well worthy of in-depth study.

For example, already Tāmōtaram Piḷḷai, in the introduction to his *Kali* edition in 1887, quotes along with a stanza pertaining to the *Eṭṭuttokai* one that enumerates the ten songs of the *Pattuppāṭṭu* (see below) as well as another, slightly more elliptical, for the eighteen minor classics (*Paṭiṇeṅkīḷkkaṇakku*).¹⁴² Another item in this hoard of versified traditional knowledge is a stanza on the five texts which received a commentary from the great 14th-century commentator Naccinārkkīṇiyar; it is quoted in Cāminātaiyar’s edition of the *Kuruntokai*.¹⁴³ Yet

142 *nālaṭi nāṇmaṇi nāṇāṛpat’ aintiṇai-mup-
pāl kaṭukam kōvai paḷamoḷi – māmūlam
iṇṇilai col- kāñci-uṭaṇ ēlāti eṇpavē
kainnilai avām kīḷkkaṇakku.*

“The *Nālaṭi*[yār], *Nāṇmaṇi*[kaṭikai], the four *Nārpatu* (*Kaḷavaḷi Nārpatu*, *Kāmārpatu*, *Iṇṇānārpatu*, *Iṇiyavai Nārpatu*), the *Aintiṇais* (*Aintiṇai Aimpatu*, *Aintiṇai Eḷupatu*, *Tiṇaimālai Nūṛraimpatu*, *Tiṇaimoḷi Aimpatu*), the one in three parts (= *Tirukkuraḷ*), [*Tiri*]kaṭukam, [*Ācāra*]kōvai, *Paḷamoḷi*, *Māmūlam* (= *Cīru-paṇcamūlam*),

Iṇṇilai, with the *Colkāñci* (= *Mutumōḷikkāñci*) the *Ēlāti*, they say, the *Kainnilai* – those are the *Kīḷkkaṇakku* (the minor classics).”

143 *pārat tolkāppiyamum pattuppāṭṭum kaliyum
āra kuruntokaiyuḷ aiññāṇkum – cārat
tiruttaku mā muṇi cey cintāmaṇiyum
virutti naccinārkkīṇiyamē.*

“On the weighty *Tolkāppiyam* and the *Pattuppāṭṭu* and *Kali* and on five [times] four in the ornamental *Kuruntokai* and on the essential *Cintāmaṇi* made by the brilliant great sage [Tirutakkaṭēvar] [are] the elaborate commentaries attributed to Naccinārkkīṇiyar.”

another case in point would be the so-called *taṇiyaṇ*, “solitary stanzas”, that are prefixed to most single texts inside the *Tivyappirapantam*, the four thousand “Heavenly Compositions” of the Vaiṣṇava canonical tradition, and that contain small praises relating the names of the various authors.¹⁴⁴

As far as the *Caṅkam* corpus is concerned, some of the verses printed in various editions cannot be located in any of the surviving manuscripts. And conversely, so far seven verses have turned up in manuscripts which are not printed in any edition. As a rule, their provenance and age is not known, nor are the authors. Since the majority of them are composed in *Veṇṇpā* metre (and often given the simple heading ‘*veṇṇpā*’ in the mss.), we can conclude that they are not as old as the texts they describe. Still, even if they are not contemporary with the anthologies, the possible time span ranges from about the 6th to the 17th century. For one stanza at least there is external evidence, since it is quoted in a 10th-century commentary. In the following, the verses are transcribed as transmitted in

Table 26: Anonymous stanzas connected with the *Caṅkam* corpus

text	number of stanzas	source
<i>Eṭṭuttokai</i>	1	1 ms. + edition
<i>Kuṟuntokai</i>	1	London ms.
<i>Naṟṟiṇai</i>	–	
<i>Akaṇāṇūru</i>	1 + 4	1 ms. + edition; 4 mss.
<i>Aiṅkuṟunūru</i>	1	mss. + edition
<i>Puṟaṇāṇūru</i>	–	
<i>Paṭiṟuppattu</i>	–	
<i>Kalittokai</i>	4 + 1 (+3)	4 ed., 1 ms. (ms. + ed.)
<i>Parippāṭal</i>	1	ms. + edition
<i>Pattuppāṭṭu</i>	3	1 ms., 2 edition
<i>Tirumuruḱāṟruppaṭai</i>	~ 12+	various mss. + edition
<i>Porunaṛāṟruppaṭai</i>	3	mss. + edition
<i>Ciṟupāṇāṟruppaṭai</i>	2	mss. + edition
<i>Perumpāṇāṟruppaṭai</i>	1	mss. + edition
<i>Mullaippāṭṭu</i>	2	mss. + edition
<i>Maturaikkāñci</i>	2	mss. + edition
<i>Neṭunalvāṭai</i>	1	mss. + edition
<i>Kuṟiṇcippāṭṭu</i>	2	mss. + edition
<i>Paṭṭiṇappālai</i>	2	1 ms., 1 edition
<i>Malaipaṭukaṭām</i>	1	ms. + edition

¹⁴⁴ The praise and dedication verses, mostly connected with the preface (*pāyiram*), are probably a later offshoot of this tradition. These were exchanged by the poet-scholars (*pulavar*) of premodern poetic texts, as examined in Ebeling 2010.

the manuscripts in comparison with the edited version(s). It must be noted that many readings found in the printed texts find no confirmation in the still extant manuscripts and vice versa.

To summarise, of forty-five located verses, so far six could not be traced back to any surviving manuscript, while another seven have not found entry into any edition. An exceptional case is that of the *Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai*. Already Cāminātaiyar's edition gives ten plus two additional stanzas, which according to a note were collected from various manuscripts. The fact that this beloved text of Tamil piety is special still today is enough reason to warrant a separate investigation.¹⁴⁵

III.3.1 *Eṭṭutokai* (14 Verses)

Not preserved in any still extant *Caṅkam* manuscript, although it is prefixed, along with the *Pattuppāṭṭu* and *Kīlkkāṇakku* verses, to a serial manuscript of the *Kīlkkāṇakku*, is the following anonymous *Veṇṇpā* stanza which is quoted in many editions. It enumerates the single anthologies making up the *Eṭṭutokai*. Since for the most part it employs the titles in use today and not the old names transmitted in the poetological commentaries, it is probably a rather late addition.¹⁴⁶ Naturally the question arises regarding the context in which such a stanza might have been transmitted. Given the fact that all the verses pertaining to the single anthologies have been integrated into their respective traditional colophons, the hypothesis can be formed that in times of a richer textual tradition there were serial manuscripts of the entire *Eṭṭutokai* and *Pattuppāṭṭu* that also contained colophons of the hyper-anthologies. The closest we come to such a state of affairs is one late and disparate serial paper manuscript of the *Pattuppāṭṭu* (interspersed with *Kīlkkāṇakku* = GOML D- 120/TP-47), where the colophon of the *Malaipaṭukaṭām* is followed by an unknown verse enumerating the songs in the *Pattuppāṭṭu* (see p. 199 f.).

¹⁴⁵ The precise number of verses attached to the *Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai* cannot be counted, since this text is transmitted in various contexts, such as part of the devotional Śaiva canon (eleventh *Tirumurai*) and as a hymn to Murugaṅ. A fresh search by Emmanuel Francis has already brought to light more than 30 stanzas (communication during the *Caṅkam* workshop held in the EFEO Pondy in September 2011).

¹⁴⁶ For the older designations and their distribution, see p. 137 f. quoted from Wilden 2009b.

Kiḷkkaṇakku [UVSL 885, f. 1a], *Kaliyārāycci* [GOML R-5780]¹⁴⁷, Aṇantarāmaiyaṇ *Kali* edition, Irākavaiyaṇkāṇ *AN* edition, Tāmōtaram Piḷḷai *Kali* edition, Cāminātaiyaṇ *KT* edition, etc.

நற்றிணை நல்ல குறுந்தொகை யைங்குறுநா
 றொத்த பதிற்றுப்பத் தோங்கு பரிபாடல்
 கற்றறிந்தார் சொல்லுங் கலியோ டகம்புறமென்
 ரித்திறத்த வெட்டுத் தொகை.

*2a றொத்த ER, ET, Cām.; றொற்ற *Kali* ms.

*3ab கற்றறிந்தார் சொல்லுங் Kiḷ. ms., EAv; கற்றறிந்தா ரோத்துங் EAv, ET, Cām.; கற்றறிந்தார் கூறுங் EAv, ER; கற்றறிந்தோர் போற்றுங் *Kali* ms.; கற்றறிந்தார் போற்றுங் EA

*3cd கலியோ டகம்புறமென் EA, ER, Cām.; கலியே யகம்புறமென் EAv, ET

naṇṇiṇai nalla kuṇuntokai aiṇkuṇunūṛ
otta patirruppatt' ōṇku paripāṭal
kaṇṇ' aṇintār collum kaliyōṭ' akam puṇam eṇṇ'
it tiratta eṭṭuttokai.

Naṇṇiṇai, good *Kuṇuntokai*, *Aiṇkuṇunūru*,
 even *Patirruppattu*, high *Paripāṭal*,
 along with *Kali Akam* [and] *Puṇam* praised by the learned¹⁴⁸
 these parts [form] the *Eṭṭuttokai*.

Kuṇuntokai (1)

Only one such stanza is quoted in the London manuscript of the *Kuṇuntokai*. A possible reason that it was not taken up by Caṇmukam Piḷḷai (who is the only *KT* editor to have made use of that particular ms.) may be that it is difficult to scan and determine the metre. It is definitely a devout verse in Akam dressing, alluding presumably to Śiva as Ardhanarīśvara (whose other half is the goddess).

BL Or.2726 (p. 116)

உமல்மேனி வாலிழை பாகத் தொருவ
 னிருதர னிழற்காழ் மூவகை யுலகு
 முகிழ்த்தன முகையே.

*2d *yulaku* corr.; *mulaku* L1

umal mēṇi vāl ilai pākatt' oruvan
irutara ṇiḷar kāl mū vakai yulaku
mukiltana mukaiyē.

¹⁴⁷ This late paper manuscript from the GOML does not contain the text of the *Kalittokai*, but is an unpublished study of its literary tradition.

¹⁴⁸ Or those who have acquired knowledge by learning, that is, “educated people”.

Unfolded have the buds
Of the threefold world in the lustre of [his] shade, while [he] is present,
The one who has for one pure-jewelled part Umā's body.

Akanāṇūru (1 + 4)

The famous verse explaining the complicated *tiṇai* arrangement of the *Akanāṇūru* is attested in no less than six almost identical versions, that is, virtually in every manuscript that includes the end of the text (NL and C8 presumably will have to be added, but are not decipherable from the present photos). The explanation of the text is that every odd poem is Pālai, and of the even ones every second and eighth is Kuṛinci, every fourth Mullai, every sixth Marutam and every tenth Neytal. That this scheme is an old one is confirmed by the text itself, which indeed follows this pattern. It must be noted, however, that especially the incongruous number of Pālai poems – two hundred poems, that is, no less than half of the anthology – appears to have caused problems: many poems of mixed *tiṇai* (*tiṇai mayakkam*) and later creations are among their number. Remarkable here, too, is that in all six versions there is not a single one that contains *kuṛuñci* as a variant of the standard form *kuṛiñci*, as it is attested in several other stanzas (see below under *AiN* and *Pattup.*).

TT [TVM /] (p. 39, l. 13 f.–40.7), C1 [UVSL 237] p. 1, C5c [UVSL 11/73] p. 201 f., C6 [UVSL 4/66] p. 258 f., C7a [UVSL 5/67] im. 320 ff., G1 [GOML R-5734/TR1050] p. 262 f.

பாலை வியமெல்லாம் பத்தாம் பனிநெய்த
னாலு நனிமுல்லை நாடுங்கான் – மேலையோர்
தேறு மிரண்டெட்டி டிவைகுறிஞ்சி செந்தமிழி
னாறு மருத மவை.

*1df. பனிநெய்த | னாலு TT, C1, C6, G1; பனிநெய்தல் | நாலு C5c, C7a

*2d மேலையோர் TT, C5c, C7a, G1; __மலையோர் C1; மலையோர் C6

*3c டிவைகுறிஞ்சி C1, C5c, C6, C7a, G1; டி####ஞ்சி TT

pālai viyam ellām pattām paṇi neytal
nālum naṇi mullai nāṭum-kāl – mēlaiyōr
tērum irantṭ' eṭṭ' ivai kuṛiñci cem tamiliṇ
ārum marutam avai.

Pālai all the odd ones, the tenth will be dewy Neytal,
all the fourth abundant Mullai, at the time one examines [the matter] – to the former ones
known these second and eighth [as] Kuṛiñci, in sublime Tamil
all those that are sixth [will be] Marutam.

Four other verses, all of them with a Vaiṣṇava affiliation (two to the teacher(s), one to the lord himself, and one to Sarasvatī), are found in only one manuscript, namely C3 [UVSL 107], one of two surviving exponents of the second strand of transmission for the text of the AN. They appear along with a head colophon. The metres do not seem to be perfectly regular. The first in the series is identical to the one found in the preface (*pāyiram*) of the *Māraṇalaṅkāram*, and the teacher to whom it is devoted is identified by the editor of that text, T. V. Gopal Iyer, as Nammālvār, one of the most important Vaiṣṇava poet-saints.

தேனறா மகிழ்த்தொ டையலு மெளவியுந் திருக்கிளர் குழைக்காதுங்
கானறா மலர்த்திரு முகச்சோதி யுங்கயி ரவத்து வர்வாயு
மோன மாகிய வடிவமு மார்பமு முத்திரைத் திருக்கையு
ஞான தேசிகன் [1.1] சரணதா மரையுமென் னயனம்விட் டகலாவே.

tēṇ aṛā makil toṭaiyalum mauviyum tiru kiḷar kuḷai kātum
kāṇ aṛā malar tiru muka cōtiyum kayiravam tuvar vāyum
mōṇam ākiya vaṭivamum mārpamum muttirai tiru kaiyum
ñāṇa tēcikan [1.1] caraṇam tāmaraiyum eṇ nayaṇam viṭṭ' akalāvē.

The nectar garland of unending sweetness
and the hair tuft and the ears with lustre-emitting ear rings
and the light of the sacred face, an ever-fragrant flower,
and the water-lily coral mouth
and the form that became silent and the chest
and the sacred hands posed in worship
and the feet lotuses of the teacher of insight –
[they all] do not leave my eye.

பாராத கல்விப் பிரபந்தப் பொருளனைத்து
நேராக முன்வந்து நிற்குமே – தேராது
தேவீறு கொண்ட திருமாலை முத்தமிழ்
தேர்நர்வீ றளைத்துதித்[1.2]த நாள்.

pārāta kalvi pirapanta poruḷ aṇaittu
nēr āka muṇ vantu nīrkumē tērātu
tēvīru koṇṭa tiru mālai mu tamiḷ
tērnar vīr' a[1]¹⁴⁹aitt' utit[1.2]ta nāl.

149 Here I suggest that the form *aṇaittu* found in the ms. is one of the frequent cases of confusion between *ḷ* and *l*.

All the meaning of the Prabandha's of erudition not seen [before]
came straight before [me and] stayed, unsought,
on the day that arose, summoning with distinction those who examine
the three[fold] Tamil of the sacred garland that distinguishes god¹⁵⁰.

என்றுத் திருமாற்கே யாளர்வேன் எம்பெருமான்
என்றும் என்னக்கே பிரானவான் – என்றும்
பிறவாத பேரான் பேரா யிரமு
மறவாது வாழ்த்துகவென் வாய்.

eṇrum tirumārṁkē ālarvēṇ em perumāṇ
eṇrum eṇṇakkē pirāṇ avāṇ eṇrum
piravāta pēr ālaṇ pēr āyiramum
maṇvātu vāḷttuka eṇ vāy.

Always I am the servant of Tirumāl, my great one.
Always he is my lord. Always,
without forgetting, let my mouth laud
the thousand names of the unborn great man.

தவளத் தாமரைத் [1.3] தாதார் கோயி
லவளைப் பொற்றுது மருந்தமிழ் குறித்தே.
tavaḷat tāmarait [1.3] tāṭ' ār kōyil

avaḷai porrutum arum tamīḷ kuṟittē.
We shall worship her
in the pollen-filled temple of white lotus,
pondering rare Tamil.

Aiṅkuṟunūru (1)

Equally well known is the Veṇpā enumerating the five authors of the five series of hundred poems that form the *Aiṅkuṟunūru*, again sorted into five *tiṇai*-s. It is transmitted in only two of four complete manuscripts of the text. The information, however, is confirmed by the intermediate colophons, which name the *tiṇai* along with the author after each hundred. Apparently there is no verse (or none is extant) that explains the *patikam* principle – the ordering into decades. There are, however, intermediate prose colophons after every tenth poem (in addition to the *kiḷavi*-s) which contain the heading of the decade, while the oldest palm-leaf even names the decades in the margin.

150 *tē* can be read as a short form for *tēvam* or as *tēm*, “sweetness”, that is, “a garland that takes sweet distinction”.

TT (TVM /) p. 122 = im. 102-0202, C3 [UVSL 98] im. 118

மருத மோரம்போகி நெய்தலம் மூவன்
கருதுங் குறுஞ்சி கபிலர் கருதிய
பாலை யோதலாந்தை பன்முல்லை பேயனே
நூலை யோரைங்குறு நூறு.

*1b மோரம்போகி C3; மோரம்பொரி TT

*2b குறுஞ்சி TT; குறிஞ்சி C3

*4bc யோரைங்குறு நூறு C3; யோதைங்குறு நூறு TT

marutam ōrampōki neytal ammūvaṇ
karutum kuṟuñci kapilar karutiya
pālai ōtalāntai pal mullai pēyaṇē
nūl aiyōr aiṇkuṟunūru.

Marutam by Ōrampōki, Neytal by Ammūvaṇ
imaginative Kuṟuñci¹⁵¹ by Kapilar imagined
Pālai by Ōtalāntai, many Mullai by Pēyaṇ,
[are] the masters¹⁵² of the string¹⁵³ for the Aiṇkuṟunūru.

***Kalittokai* (4 plus 1)**

The following four Venpās, none of them found in any surviving *Kali* ms.,¹⁵⁴ actually deal with the *Kalittokai*, the former two with the question of authorship and compilation, the latter two with the content and poetic quality of the text itself. The first is the basic source for our “knowledge” about the five *Kali* authors; the manuscripts only occasionally name the author along with the *tiṇai* in the intermediate colophons. The relation seems less firmly established than in the parallel case of the *Aiṇkuṟunūru*, as is indicated by one palm-leaf ms. from the GOML [R 2075/TR 2229] of *Pālaikkali* that provides the name of each poem’s author.¹⁵⁵

151 Here the oldest manuscript unequivocally reads the discarded variant *kuṟuñci* instead of the printed standard form *kuṟiñci* (as found in the later ms.).

152 The form *aiyōr* is in fact ambiguous. We can either take it as a honorific plural of *ai*, “lord, master”, or as the number five, which would imply five explicit scholars.

153 Surprising here is the use of the word *nūl*, which normally refers to theoretical texts. This makes me inclined here to take it in its literal meaning, “string”, which might be a reference to its not being only an anthology (like most *Caṅkam* texts), but an ordered anthology (in five hundreds that are made up of groups of ten).

154 Sadly, of eleven *Kali* mss. still extant, only two are complete and include the final colophon, the most obvious place to insert such a stanza. So most probably the evidence is simply lost.

155 See Rajeswari 2009 for details.

Kaliyārāycci [GOML R-5780], Aṇantarāmaiyar edition, Ceṭṭiyār edition

பெருங்கடுங்கோன் பாலை குரிஞ்சி கபிலன்
மருதனின நாகன் மருத – மருஞ்சோழ
னல்லுருத் திரன்முல்லை நல்லந் துவனெய்தல்
கல்விவலார் கண்ட கலி.

*1cd குரிஞ்சி கபிலன் K. Ā. ms., EAv; கபிலன் குரிஞ்சி EA, EC

*3a எல்லுருத் EC; எல்லுத் K. Ā. ms., EA

*3c நல்லந் K. Ā. ms., EAv, EC; நவ்வந் EA

*peruṅkaṭuṅkōṇ pālai kuriñci kapilaṇ
marutaṇ iḷanākaṇ marutam – aruñcōḷaṇ
nalluruttiraṇ mullai nallantuvaṇ neytal
kalvi valār kaṇṭa kali.*

Pālai by Peruṅkaṭuṅkōṇ, Kuriñci by Kapilaṇ,
Marutam by Marutaṇiḷanākaṇ, Mullai by
Aruñcōḷaṇ Nalluruttiraṇ, Neytal by Nallantuvaṇ
– [such is Kali] seen by those proficient in learning.

Kaliyārāycci [GOML R-5780], Aṇantarāmaiyar edition, Ceṭṭiyār edition

நாடும் பொருளசான்ற நல்லந் துவனாசாந்
குடுபிறைச் சொக்கன் றுணைப்புலவோர் – தேடுவார்
கூட்டுணவே வளத்தோடு கொங்கங் கலியினையே
கூட்டினான் ஞாலத்தோர்க் கு.

*1c நல்லந் K. Ā. ms., EC; நவ்வந் EA

*2d தேடுபோர்ந்து K. Ā. ms., EA; தேடுவார் EA, EC; தேடுவோர் EAv; தேதிப்போந்து EAv

*nāṭum poruḷ cāṇṇa nallantuvaṇ āc' ām
cūṭu piṇai cokkaṇ tuṇai pulavōr – tēṭuvār
kūṭṭuṇavē vaḷattōṭu koṇkam kaliyinaiyē
kūṭṭiṇāṇ ṇālattōrkku.*

Nallantuvaṇ, worthy of the subject matter to be established,
has joined for the inhabitants of the world the luxurious honey[-sweet] Kali,
so that those who seek the savants [that are] companions of Śiva¹⁵⁶
wearing the crescent moon, who is a support, will enjoy the feast.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁶ I.e., presumably the scholars of the *Caṇkam* whose protector, ever since Nakkīraṇ's preambles, is Śiva himself.

¹⁵⁷ Or, understanding the syntax in a different way, we can take *uṇavu* as a noun and *vaḷattōṭu* as a second object coordinate with *kaliyinaiyai*: "... has joined the honey[-sweet] Kali along with the luxury of a feast for those who seek the savants ..."

Kaliyārāycci [GOML R-5780], Aṇantarāmaiyar edition, Ceṭṭiyār edition

போக்கெல்லாம் பாலை புணர்த் னறுங்குறிஞ்சி
யாக்கமளி யூட லமர்மருத – நோக்கொன்றி
யில்லிருத்தன் முல்லை யிரங்கியபோக் கேர்நெய்தல்
புல்லுங் கலிமுறை கோப்பு.

*2c லமர்மருத K. Ā. ms.; லணிமருத EA, EC

*3d கேர்நெய்தல் EA, EC; கோநெய்தல் K. Ā. ms., EAv

*4b கலிமுறை K. Ā. ms., EA, EC; கலித்தொகை EAv

EAv (alternative version for 2–4 quoted from *Nampi Akapporuḷ*)¹⁵⁸: யாக்கஞ்சே ரூட லணிமருதம் – நோக்குங்கா | வில்லிருத்தன் முல்லை யிரங்க னறுநெய்தல் | சொல் விரிந்த நூலின் றொகை

pōkk' ellām pālai puṇartal naṟum kuṟiñci
yākkam aḷi ūṭal amar marutam – nōkk' oṇṟi
il iruttal mullai iraṅkiya pōkk' ēr neyṭal
pullum kali muṟai kōppu.

All [kinds of] going away Pālai, uniting fragrant Kuṟiñci,
being vexed that cares for increase flourishing Marutam,¹⁵⁹ glance concentrated,¹⁶⁰
being in the house Mullai, as if in an aggrieved mode¹⁶¹ Neytal,
[all these] joins the orderly arrangement of Kali.¹⁶²

Aṇantarāmaiyar edition

சீரார் கலித்தொகைக்குச் செவ்வன் குறிப்பெழுதி
நீரார் கழிசூழ் நிலத்தவர்க்குப் – பேரார்வ
முற்றளிக்க வேண்டுளமே யோர்மருப்பன் றாண்முதலைப்
பற்றளிக்கு மக்கற் பகம்.

158 Note that this variant found as one of many free-floating stanzas in the wake of *Nampi Akapporuḷ* does not deal with the *Kalittokai* at all, but, presumably, with the five *tiṇai*-s as elements of Akam poetry. Note also the closeness to the original definition of *uripporuḷ* in the *Tolkāppiyam*; of the five designations only the first differs, namely *pōkku ellām* instead of the traditional *pirital*.

159 Here the word order is slightly puzzling and the syntax can also be taken in a different way, reading two independent attributes to *marutam*: “Marutam distributing surplus [and] connected with being vexed.”

160 Here *nōkku* can be understood as referring to the mental eye of the heroine that is directed at the path of the hero and his imminent return.

161 Here, we are presumably forced to take *pōkku* in a different sense, perhaps as a synonym for *vaḷakku* and thus as a behaviour, because going does not seem easily connected with Neytal.

162 Two other ways of understanding the syntax of the last line are: “Kali [is] the orderly arrangement that joins ...”; or “Kali joins ..., linking them in the [above-mentioned] order” (where *kōppu* is taken as an absolutive of *kōttal*, “to string”).

cīrār kalittokaikku cevvaṇ kuripp’ eḷuti
nīr ār kaḷi cūḷ nilattavarkku – pēr ārvam
urr’ aḷikka vēṇṭi’ uḷamē ōr marupp’ anṛ’ āḷ mutalaip
paṛṛ’ aḷikkum ak karṇapakam.

The mind desirous of providing with great affection
 for those from the ground surrounded by backwaters full of water,
 writing down properly glosses to Kalittokai full of excellence,
 [is] that wish-fulfilling tree, which nourishes, seizing the first of men by one horn that
 day(?).

The following stanza is found in a single manuscript and its copy, a ms. only of *Pālaikkali*. It follows the final colophon of that section under the heading ‘*veṇṇpā*’. The topic of this slightly cryptic Akam-encased verse is Pālai, either as the poetic theme connected with the *tiṇai* or as its actual manifestation in the *Kali* verses.

G4 [GOML R-5783/TR-1112], G5 [GOML R-6843/R-5784]

இருள்பொர நின்ற விரவிற்கு மஞ்சம்
 பெருந்தோ ளரவல்குற் பேதை – விருந்தின்ப
 வேண்டிய வேண்டி நுகர விழுப்பாலை
 வேண்டினமை வித்தகைமை வித்து.

*2b ளரவல்குற் G4; ரளவல்குற் G5

*4b வித்தகைமை G4; வித்தகமை G5

iruḷ pora niṇṇa viraviṛkum aṇcum
perum tōḷ arav’ alkuḷ pētai – virunt’ inpa
vēṇṭiya vēṇṭi nukara viḷu pālai
vēṇṭinaimai vittakaimai vittu.

In order to desire what is desirable [and] enjoy,
 as a feast [and] pleasure, a girl with big shoulders [and] a snake-mound,¹⁶³
 who is afraid of mingling that lasts, while darkness falls,
 excellent Pālai [is], while sowing what has been desired, the seed of bereavement.

Excursus: Verses on Nacčinārkkiniyar in the *Kali* transmission:

A very different type of metrical text – since it has 57 lines one hesitates to call it a stanza – is found at the end of *Kali* in most editions and in two manuscripts, one of them a fairly old palm-leaf. In structure and ductus it is similar enough to

¹⁶³ *aravu alkuḷ* refers to the later standard simile of the female sex being like the hood of a cobra.

what is elsewhere called a ‘*ciṛappuppāyiram*’ (a laudatory preface), as is found with the *Tolkāppiyam* or a ‘*patikam*’ (a preface) found in the *Cilappatikāram*. This sort of parallel probably induced the first *Kali* editor Tāmōtaram Piḷḷai to put it at the beginning of his text under the heading *ciṛappuppāyiram*. The later editor Ceṭṭiyār terms this kind of text an *uraicciṛappuppāyiram* (a laudatory preface to a commentary), although he prints it at the end of the *Kali* text, not at its beginning. Of course we do not know much about the textual transmission in other cases. At least in the case of the *Tolkāppiyam*, however, I have seen more than one manuscript that actually begins with the *pāyiram*. In fact Cāminātaiyār’s edition of the *Pattuppāṭṭu ceyyūṭkaḷ*,” but this is not confirmed by any manuscript that has been found so far.

G1 [GOML D-210/TD-127] ff. 232a, ll.7–233a, G6 [GOML R-5754/TR-1075] im. 250 f., Tāmōtaram Piḷḷai edition (ET), Aṇantarāmaiyaṛ edition (EA), Ceṭṭiyār edition (EC)¹⁶⁴

பாற்கடல் போலப் பரந்த நன்னெறி	
நூற்படு பான்பொரு னுண்ணுதி னுரைத்துப்	
போக்கரு கேள்விப் புலவோர் புலத்தி	
னாற்பொருள் பொதிந்த தூக்கமை யாப்பினைத்	
தொக்கமை சிந்தய னாகிப் பாற்பட	5
வெழுத்துஞ் சொல்லும் பொருளுமீம் மூன்று	
மிழக்கற வாய்ந்த வழத்துதொல் சீர்த்தித்	
தொல்காப் பியமென்னுந் தொடுகடற் பரப்பை	
மறுவுங் குறைவு மின்றி யென்றுங்	
கலையி னிறைந்த கதிர்மதி யென்னு	10
நிறையுடைக் கலத்தி னெடுங்கரை காணாக்	
கல்லா மாந்தர் கற்பது வேண்டியு	
நல்லறி வுடையோர் நயப்பது வேண்டியு	
முரையிடை யிட்ட காண்டுகை யுரைத்து	
லான்றோர் புகழ்ந்த வறிவினிற் றெரிந்து	15
சான்றோ ருரைத்த தண்டமிழ்த் தெரிய	
லொருபது பாட்டு முரைப்பவர்க் கெல்லா	
முரையற முழுதும் படையுரு வித்து	
மொலிதிரைத் தலத்தி னுணர்ந்தோ ருரைக்குங்	
கலித்தொகைக் கருத்தினைக் காட்சியிற் கண்டற்	20
குள்ளுறை யுவமமு மேனை யுவமுந்	
தெள்ளிதிற் றெரிந்து திணைப்பொருட் கேற்ப	
வுள்ளுறை யுவமத் தொளித்த பொருளைக்	

164 Aṇantarāmaiyaṛ and Ceṭṭiyār apparently just reprinted the text as it was established by Tāmōtaram Piḷḷai, changing a few metrical splits as was customary among Tamil editors of the second and third generation. The former edition, however, is valuable in that it gives variants in footnotes, as was not done in the *editio princeps*.

கொன்பவர்க் கொள்ளக் குறிப்பறிந் துணர்த்தி யிறைச்சிப் பொருளுக் கெய்தும் வகையைத்	25
திறப்படத் தெரிந்து சீர்பெறக் கொளீஇத் துறைப்படு பொருளொடு சொற்பொருள் விளக்கி முறைப்பட வினையை முடித்துக் காட்டிப் பாட்டிடை மெய்ப்பாடு பாங்குறத் தெரிவித்துப்	30
பாற்பட நூலின் யாப்புற வரைத்த நாற்பெயர் பெயராய் நடப்பக் கிடத்திப் போற்ற வின்னுறை பொருள்பெற வடைத்தும் வையகம் புகழ்ந்து மணிமுடி சூட்டிய பொய்யில் வான்கதை பொதிந்த செந்தமிழ் சிந்தா மணியைத் தெண்கடல் மாநிலம்	35
வந்தா தரிப்ப வரைபெரு வஞ்சிப் பொய்யா மொழிபுகழ் மையறு காட்சித் திருத்தகு முனிவன் கருத்திது வென்னப் பருப்பொருள் கடிந்து பொருட்டொடர்ப் படுத்து வினையொடு முடியப் புனையுரை யுரைத்து	40
நல்லறி வுடைய தொல்பே ராசான் கல்வியுங் காட்சியுங் காசினி யறியப் பொருடெரி குறுந்தொகை யிருபது பாட்டிற் கிதுபொரு ளென்றவ னெழுதா தொழிய விதுபொரு ளென்றதற் கேற்ப வுரைத்தும்	45
தண்டமிழ் தெரிந்த வண்புகழ் மறையோன் வண்டிமிர் சோலை மதுரா புரிதனி லெண்டிசை விளங்க வந்த வாசான் பயின்ற கேள்வி பாரத்து வாச னான்மறை துணிந்த நாற்பொரு ளாகிய	50
தூய ஞான மிறந்த சிவச்சுடர் தானே யாகிய தன்மை யாள னவின்ற வாய்மை நச்சினாற் கினியா னருவினை கடியு மருவியம் பொதியின் மருவிய குறுமுனி தெரிதமிழ் விளங்க	55
ஔழி யூழி காலம் வாழி வாழியிம் மண்மிசை யானே.	

*2b-d பான்பொரு ணுண்ணுதி னுரைத்துப் G1+6; வான்பொரு ணுண்ணிதி னுரைத்துப் EAV;
வான்பொரு ணுண்ணிதி னுணர்ந்து ET, EA, EC

*3a போக்கரு G1+6; போக்கறு ET, EA, EC

*5ab தொக்கமை சிந்தய G5; தெக்கமை சிந்தைய G1; தொக்கமை சிந்தைய EA; தேக்கிய
சிந்தைய ET, EA, EC

*6a வெழுத்துஞ் ET, EA, EC; வெழுத்தும் G6; வேந்துஞ் G1

*7c வழுத்துதொல் G1+6, EAV; வழுக்கிறொல் ET, EA, EC

*8b பியமென்னுந் G1+6; பியமெனுந் ET, EA, EC

*9d யென்னு G6; யென்று G1; யென்ன ET, EA, EC

*11a நிறையுடைக் G6; நிறையுடை G1; நிலையுடை ET, EA, EC

*14d யுரைத்து ET, EA, EC; _____ G1+6

*15a லான்றோர் ET, EA, EC; _____ G1+6

- *15bc புகழ்ந்த வறிவினிற் ET, EA, EC; புகழ்வறி வின்றிற் G6, EAV; புகழ வறிவின்றின் G1
 *17c முணர்பவர்க் ET, EA, EC; முரைப்பவற் G6, EAV; முறைப்பவர்க் G1
 *18cd படையுது வித்து G6, EAV; படையுரு வித்து G1; புரைபட வுரைத்து ET, EA, EC
 *20d கண்டற் G6; கண்ட+ G1; கண்டதற் ET, EA, EC
 *21a குள்ளுறை G1, ET, EA, EC; குள்ளுரை G6
 *22d கேற்ப G1, ET, EA, EC; கோப்ப G6
 *23d பொருளைக் G1, ET, EA, EC; பொருள்கணைக் G6
 *24a கொள்பவர்க் G1+6; கொள்பவற் ET, EA, EC
 *25a-c யிறைச்சிப் பொருளுக் கெய்தும் G1, ET, EA, EC; யிறைப்பொரு ளுக்கெய்தும் G6
 *27b பொருளோடு G1, ET, EA, EC; பொருளோடு G6
 *29d தெரிவித்துப் G1+6; தெரித்துப் ET, EA, EC
 *30d வரைத்த G1+6; வுரைத்த ET, EA, EC
 *32d வடைத்தும் G6; வமைத்தும் G1, EAV; விளம்பியும் ET, EA, EC
 *33a வையகம் G1+6; வையம் ET, EA, EC
 *34c பொதிந்த G1+6v, ET, EA, EC; பொலிந்த G5
 *34d செந்தமிழ் G6; செந்தமிட் G1; செந்தமிழ்ச் ET, EA, EC
 *35d-43c [gaps in G6]
 *36c வரைபெரு G6, EAV; வண்பெரு ET, EA, EC
 *38a திருத்தகு G1; திருத்தரு ET, EA, EC
 *46b தெரிந்த G1, EAV; தெரித்த G5, ET, EA, EC
 *46c வண்புகழ் G1, ET, EA, EC; வன்புகழ் G6
 *49c பாரத்து G1, ET, EA, EC; பறாத்து G6
 *51c மிறந்த G1+6; நிறைந்த ET, EA, EC
 *53cd நச்சினாற் கினியா G1+6; நச்சினார்க் கினிய ET, EA, EC
 *54a னருவினை G1+6, EAV; னிருவினை ET, EA, EC
 *54d பொதியின் G1, ET, EA, EC; பொதியியின் G6
 *56b பூழி ET, EA, EC; பூழி G1+6

*pāl kaṭal pōla paranta nal neṛi
 nūl paṭu pāl poruḷ nuṇṇutiṇ uraittu
 pōkk' aru kēḷvi pulavōr pulattiṇ
 nāl poruḷ potinta tūkk' amai yāppinaṭi
 tokkamai cintayan āki pārpaṭa*

5

As one who reflects what had been gathered
 on verse abiding in balance that bundled the four matters
 of erudition for scholars of transmitted knowledge difficult to navigate,
 talking subtly about the matters/meanings in the parts that occur in the treatise
 of good ways spread like the milk ocean,
*eḷuttum collum poruḷum im mūṇṇum
 iḷukk' ara āynta vaḷuttu tol cirtti
 tolkāppiyam eṇṇum toṭu kaṭal parappai
 maṇuvum kuṇaivum iṇṇi eṇṇum
 kalaiyiṇ niraṇta katir mati eṇṇum
 niṇai-uṭai kalattiṇ neṭum karai kāṇā
 kallā māntar karpatu vēṇṇiyum
 nal ariv'-uṭaiyōr nayappatu vēṇṇiyum
 urai iṭaiyiṭṭa kāṇṭikai uraittum*

10

wanting the instruction of unlearned people
 that do not see the shore, by the full vessel
 that is called radiant mind filled with arts,
 always without fault and shortcomings,
 on the expanse of the collective ocean called *Tolkāppiyam*,
 of flawless, choice, praising, ancient reputation,
 of this trinity: syllable and word and matter,
 wanting what is longed for by those who possess good knowledge,
 teaching a brief exposition inserted in a commentary,

āṇrōr pukaḷnta aṇivīṇiṇ terintu 15

cāṇrōr uraitta taṇ tamīḷ teriyal

orupatu pāṭṭum *uraippavarkk’ ellām*

urai aṇam muḷutum paṭai urūvittum

oli tirai talattiṇ uṇarntōr uraikkum

kalittokai *karuttiṇai kāṭciyīṇ kaṇṭark’*

20

unsheathing the weapon of complete virtue of a commentary
 for all those who talk about the ten songs,
 garland of cool Tamil taught by those who are learned,
 clear in [their] knowledge, who had praised the noble ones,
 for seeing insight into the design of the *Kalittokai*,
 commented upon by those who perceive the site of sounding waves(?),

uḷḷurai uvamamum ēṇai uvamamum

tellitiṇ terintu tiṇai poruṭk’ ēṇpa

uḷḷurai uvamatt’ oḷitta poruḷai

koḷpavar koḷḷa kuṟipp’ aṇit’ uṇartti

īraicciṇ poruḷukk’ eytum vakaiyai

25

tiṇappāṭa terintu cīr peṇa koḷi

managing clearly [and] excellently to improve
 the manner to arrive at the meaning of *īraicci*,
 informing, after having understood the intention, when those take it up that take
 the meaning hidden in the inset,
 to be appropriate to the matter related to setting, having clearly understood
 the inset simile and the other similes,

turaippaṭu poruḷoṭu col poruḷ viḷakki

muṇaippaṭa viṇaiyai muṭittu kāṭṭi

pāṭṭ’-iṭai meypṭāṭu pāṇk’ uṇa terivittu

pārpaṭa nūliṇ yāpp’ uṇa varaitta

30

nārpeyar peyarāy naṭappa kiṭatti

pōṟra iṇ uṇai poruḷ peṇa aṭaittum

illuminating word meaning along with matter pertaining to theme,
 showing orderly [and] completely the work(?),

clarifying equally the physical manifestations in the song,
 putting at rest, for them to be affective as names, the four names
 delimited, for verse to occur, in the treatise, in a way well arranged,
 being appointed(?) to obtain the meaning in sweet drops, to be cherished,

vaiyakam pukaḷntu maṇi muṭi cūṭṭiya
poyyil vāṅkatai potinta cen tamīl
***cintāmaṇiyai** teḷ kaṭal mā nilam* 35
vantāt' arippa varai peru vañci
poyyā molī pukaḷ mai aṟu kāṭci
tiru taku muṇivaṅ karuttitu eṇṇa
paru poruḷ kaṭintu poruḷ toṭaṟp paṭuttu
viṇaiyoṭu muṭiya puṇai urai uraittum 40

[with the words] “this is the intention of the brilliant sage
 with faultless sight, praise for [his] falseless words”
 in mountain-great Vañci city, as the clear sea sifts
 without success the great soil,
 rejecting blotched meanings, effecting the link with meaning,
 making an ornate commentary, to end the trouble on the *Cintāmaṇi*
 in redolent refined Tamil, the heavenly story without false
 that wore a sapphire crown, praised by the world,

nal aṟiv'-uṭaiya tol pēr ācāṇ
kalviyum kāṭciyum kāciṇi aṟiya
*poruḷ teri **kuṟuntokai** irupatu pāṭṭirk'*
itu poruḷ eṇṇavaṅ eḷutāt' oḷiya
itu poruḷ eṇṇatark' ēṟpa uraittum 45

when scholarship and insight
 of the old great teacher possessing good knowledge
 was left unwritten, he having told the meaning to twice ten songs
 in the *Kuṟuntokai* where meaning is to be understood, for the world to know,
 making a commentary in order to take charge of expressing this meaning,

*taṇ tamīl terinta vaṅ pukaḷ **maṟaiyōṇ***
vaṇṭ' imir cōlai maturā puri taṇil
eṇ ticai viḷaṅka vanta vācāṇ
*payiṇṇa kēlvi **pārattuvācan***
nāṇ maṟai tuṇinta nārporuḷ ākiya 50
 liberally praised brahmin to whom cool Tamil was clear,
 inhabitant who came, for the eight directions to shine,
 from Maturai city with groves where bees hum,
 Bhāradvaja of practised transmission,
 who is the four meanings resolved in the four Vedas,

tūya ṇāṇam iṛanta civa cuṭar
 tāṇē ākiya taṇmai āḷaṇ
 naṇṇa vāymai **naccinārkkiniyāṇ**
 aru viṇai kaṭiyum aruviyam potiṇ
 maruviya **kuru muṇi** teri taṇiḷ vīḷaṅka
 ūḷi ūḷi kālam
 vāḷi vāḷi im maṇ-micai yāṇē.

55

the man of a nature that is Śiva's glow
 itself, who traversed pure knowledge,
 Naccinārkkiniyāṇ, of practised truthfulness,
 so that shines the clear Tamil of the short sage (Akattiyaṇ) linked
 with mount Potiyil with waterfalls, who masters difficult tasks,
 a time of aeon upon aeon
 may he live, may he live on this earth.

The following two verses are transmitted for *Kali* with the longer exposition, one in the usual Venṇā, one in the rarer Ācīriya Viruttam. Since all three of them mention the commentator Naccinārkkiniyar – in fact the latter two exclusively sing the praise of the great commentator – we can conclude that they cannot be earlier than the 14th century.

G1 [GOML D-210/TD-127] f. 233a, G6 [GOML R-5754/TR1075] im. 250 f.,
 Aṇantarāmaiyar edition, Ceṭṭiyār edition

தொல்காப்பியத்திற் றொகுத்த பொருளனைத்து
 மெல்லார்க்கு மொப்ப வினிதுரைத்தான் சொல்லார்
 மதுரா புரியினியான் மாமறையோ னின்பக்
 கதிரார் சுடரொரிப்பக் கண்டு.

*2b மொப்ப G1+6, EA, EC; மேற்ப EAv

*3 மதுரா புரியினியான் மாமறையோ னின்பக் G1+6, EAv; மதுரைநச்சி னார்க்கினியன்
 மாமறையோன் கள்விக் EA, EC

*4ab கதிரார் சுடரொரிப்பக் G6; கதிரார் சுடரெறிப்பக் EA; கதிரின் சுடரெறிப்பக் EAv;
 கதிரின் சுடரெறிப்பக் EC; கதிரா ரெறிப்பக் G1

tolkāppiyattiṇ tokutta poruḷ aṇaittum
 ellārkkum oppa iṇit' uraittāṇ col ār
 maturāpuri iṇiyāṇ mā maṇaiyōṇ iṇpa
 katirār cuṭar orippa kaṇṭu.

He who pleasingly commented, agreeable to all,
 on the whole of meaning/matter gathered in the *Tolkāppiyam*
 [is] the pleasing one from Maturai city filled with words, the great brahmin,
 having seen [it] when the light of him with pleasing rays¹⁶⁵ was harmonious.

165 iṇpa katirār cuṭar: since *cuṭar* usually refers to the sun or its light, it is likely that the attrib-

Cāminātaiyar, the first to print this verse in his *Pattuppāṭṭu* edition of 1989,¹⁶⁶ followed by the later *Kali* editors, definitely chooses a *lectio facilior*, but whether it is from a manuscript or not cannot today be ascertained.

uraiccirappuppāyirac ceyyuṭkaḷ (Pattuppāṭṭu, Cām. 1961, p. lvivff.)

தொல்காப் பியத்திற் றொகுத்த பொருளனைத்தும்
எல்லார்க்கு மொப்ப வினிதுரைத்தான் – சொல்லார்
மதுரைநச்சி னார்க்கினியன் மாமறையோன் கல்விக்
கதிரின் சுடரெ றிப்பக் கண்டு.

tolkāppiyattiṇ tokutta poruḷ aṇaittum
ellārkkum oppa iṇit' uraittāṇ – col ār
maturai nacciṇārkkīṇiyaṇ mā maraiyōṇ kalvi
katiriṇ cuṭar erippa kaṇṭu.

He who pleasingly commented, agreeable to all,
on the whole of the accumulated meaning/matter of the *Tolkāppiyam*
[is] Nacciṇārkkīṇiyaṇ from Maturai filled with words, a great brahmin,
having seen [it], for the lustre of the beams of [his] erudition to shine.]

G1 [GOML D-210/TD-127] f. 233a, G6 [GOML R-5754/TR1075] im. 250 f., Tāmōtaram
Piḷḷai edition, Aṇantarāmaiyar edition, Ceṭṭiyār edition

பச்சைமா லனைய மேகம் பெளவநீர் பருகிக் கான்ற
வெச்சினாற் றிசையு முண்ணு மமிர்தென வெழுரா வெச்சின்
மிச்சினா னாளும் விண்ணோர் நுகர்குவர் வேதபோத
னச்சினாற் கினியா னாவல்லுரை நவிலவர் நல்லோர்.

*2d மமிர்தென G1+6, EAv; மமிழ்தென ET, EA, EC

*2e வெழுநா G1, ET, EA; வெழுரா G6, EC

*2f வெச்சின் G1+6, EA, EC; வெச்சில் ET

*3a மிச்சினா G1+5; மெச்சினா ET, EA, EC

*3d நுகர்குவர் G1+6, EAv; மிசைகுவர் ET, EA, EC

*4a–e னச்சினாற் கினியா னாவி னல்லுரை நவிலவர் G1; னச்சினாற் கினியா னாவல்லுரை
நவிலவர் G6; னச்சினார்க் கினியா னாவி னல்லுரை நவிலவர் EAv; னச்சினார்க் கினிய
னெச்சி னறுந்தமிழ் நுகர்வர் EA, EC; நச்சினார்க் கினியா னெச்சி னறுந்தமிழ் நுகர்வர் ET

ute *inṇam*, that is, pleasant, not scorching, indicates that this *cuṭar* is the moon. It is also possible to split *katir ār cuṭar*, “the light full of rays”, which is slightly awkward, but having an honorific suffix for a celestial body is likewise surprising. The whole phrase then might refer to the commentator’s making the commentary at an auspicious moment.

166 One would have to check, however, the early editions of the *Tolkāppiyam*. There the verse might be found in an even earlier form.

paccai māl aṇaiya mēkam pauvam nīr paruki kāṇṇa
ecciṇāl ticaiyum uṇṇum amirteṇa eḷu-nā vecciṇ
miccil nāl-nāḷum viṇṇōr nukarkuvar vēta pōtaṇ
nacciṇārkiṇiyāṇ nāvil urai navilavar nallōr.

Good people study the good words from the tongue of Nacciṇārkiṇiyāṇ,
 knowledgeable in the Vedas of the heavenly ones, who daily enjoy the remainder
 from the heat of the one with seven tongues (Agni), like ambrosia, absorbed by all the direc-
 tions from the excess that drips after the green, Māl-like cloud has drunk from the ocean.

Cām. (*Pattuppāṭṭu* edition) adds the metre and has a few variant readings:
uraicciṇappuppāyirac ceyyuṭkaḷ (*Pattuppāṭṭu*, Cām. 1961, p. lvivff.)
ācīriya viruttam

பச்சைமா லனைய மேகம் பௌவநீர் பருகிக் கான்ற
 எச்சினாற் றிசையு முண்ணு மமிழ்தென வெழுநா வெச்சில்
 மெச்சிநா ணாளும் விண்ணோர் மிசைசுவர் வேத போதன்
 நச்சினார்க் கினிய னெச்சி னறுந்தமிழ் நுகர்வர் நல்லோர்.

paccai māl aṇaiya mēkam pauvam nīr paruki kāṇṇa
ecciṇāl ticaiyum uṇṇum amiḷteṇa eḷu nā eccil
mecci nāl nāḷum viṇṇōr micaikuvar vēta pōtaṇ
nacciṇārkkīṇiyāṇ eccil naṇum tamil nukarvar nallōr.

Good people study the Tamil fragrant from the saliva of Nacciṇārkiṇiyāṇ,
 knowledgeable in the Vedas of the heavenly ones, who daily praise [and] partake of the
 remainder from him with seven tongues (Agni), like ambrosia, absorbed by all the direc-
 tions from the excess that drips after the green, Māl-like cloud has drunk from the ocean.

***Paripāṭal* (1)**

A truly remarkable piece of evidence is the following Veṇṇpā on the *Paripāṭal*,
 transmitted in a single manuscript. *Paripāṭal* is the most badly mutilated text of
 the whole corpus, coming down to us only in three fragmentary palm-leaves and
 partly restored from quotations. Only from this verse do we know what it was sup-
 posed to contain in its entirety:

C2 [UVSL 1077], UVSL edition

திருமாற் கிருநான்கு செவ்வேட்கு முப்பத்
 தொருபாட்டுக் காடுகாட் கொன்று – மருவினிய
 வையையிரு பத்தாறு மாமதுரை நான்கென்ப
 செய்யபரி பாடற் றிறம்.

*2b காடுகாட் C2, Cām.; கார்கோளுக் Cām.v

*tirumārḱ' iru nāṅku cevvēṭku muppatt'
 oru pāṭṭu kāṭukāṭḱ' onṛu – maruv' iṇiya
 vaiyai iru patt' āru mā maturai nāṅḱ' enṇa
 ceyya paripāṭal tīram.*

For Tirumāl eight, for Cevvēṭ thirty-one
 songs, for her who guards the forest(?)¹⁶⁷ one, for the Vaiyai,
 pleasing to unite in, twenty-six, for great Maturai four, they say,
 [are] the constituents of the perfect Paripāṭal.

Today's text contains seven of eight hymns for Tirumāl, that is, Viṣṇu, eight of thirty-one hymns to Cevvēṭ-Murukaṇ, nine of twenty-six hymns to the river Vaiyai, and a few fragments pertaining to Maturai. The one hymn to Korāvai (or to the ocean?) is lost. How old, however, is this Venpā? The extant manuscripts testify to a transmission that was already disrupted. While two are in very bad condition, the third evinces numerous gaps and blank stretches. This rather points to, relatively speaking, recent losses of information, that is, within the last few generations of transmission in the 17th or 18th century. By contrast, the *Patirruppaṭṭu*, the other incomplete text, where the first and the last decade are supposedly missing, shows a situation resigned to this state. The manuscripts are mostly in quite good condition and simply begin with poem No 11.

Coda

Not in any way related to the *Eṭṭuttokai* is another small group of poems. They occur (as a sort of afterthought) in two manuscripts, the first two verses being scribbled in pencil on the backside of the colophon of an AN paper manuscript (dated to 1903/04), the other (in fact two versions of the same fragment that presumably was copied from some source), in equally “private” handwriting, in blue ink on an extra page in the end of an undated *Patirruppaṭṭu* paper manuscript. All of them are not fully decipherable and also not clear in their meaning. They are included here as a record of the various types of little paratexts found in manuscripts, but also as a small gesture of respect to the men who spent so much time and energy on copying manuscripts in an age of printing – most probably because they felt that every scrap of information was precious and ought not to be lost.

¹⁶⁷ Kāṭukāl is understood by Gros (1968: XIII) as “*la Gardienne de la forêt*”. He refers to a gloss by Naccinārkkinīyar on the *Tirumurukārrupaṭai*, to the extent that *kāṭukāl* should correspond to *kāṭukilāl*, “the Lady of the forest”, who is certainly Korāvai/Durgā. The variant *kār-kōl* is problematic too. Gros renders it as “*le début de la saison de kār*”, but he does not give an explanation. In fact the word literally means “absorbing rain”, and in *Tirumurukārrupaṭai* 7 it is used as a metaphor for the sea.

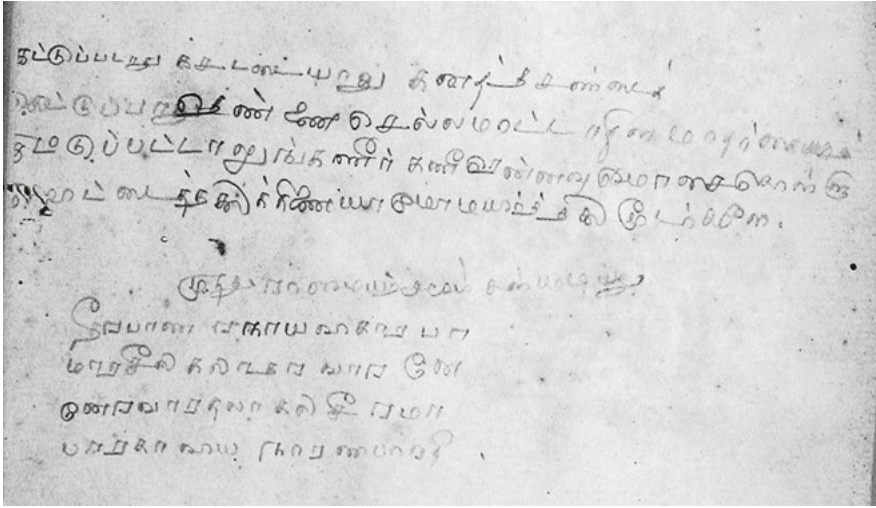


Illustration 1: Akanāṇūru, C5 [UVSL 9/72], vol. 3, p. 200

kaṭṭuppaṭātu kacaiṭaiyātu kaṇatta caṇṭaik
 kēṭṭuppā teṇṇai cella māṭṭāṭiḷa māṭarkai
 kuṭṭuppaṭṭāluṇ kaṇīr kaṇireṇṇavu mōcaikoḷḷu
 ?viṭṭaittalaik kiṇaiyā mōmayirttalai mūṭarkaḷē.
 mutturāmaiyaṛca?makaḷ pāṭiyatu
 tīrapāṇa ranāya vikāra pā
 māracila kalātara vāra nē
 nēravā ratalā kalacī ramā
 pārakā viya nāraṇa pārati.

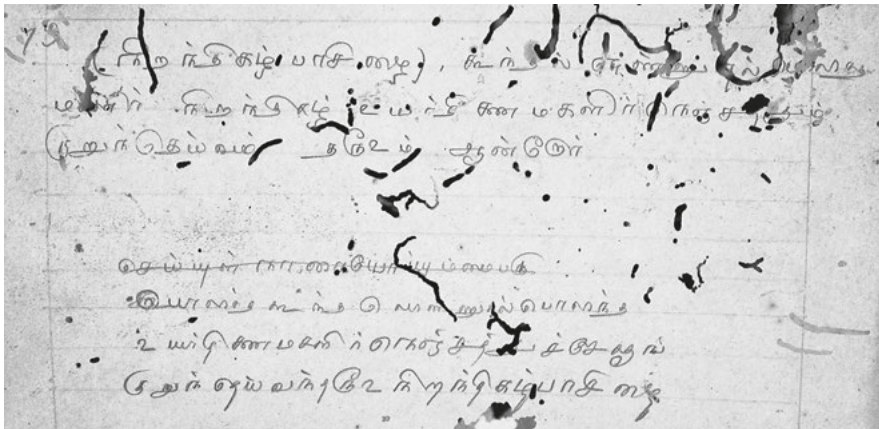


Illustration 2: *Patirrupattu* C3 [UVSL 560], p. 102

(*nīrantikaḷ pācīlai*) kūntal oṇṇu talpolinta
 makaḷir *nīrantikaḷ* uyartiṇai makaḷir neñcattum
kuṟunteyvam tarūum āṇṇōr
celluḷ nāraiērppum maipaṭu
 polinta kūnta loḷḷunal polinta
 uyartiṇai makaḷir neñcattuc cēkkuṇ
kuṟuntey vantarūu *nīrantikaḷ pācīlai*

III.3.2 *Pattuppāṭṭu* (19 Plus 12 Verses)

The *Pattuppāṭṭu*, just as the *Eṭṭuttokai*, has an enumerative stanza, or rather two of them. One is found in the *Kilkkāṇakku* manuscript mentioned above and in the editions, while a considerably longer version is found in a single paper manuscript. Remarkable about the cognate of the *Eṭṭutokai* *Veṇṇā* is its terseness. It neither gives the number of songs, simply using *pāṭṭu*, nor the full title of its component texts. Is this an exercise of fitting all ten into a single four-line *Veṇṇā*, or does it go back to a time when the names were not as firmly established? From the colophons (in part confirmed by the commentaries of the poetological tradition) we know that songs were referred to by names such as *Murukārruppaṭai* for *Tirumurukārruppaṭai*, and *Peruṅkuriṇci* or *Kuriṇci* for the *Kuriṇcippāṭṭu*, while the *Malaipaṭukaṭām* traditionally carried the title of *Kūttarārruppaṭai*.

Kīlkkāṇakku [UVSL 885, f. 1a], Tāmōtarāṇ Piḷḷai *Kali* edition, UVSL *Pattup*. Edition

முருகு பொருநாறு பாணிரண்டு முல்லை
பெருகு வளமதுரைக் காஞ்சி – மருவினிய
கோலநெடு நல்வாடை கோல்குறிஞ்சி பட்டினப்
பாலை கடாத்தொடும் பாட்டு.

- *1b பொருநாறு Cām.; பொறுநாறு ET
*3ab கோலநெடு நல்வாடை Cām.; கோல நெடுவாடை ET
*3c கோல்குறிஞ்சி Cām., ET; கொள்குறிஞ்சி Kīl.ms.
*4b கடாத்தொடும் Cām.; கடாத்தொடும் ET
*4c பாட்டு Cām., ET; பத்து Kīl.ms.¹⁶⁸

muruku porunāru pāṇ iraṇṭu mullai
peruku vaḷa maturaikkāñci – maruv' iniya
kōlam neṭunalvātai kōl kuṇiñci paṭṭinap-
pālai kaṭāttotum pāṭṭu.

Muruku, Porunāru, the two Pāṇ, Mullai,
Maturaikkāñci of growing luxuriance, jointly pleasing
[and] beautiful Neṭunalvātai, exquisite Kuṇiñci, Paṭṭinap
Pālai along, finally, with Kaṭām [are] *Pāṭṭu*.

The longer verse gives somewhat more elaborate titles, but what is puzzling here (perhaps to the extent that editors refrained from printing it) is the fact that a person with a seemingly corrupted name (*velpupan*) is credited with having written (*eḷutiṇaṇ*) the ten songs along with their commentary. Since we know the actual authors of text and commentary (as is confirmed by the colophons of the selfsame manuscript), what is being referred to must be the physical act of writing this particular manuscript, that is, most probably the palm-leaf predecessor of the composite paper copy that has survived. The patron for the undertaking also seems to be named. In short, the stanza integrates both kinds of information typical of scribal and traditional colophons, literary and transmissional, and provides us with a single instance where both is done in verse form. As already mentioned, this stanza is the only trace left of a colophon pertaining to a hyper-anthology.

¹⁶⁸ Here we may consider also the reading of the *Kīlkkāṇakku* ms. which avoids the title altogether and just calls them “the Ten”.

G1 [GOML D-269 = D-120/TP-47] p. 280 f.¹⁶⁹

முருகாறு பொருநாறு சிறுபாணாறு முல்லை
பெரும்பாணாறு மதுரைக் காஞ்சி
பரிதாய் பொருடமுவர் நெடுநல் வாடை
பட்டினப் பாலை குறுஞ்சி மலைகடாமு
மருவாரும் பொழில்புடை சூழ்களந் தைமூ
தூர்வரு சிவப்ப புவனருள் வெல்பு(?)ப
ஹரையொடு மெழுதின னாதலினா லன்னா
னோங்குபெருஞ் செல்வமிசை யுற்று வாழி.

*murukāru porunāru ciṟupāṇāru mullai
perumpāṇāru maturaikkāñci
paritāy¹⁷⁰ poruḷ taḷuvar neṭunal vātai
paṭṭinappālai kuṟuñci malaikaṭāmum
maruvārum poḷil puṭai cūḷ kaḷantai mū-
tūrvaru civappapuvaṇ aruḷ velpupaṇ
uraiyoṭum elutiṇaṇ ātaliṇāl annān
ōṇku perum celvam micai urru vāḷi.*

Murukāru, Porunāru, Ciṟupāṇāru, Mullai,
Perumpāṇāru, Maturaikkāñci,
Neṭunalvātai of those grasping the meaning properly,
Paṭṭinappālai, Kuṟuñci and Malaikaṭām,
because he has written [them] along with the commentary,
Velpupaṇ, grace to Civappapuvaṇ who comes from the old
town of Kaḷantai surrounded outside by groves overflowing with fragrance,¹⁷¹
let such a one live, experiencing the height of high, great prosperity.

[Cām. starts his introduction with two verses, the first mentioning a *Carikam* in line 3 (not quoted here), the second, apparently incomplete, the *pattup pāṭṭu* in the last line:

அண்டர்க ன்றுகண் விண்டிட முந்நீர்
அலைகடல் குடித்தும் மலைநில மழுத்தியும்

169 As the *Malaipaṭukaṭām* forms the last of the ten songs, this verse is in fact found at its end.

170 Can we understand *paritāy* as variant form of *paricu-āy*? If *paricu* is rightly interpreted as a Tamilised form of Skt. *sparśa-*, the variation *paricu/paritu* might be possible (cf. Tamil *māsam/mātam* for Skt. *māsa-*; suggestion by Jean-Luc Chevillard).

171 For *maruvār*, cf. *Tēvāram* 7.53.1 *maruvār koṇṇai mati cūṭi*, referring to Śiva who wears the moon along with fragrant Laburnum flowers. Note that the translator, V. M. Subramanya Aiyar, splits the *sandhi* as *maru-v-ār koṇṇai*, i.e. a “Laburnum satiated with fragrance.” I suggest splitting *maru-vār*, “overflowing with fragrance” as a formulaic variant to *tēm-pāy*, but in fact both possibilities amount to very similar semantic interpretations.

தென்றிசை யுயர்ந்த நொய்ம்மை போக
 அப்பணி சடையாற் கொப்பவீற் றிருந்தும்
 பன்னா வலர்புகழ் தென்னா டாண்ட
 இராவணன் றணையவ ணிராவணம் போக்கியும்
 இலங்குறு பொதியில் விலங்கல்வாழ் பெருந்தவத்
 தகத்தியன் புரந்தருண் மகத்துவ மிகுத்த
 அமிழ்தினிற் சிறந்த தமிழெனு மடந்தை
 கந்தரத் தணிமணிக் கலனர சென்[ற]
 உத்தமர் புகழுமிப் பத்துப் பாட்டும்.

Ed.: சென்ன

aṇṭarkaḷ uṟukaṇ viṇṭiṭa munnīr
alai kaṭal kuṭittum malai nilam aḷuttiiyum
teṇ ticai uyarnta noymmai pōka
ap paṇi caṭaiyārku' oppa viṇṇiruntum
pal nāvalar pukaḷ teṇ nāṭ' āṇṭa
irāvaṇaṇ taṇai avaṇ irā vaṇam pōkkiyum
ilaṇk' uru potiyl vilāṇkal vāl perum tavatt'
akattiyaṇ purant' aruḷ makattuvam mikutta
amiḷṭiṇiṇ ciṟanta tamīḷ eṇum maṭantai
kantaratt' aṇi maṇi kalaṇ arac' eṇ[r]a
uttamar pukaḷum ip pattuppāṭṭu.

The highest one
 who is called king, with a decorative sapphire ornament on [his] throat,
 of the woman who is called Tamil, more excellent than ambrosia,
 abounding in greatness under the protective grace of Akattiyaṇ
 of great penance, who lives on shining mount Potiyil,
 after he had drunk the rippling ocean of three waters in order to dissolve
 the affliction of the celestials, after he had pressed down the mountain into the ground
 and, as the lightness went, with which the southern direction had risen,
 after he had been seated in distinction equal to the one with matted locks on account of
 that performance,¹⁷²
 and after he had, by screaming(?),¹⁷³ made Rāvaṇa go,
 who ruled the southern land, praised by many poets,
 praises this Pattuppāṭṭu.]

The following poems belong to the individual texts contained in the *Pattuppāṭṭu*. As already mentioned, the *Tirumurukārruppaṭai*, the only explicitly religious text in the collection, has a special status. In Cāminātaiyar's edition there are ten plus two accompanying stanzas. But since there are many manuscripts, this number will increase considerably (as has been confirmed by the current editor Emma-

¹⁷² Or *ap paṇi caṭaiyārku*: “like that one with a snake in [his] matted locks”.

¹⁷³ *irāvaṇaṇ/irāvaṇam* certainly contains a word play, but the details of this legendary episode are unclear.

nel Francis). According to a note, Cāminātaiyar collected all the additional verse material he could find in various sources. However, even the other nine songs are richer in satellite stanzas than the rest of the corpus. Each is endowed with at least one verse and in one case there are three, coming to a total of sixteen verses. Almost all of them have already been printed, except for one verse attached to the *Paṭṭiṇappālai* in one ms. (not every ms. contains all the verses, or even one verse per *pāṭṭu*).

***Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai* (12)**

UVSL edition

1.

குன்ற மெறிந்தாய் குரைகடலிற் சூர்தடிந்தாய்
புன்றலைய பூதப் பொருபடையாய் – என்றும்
இளையா யழகியா யேறார்ந்தா னேரே
உளையாயென் னுள்ளத் துறை.

kunṛam eṛintāy kurai kaṭaliṛ cūr taṭintāy
puṇṇalaiya pūtap poru paṭaiyāy – eṇṛum
iḷaiyāy aḷakiyāy ēṛ’ ūrntān ērē
uḷaiyāy eṇ uḷlatt’ uṛai.

You who have attacked the mountain, you who have cut down the demon in the roaring sea, you who are a weapon battling against the low-headed *bhūta*¹⁷⁴ – always being young, being beautiful, you the bull of the one who is mounted on a bull (i.e. the son of Śiva),

you without suffering, reside in my heart.

2.

குன்ற மெறிந்ததுவுங் குன்றப்போர் செய்ததுவும்
அன்றங் கமரரிடர் தீர்த்ததுவும் – இன்றென்னைக்
கைவிடா நின்றதுவுங் கற்பொதும்பிற் காத்ததுவும்
மெய்விடா வீரன்கை வேல்.

kunṛam eṛintatuvuṇ kunṛappōr ceytatuvum
aṇṛ’ aṇk’ amarar iṭar tīrttatuvum – iṇṛ’ eṇṇai
kaiviṭā niṇṛatuvuṇ kal potumpiṇ kāttatuvum
meyviṭā vīraṇkai vēl.

174 Or: “you who have a fighting army of low-headed *bhūta*-s”.

Attacking the mountain and making a battle on the mountain
and ending there [and] then the affliction of the immortals
and standing without deserting me today and guarding the rocky grove
– the lance in heroic hands that does not swerve from truth.

3.

வீரவே றாரைவேல் விண்ணோர் சிறைமீட்ட
தீரவேல் செவ்வே டிருக்கைவேல் – வாரி
குளித்தவேல் கொற்றவேல் சூர்மார்புங் குன்றும்
துளைத்தவே லுண்டே துணை.

vīra vēl tārai vēl viṇṇōr ciṛaimiṭṭa
tīra vēl cev vēl tirukkai vēl – vāri
kuḷitta vēl koṛṛa vēl cūr mārpum kuṇṇum
tuḷaitta vēl uṇṭē tuṇai.

The heroic lance, the sharp¹⁷⁵ lance, the valorous lance
for saving the side of the celestials, the lance in an auspicious hand,
the lance bathed in water, the victorious lance, the lance that has pierced
the chest of the demon is [his] companion.

4.

இன்ன மொருகா லெனதிடும்பைக் குன்றுக்கும்
கொன்னவில்வேற் சூர்தடிந்த கொற்றவா – முன்னம்
பனிவேய் நெடுங்குன்றம் பட்டுருவத் தொட்ட
தனிவேலை வாங்கத் தகும்.

iṇṇam oru kāl eṇat’ iṭumpai kuṇṇukkum
kol navil vēl cūr taṭinta koṛṛavā – muṇṇam
paṇi vēy neṭum kuṇṇam paṭṭuruva toṭṭa
taṇi vēlai vāṅka takum.

Who has yet once more shortened my suffering,
victorious one who has cut down the demon with [his] lance speaking of murder,
it is befitting to bow before [your] solitary lance
that has dug completely through the long mountain covered with dew.

5.

உன்னை யொழிய வொருவரையு நம்புகிலேன்
பின்னை யொருவரையான் பின்செல்லேன் – பன்னிருகைக்
கோலப்பா வானோர் கொடியவினை தீர்த்தருளும்
வேலப்பா செந்திவாழ் வே.

175 Or *tār-ai*: “the lance wonderful with garlands”.

*unṇai oḷiya oruvaiyūm nampu-kilēṇ
piṇṇai oruvaiyāṇ piṇcellēṇ – paṇṇirukai
kōlappā vāṇōr koṭiya viṇai tirtt' aruḷum
vēlappā centi vālvē.*

I cannot long for anyone but you,
I won't follow in the wake of anybody else,
father of the staff with twelve hands, father of the lance, who has the grace
to end the bad karma of the celestials, life of Centi.

6.

அஞ்சு முகந்தோன்றி னாறு முகந்தோன்றும்
வெஞ்சமரி லஞ்சலென வேறோன்றும் – நெஞ்சில்
ஒருக்கா னினைக்கி னிருகாலுந் தோன்றும்
முருகாவென் றோதுவார் முன்.

*añcu mukan tōṇṇi āru mukan tōṇṇum
vem camaril añcal eṇa vēl tōṇṇum – neñcil
orukkāl niṇaikkiṇ irukālum tōṇṇum
murukā eṇ' ōtuvār muṇ.*

If he appears with a terrifying face, he appears with six faces.
[His] lance appears in hot battle, saying “don't be afraid.”
If [you] think [of him] one time, both [of his] two feet will appear
– before those who recite “oh Murukan”.

7.

முருகனே செந்தி முதல்வனே மாயோன்
முருகனே யீசன் மகனே – ஒருகைமுகன்
தம்பியே நின்னுடைய தண்டைக்கா லெப்பொழுதும்
நம்பியே கைதொழுவே னான்.

*murukanē centi mutalvaṇē māyōṇ
murukanē icaṇ makaṇē – orukai-mukaṇ
tampiyē niṇṇuṭaiya taṇṭai kāl eppolūtum
nampiyē kaitoḷuvēṇ nāṇ.*

O Murukan. O first one in Centi. O dark one,
Murukan. O son of the lord. O little brother of him
whose face has a trunk (Ganeṣa), always I adore
your feet as a shield, lord.

8.

காக்கக் கடவியநீ காவா விருந்தக்கால்
ஆர்க்குப் பரமா மறுமுகவா – பூக்கும்
கடம்பா முருகா கதிர்வேலா நல்ல
இடங்கா ணிரங்கா யினி.

*kākka kaṭaviya nī kāvā iruntakkāl
ārkkup paramā maṇu mukavā – pūkkum
kaṭampā murukā katir vēlā nalla
iṭaṇ kāṇ iraṅkāy iṇi.*

At a time you were not on guard, who was asked to guard,
being higher than anybody, without measuring the faults,
o flowering Kaṭampa, o Murukaṇ, o you with a brilliant lance,
deign to look at this good place now.

9.

பரங்குன்றிற் பன்னிருகைக் கோமான்றன் பாதம்
கரங்கூப்பிக் கண்குளிரக் கண்டு – சுருங்காமல்
ஆசையா னெஞ்சே யணிமுருகாற் றுப்படையைப்
பூசையாக் கொண்டேடே புகல்.

*paraṅkuṇṇiṭ paṇṇirukai kōmāṇṇaṇ pātam
karam kūppik kaṇ kuḷirak kaṇṭu – curuṅkāmal
ācaiyāṇ neṇcē aṇimurukāṇruppaṭaiyai
pūcaiyā koṇṭē pukal.*

Folding [your] hands [and] looking, for [your] eyes to cool,
on the feet of the king with twelve hands in Paraṅkuṇṇu,
o heart, with longing, without failing, praise,
taking [it] as worship, the decorative Murukāruppaṭai.

10.

நக்கீரர் தாமுரைத்த நன்முருகாற் றுபடையைத்
தற்கோல நாடோறுஞ் சாற்றினால் – முற்கோல
மாமுருகன் வந்து மனக்கவலை தீர்த்தருளித்
தானினைத்த வெல்லாந் தரும்.

*Nakkīrar tām uraitta nal murukāruppaṭaiyai
taṇ kōla nāṭōrum cārriṇāl – muṛkōla
mā murukaṇ vantu maṇak kavalai tīrtt' aruḷi
tāṇ niṇaitta ellām tarum.*

When one recites in all lands under his staff
the good Murukāruppaṭai composed by Nakkīrar himself,
great Murukaṇ with the staff before him will come, mercifully ending the mind's suffering
[and] give all one has been thinking of.

Cāminātaiyar's numbering ends here. Only the last two verses contain a reference to the text of the *Tirumurukāruppaṭai*; all the others are just devotional verses. This makes it probable that precisely these last two came with the anthology, parallel to those of the other *Pāṭṭus*. However, one more stanza follows in the edition, one that is found in many manuscripts as a prefixed protective verse (*kāppu*).

ஒருமுரு காவென்ற னுள்ளங் குளிர வுவந்துடனே
வொருமுரு காவென்று வாய்வெரு வாநிற்பக் கையிங்ஙனே
தருமுரு காவென்று தான்புலம் பாநிற்பத் தையன்முன்னே
திருமுரு காற்றுப் படையுட னேவருங் சேவகனே.

oru murukā eṇ taṇ uḷḷam kuḷira uvantuṭaṇē
oru murukā eṇru vāy veruvā-niṛpa kaiyiṇṇaṇē
taru murukā eṇru tāṇ pulampā-niṛpa taiyal munṇē
tiru murukāṛruppaṭaiyuṭaṇē varum cēvakaṇē.

Hands thus [folded] as he is in awe, mouth saying “o singular Murukaṇ”,
along with being delighted, as the mind cools in saying “o singular Murukaṇ”,
before the woman, as he keeps babbling “Murukaṇ who gives”,
the servant comes with the sacred *Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai*.

***Porunarāṛruppaṭai* (3)**

Of the three verses attached to the *Porunarāṛruppaṭai*, none mentions the text;
they rather praise the Cōḷa king; the first and third explicitly praise Karikkāḷaṇ,
who is also sung about in the poem.

C1 [UVSL 1074] p. 114, l. 5 f., UVSL edition

ஏரியு மேத்தத்தி னானும் பிறர்நாட்டு
வாரி சுரக்கும் வள்ளெலாந் தேரி
னரிகாலின் கீழ்கூஉ மன்னெல்லே சாறுங்
கரிகாலன் காவிரிசூழ் நாடு.

*1b மேத்தத்தி C1; மேற்றத்தி Cām.¹⁷⁶

*2c வள்ளெலாந் C1; வள்ளெலாம் Cām.

*3d சாறுங் C1; சாலுங் Cām.¹⁷⁷

ēriyum ēttattiṇānum piṛar nāṭṭu
vāri curakkum vaḷ elām tēriṇ
arikkāḷiṇ kiḷ-ukūum-maṇ nellē cārum
karikkāḷaṇ kāviri cūḷ nāṭu.

If one searches for all the liberality – water gushes
in others’ lands that from tanks and water lifts,

176 *ēṛram* is the “correct”, that is, more literary variant of *ēttam*, possibly a correction of the editor.

177 Here Cāminātaiyar reads, instead of the awkwardly placed apposition *cāru*, a *peyareccam cālum*, an attribute to Karikkāḷaṇ (“the worthy K.”), again possibly a correction on his part.

[but] rice even drops down from the stubble, a feast, too,
in the land surrounded by the Kāviri of Karikālāṇ.

C1 [UVSL 1074] p. 114, l. 5 f., UVSL edition

அரிமா சுமந்த வமனிமே லானைத்
திருமா வளவனெனத் தேறேன் திருமார்பின்
மானமா லென்றாறே தொழுதேன் தொழுதகைப்
பொன்வாய் பெய்த வனை.

- *2d திருமார்பின் C1; திருமார்பின் Cām.
- *3b லென்றாறே C1; லென்றே Cām.
- *3d தொழுதகைப் C1; தொழுதகைப் Cām.
- *4a பொன்வாய் C1; போனவா Cām.

ari-mā cumanta amaḷimēlāṇai
tiru mā vaḷavaṇ eṇa tēṇē. tiru mārpīṇ
māṇa māl eṇṇāre toḷutēṇ toḷu takai
poṇ-vāy peyta vaḷai.

The one on a throne borne by a yellow animal (lion),
I did not understand him to be the brilliant, great Cōḷaṇ. As a way of saying “he [is] proud
Māl with Śrī on [his] chest”, I worship the bracelet
worn by the golden-mouthed one who is adorable¹⁷⁸.

C1 [UVSL 1074] p. 114, l. 5 f., UVSL edition

முச்சக் கரமு மளப்பதற்கு நீட்டியகா
லிச்சக் கரமே யளந்தகாற் செய்ச்செ
யரிகான்மேற் [தே]ன்றொடுக்கு மாய்புண்ணீர் நாடன் ed.: றென்றொடுக்கு
கரிகால கானெருப் புற்று.

- *2C யளந்தகாற் C1; யளந்ததால் Cām.
- *4a கரிகால C1; கரிகாலன் Cām.

mu cakkaramum aḷappataṛku nīṭṭiya kāl
iṭ cakkaramē aḷanta kāl cey-cey
arikaḷ-mēl t[ē]ṇ toḷukkum āy puḷ nīr nāṭaṇ
karikaḷa kāl nerupp’ urru.

¹⁷⁸ Or, with a different *sandhi* split: “with hands that have been worshipped”. Strange in both cases is the veneration addressed to hands or a bracelet, since the normal objects of worship are feet and anklets.

The leg that measured all the three [world] circles
[is] the leg that measured this [world] circle,
the leg, being on fire, of Karikāḷaṇ, lord of a water land
with choice bees that join honey from the stubble in red fields.¹⁷⁹

Cīrupāṇārrupaṭai (2)

C1 [UVSL 1074] p. 158, l. 9 ff., C2 [UVSL 184-A] p. 20, l. 1 ff., C7 [UVSL 166] p. 1, ll. 1–3, G2 [GOML D-74? = D-120/TP-47] p. 282, UVSL edition

அணியிழையார்க் காரணங் காகிமற் றந்நோய்
தணிமருந்துந் தாமேயா மென்ப மணிமிடைபூ
ணிம்மென் முழவி னெயிற்பட் டின நாடன்
செம்மல் சிலைபொருத தோள்.

*1a அணியிழையார்க் C1+2, G1, Cām.; அணியார்க் C7

*1d ந்நோய் C1+2, Cām.; நனோய் C7; நன்னோய் G1

*2a தணிமருந்துந் C1+2; தணியர்மருந்துந் C7, Cām.

*2b தாமேயா C1, G1, Cām.; த++++ C2; தானேயா C7

*2cd மென்ப மணிமிடைபூ C1, Cām.; மென்ன மணிமிடைபூ G1; +++++ C2; மென்ப பணியிடைப்பூ C7

*3a ணிம்மென் C1+7, G1, Cām.; +++++ன் C2

*3b முழவி C1+2+7, Cām.; முழவி G1

*3cd எனெயிற்பட் டினநாடன் C7, Cām.; எனெயிற்பட் டின்னாடன் C1+2; எனெயிற்படிந் நாடன் G1

aṇi ilaiyārkk' āṛ aṇaṇk' āki marṇ an nōy
taṇi maruntum tāmē yām enṇam maṇi miṭai pūṇ
imṇen muḷaviṇ eyil paṭṭiṇa nāṭaṇ
cemmal cilai poruta tōl.

Having become the rare affliction for [women who wear] decorative bangles, they are also the sole remedy for that pain, we say – the shoulders which draw the excellent bow of the man from the land of Paṭṭiṇam,¹⁸⁰ [a shoulder] that partakes of the beauty of the drum, [sounding] *im*, with ornaments interspersed with gems.

179 The feat of making honey from stubble could be seen as a play on the metaphor of the first verse, where stubble still yields rice (and is thus more fertile than even the ears in other lands). However, there are two alternative interpretations of the third line, and thus there is a possibility of a *śleṣa* (*double entendre*). Both are based on variant readings of *teṇ* (short *e*, which is identical in the manuscript graphem): “Karikāḷaṇ, lord of a water land with choice birds that shoot towards the south over the stubbles of red fields” or “Karikāḷaṇ, lord of the land, whose nature is that of a choice bird that shoots towards the south over the stubbles of the battle field.”

180 Paṭṭiṇam can either be read as a toponym (as is mentioned in *Cīrup.* 153, part of the land of Nalliyakkōṭaṇ), or as a designation of a harbour town in general (“a land of harbour towns”).

C1 [UVSL 1074] p. 158, l. 9 ff., C2 [UVSL 184-A] p. 20, l. 1 ff., C7 [UVSL 166] p. 1, ll. 1–3, UVSL edition

நெடுவரைச் சந்த நெஞ்சங் குளிர்ப்பு
வடுப்படு பாம்பெய் மருங்கி னிடுகிடையா
யோடிய மார்பி னுயர்நல் லிக்கோடன்
சூடிய கண்ணி சூடும்.

*1a நெடுவரைச் C1+2, Cām.; நெடுவரைச் C7

*1b சந்த C1+2; சந்த C7; சந்தன Cām.

*1d குளிர்ப்பு C1; குளிர்ப்படு C2; களிர்ச்சு C7; களிர்ச்சு Cām.

*2d வடுப்படு பாம்பெய் மருங்கி னிடுகிடையா C1; படுமாம் பெய்மருங்கி னிடுகிடையா C2; பட்டுப்ப பாம்போர் மருங்க கிலிடுகொடி C7; படுமும் பாம்போர் மருங்குல் – இடுகொடி Cām.

*3b மார்பி C1+2; மார்ப C7, Cām.

*3d லியக்கோடன் C2+7, Cām.; லிக்கோடன் C1

*4a சூடிய C1+2, Cām.; சூட்டிய C7

neṭu varai cantam neṇcam kuḷirppa
vaṭuppaṭu pāmp’ ey maruṅkiṇ iṭuk’ iṭaiyāy
ōṭiya mārpīṇ uyar nalliyakkōṭaṇ
cūṭiya kaṇṇi cūṭum.

Nalliyakkōṭaṇ, with a chest that is spread,
being [hers] with dwindling waist [and] sides like spotted snakes,
with sandal paste from the long mountain, for the heart to be cool,
wears the garland that was worn.¹⁸¹

Perumpāṇārrupaṭai (1)

C1 [UVSL 1074] p. 230, l. 8, C2 [UVSL 184-B] p. 41, l. 6 ff., G1c [GOML D-267 = D-120/TP-47] p. 6, UVSL edition

கங்குலு நன்பகலுந் துஞ்சா வியல்பிற்றாய்
மங்குல்கூழ் மாகட லார்ப்பதூஉம் வெஞ்சினவேற்

¹⁸¹ Here the message of the verse is totally unclear. Taken literally, the chief either wears a garland that had already been worn by his mistress, as a token of love, or he wears a garland that was used at the temple, in an allusion to Āṇṭāl (who had the prerogative of wearing the garlands used in the worship of Viṣṇu). Both possibilities are strange enough to suggest an emendation or reinterpretation. Taking in mind that the previous verse contains a first person pl. (*yām enpam*), we might take the finite verb *cūṭum* (habitual future of the third person sg.) as a metrically shortened first pl. subjunctive *cūṭum*: “we will wear the garland worn by Nalliyakkōṭaṇ” – a deferential expression of godlike devotion to the chief, as would be (at least poetically) appropriate.

கான்பயந்த கண்ணிக் கடுமான் றிரையனை
யான்பயந்தே னென்னுஞ் செருக்கு.

*1b நன்பகலுந் C1+2; நன்பகலுந் G1c, Cām.

*2b மாகட C1+2; மாக்கட G1c, Cām.

*2d வெஞ்சினவேற் C1+2, Cām.; வெஞ்சினவேற் G1c

*3d றிரையனை C2, G1c, Cām.; றிரையனை C1

*4a யான்பயந்தே C1v+2, Cām.; மான்யந்தே C1; வான்யந்தே G1c

kaṅkulum nal pakalum tuṅcā iyalpīr'āy
maṅkul cūl mā kaṭal ārppatūm vem ciṇam vēl
kāṇ payanta kaṇṇi kaṭu māṇ tiraiyaṇai
yāṇ payantēṇ eṇṇum cerukku.

Even the roaring of the great sea enveloped by clouds,
being of a nature that does not sleep either by night or by good day.
says with pride: “I have brought forth Tiraiyaṇ with fast horses,
with a chaplet yielded by the forest, with a hot-angered lance.”

Mullaippāṭṭu (2)

C1 [UVSL 1074] p. 247, l.1 ff., C2 [UVSL 184-C] p. 46, l. 4 ff., UVSL edition

வண்டார்ந்த கண்ணி வளராய்ச்சி வானெடுங்கண்
சென்றடைந்த நோக்க மிளிப்பெறுவ தென்றுகொல்
கன்றெடுத் தோச்சிக் கனிவிளவின் காயுதிர்த்துக்
குன்றெடுத்து நின்ற நிலை.

*1a வண்டார்ந்த C1; வண்டடைந்த C2, Cām.

*1c வளராய்ச்சி Cām.; வளர்ச்சி C1; வளர்ச்சி C2

*3c காயுதிர்த்துக் C1; காயுகதுக் C2; காயுகுத்துக் Cām.

vaṇṭ' ārnta kaṇṇi vaḷar āycci vāḷ neṭum kaṇ
ceṇr' aṭainta nōkkam iṇi peruvat' eṇru-kol
kaṇr' eṭutt' ōcci kaṇi viḷaviṇ kāy utirttu
kunr' eṭuttu niṇra nilai.

When [will there be] obtaining a look now that goes out [and] reaches
from the liberal long eyes of the cowherdess with a chaplet in which bees hum
– of the lasting state of [his] raising the mountain, after having lifted and
hurled a calf, dropping unripe fruit from the wood-apple tree with ripe fruit.

C1 [UVSL 1074] p. 247, l.1 ff., C3 [UVSL 579-C] p. 129, l. 3 ff., UVSL edition

புனையும் பொலம்படைப் பொங்குளைமான் றிண்டேர்
துனையுந் துனைபடைத் துன்னார் முனையு
ளடன்முகந்த தானை யவர்வரா முன்னங்
கடன்முகந்து வந்தன்று கார்.

- *1b பொலம்படைப் C3, Cām.; பொலம்புரடைப் C1
 *2b துனைபடைத் C1, Cām.; துனைபடந் C3
 *3a எடன்முகந்த C3, Cām.; எடன்முகந் C1
 *3c யவர்வாரா Cām.; யவர்வர C1; யவர்வார C3
 *4ab கடன்முகந்து வந்தன்று C3, Cām.; கடைன்முகந் தன்று C1

puṇaiyum polam paṭai poṅk' uḷai māṇ tiṇ tēr
tuṇaiyum tuṇai paṭai tuṇṇār muṇaiyūḷ
aṭal mukanta tāṇai avar varā muṇṇam
kaṭal mukant' vantaṇru kār.

Firm chariots with horses with flying manes [and] decorative golden harnesses,
 in front of foes with hastening hasty weapons,
 with the intention that he with the army drawn for killing should not come,
 the rain cloud, drawing [water] from the sea, has come.

Maturaikkañci (2)

C2 [UVSL 184-D] p. 80, l. 1 ff., C3 [UVSL 579-D] p. 220, l. 1 ff., UVSL edition

பைங்க ணிளம்பகட்டு மேலானைப் பான்மதிபோற்
 றிங்க ணெடுங்குடையின் கீழானை யங்கிரந்து
 நாம்வேண்டு நன்னெஞ்சே நாணுதிபோய் நானிலத்தோர்
 தாம்வேண்டுங் கூடற் றமிழ்.

- *1b ணிளம்பகட்டு C2; ணிளம்பகட்டின் C3, Cām.
 *1d பான்மதிபோற் C3, Cām.; பான்மதிபொறி C2
 *2cd கீழானை யங்கிரந்து C3; கீழானைத் தங்காது C2; கீழானை – அங்கிரந்து Cām.
 *3a நாம்வேண்டு C2; நாம்வேண்ட C3, Cām.
 *3cd நாடுதிபோய் நானிலத்தோர் C3, Cām.; நாணுபபோய் நானிலத்தார் C2

paim kaṇ ilam pakattū mēlāṇai pāl mati pōl
tiṅkaḷ neṭum kuṭaiyiṇ kiḷāṇai aṇik' irantu
nām vēṇṭum nal neñcē nāṭuti pōy nāl nilattōr
tām vēṇṭum kūṭal tamil.

Beseeching there him who is on a green-eyed young bull
 [and] him who is under a long moon umbrella, like the milk moon,
 o good heart entreated by us, go [and] examine the Tamil of Kūṭal
 that is wanted by people from the four regions.

C3 [UVSL 579-D] p. 220, l. 1 ff., UVSL edition

சொல்லென்னும் பூம்போது தோற்றிப் பொருளென்னு
 நல்லிருந் தீந்தாது நாறுதலான் மல்லிகையின்

வண்டார் கமழ்தாமன் மன்றே மலையாத
தண்டாரான் கூடற் றமிழ்.

*2c நாறுதலான் C3; நாறுதலால் Cām.

*3b கமழ்தாமன் C3; கமழ்தாம Cām.

*col eṇṇum pūm pōtu tōṇṇi poruḷ eṇṇum
nal irum tīm tātu nārutalāl mallikaiyiṇ
vaḷ tār kamaḷ tāmaṇ maṇṇē malaiyāta
taṇ tārāṇ kūṭal tamīl.*

For [its] being fragrant with the good dark sweet pollen
called the meaning apparent in the bud of the flower called word,
the Tamil of Kūṭal of him with an unworn cool garland
[is] indeed¹⁸² a string fragrant with liberal garlands of jasmine.

Neṭunalvāṭai (1)

C2 [UVSL 184-E] p. 91, l. 4 ff., C3 [UVSL 579-E] 240, l. 5 ff.

வாடை நலிய வடிகண்ணா டோணிலைமை
யோடை மழுகளிறோ னுள்ளான்கொல் கோடல்
முகையோ டலம்வர முற்றெரிபோற் பொங்கிப்
பகையொடும் பாசறையு ளான்.

*1d டோணிலைமை C2; டோணைசை C3, Cām.

*2b மழுகளிறோ C2; மழுகளிறா C3, Cām.

*2d கோடல் C2; கோடன் C3, Cām.

*3b டலம்வர C2+3; டலமர Cām.

*4a பகையொடும் C2; பகையொட C3; பகையொடு Cām.

*4bc பாசறையு ளான் C2, Cām.; பாசறையு ளஃ C3

*vāṭai naliya vaṭi kaṇṇāl tōḷ nilaimai
ōṭai maḷa kaḷirṇōṇ uḷḷāṇ-kol kōṭal
mukaiyōṭ' alamvara muṇṇ' eri pōl poṇiki
pakaiyoṭum pācaṇai-uḷāṇ.*

The one on the young elephant bull with a head-ornament, does he not remember
the state of the shoulders of her with shapely eyes, as she is afflicted by the north wind,
he who is in the war camp along with [his] army,
boiling like a full flame, for the white Malabar lily with [its] buds to tremble.

¹⁸² Or an alternative interpretation for *maṇṇē*: “[is] in the hall of him with a fragrant wreath ...”,
i.e. an allusion to Śiva as the preceding deity of the *Carikam*.

Kuṛiñcippāṭṭu (2)

C1 [UVSL 184-F] p. 107, l. 2 ff., C2 [UVSL 579-E(1)] p. 268, l. 8 ff., UVSL edition

ஆற்றல்சொல் கேள்வி யறம்பொரு ளின்பத்தைப்
 போற்றிப் புனைந்த பொருளிற்றே தேற்ற
 மறையோர் மணமெட்டி னைந்தாம் விகற்பக்
 குறையோர் குறுஞ்சிக் குணம்.

- *1a ஆற்றல்சொல் C1; ஆற்றல்சால் C2, Cām.
 *1d ளின்பத்தைப் C2, Cām.; ட்டின்பத்தைப் C1
 *3cd னைந்தாம் விகற்பக் C1; னைந்தா மணத்திற் C2, Cām.
 *4a குறையோர் C1; குறைய C2; குறையாக் Cām.
 *4b குறுஞ்சிக் C1; குறிஞ்சிக் C2, Cām.

ārral col kēlvi aṛam-poruḷ-inpattai
pōrri puṇainta poruḷiṇṇē tēṇṇa
maṛaiyōr maṇam eṭṭiṇ aintām vikarpam
kuṛaiyōr kuṛuñci kuṇam.

The meaning that lauds [and] adorns duty, wealth [and] pleasure
 in the teachings of powerful words clearly is
 the quality of the Kuṛuñci on those who don't lack
 the fifth kind of the eight marriages of the brahmins.¹⁸³

C1 [UVSL 184-F] p. 107, l. 2 ff., C2 [UVSL 579-E(1)] p. 268, l. 8 ff., UVSL edition

நின்குற்ற மில்லை நிரைதொடியும் பண்புடைய
 னென்குற்றம் யானு முணர்கலேன் பொன்குற்
 றருவி கொழிக்கு மணிமலை நாடன்
 றெரியுங்காற் றீய திலன்.

- *1df. பண்புடைய | னென்குற்றம் Cām.; பண்புடைய | னென்குற்றம் C2;
 பண்டைய | மென்குற்றம் C1
 *2b யானு C2, Cām.; யாது C1

niṇ kuṛṛam illai nirai toṭiyum paṇpuṭaiyaḷ
eṇ kuṛṛam yāṇum uṇarkalēṇ. poṇ kuṛṛ'
aruvi koḷikkum maṇi malai nāṭaṇ
teriyum-kāl tiyat' ilaṇ.

183 That is, the famous Gandharva marriage (union by mutual agreement), which is evoked in Tamil poetics to illustrate the concept of *kaḷavu*, “secret love”. In this context the word *maṛaiyōr* is ambiguous, referring on the one hand to the brahmins who teach the various types of marriage, on the other hand, literally, to lovers as those who share a secret (*maṛai*).

There is no fault in you, and she with bangles in a row is full of qualities
and I do not perceive a fault in me. In the man from a land
of sapphire mountains, where waterfalls pound [and] wash gold ashore,
when one searches, there is no evil.

Paṭṭiṇappālai (2)

C1 [UVSL 184-F] p. 118, l. 5 ff.

இன்று நூறாகப் பதின்று நூறாயிரம்
பொன்னுரை யாக்கவ மைத்தான் சீரொன்றிய
பட்டின[ப் பா]லைக்குப் பைந்தா தியல்வள்
வணகட்டு விளையின்மை கண்டு.

*1a+d C1: நூறாக ... நூறாயிரம்

*2a C1: பொன்னுரை

inru nūr' āka patinru nūr' āyiram
poṇ urai ākkam amaittān cīr oṇṇiya
paṭṭiṇa [ppā]laikku paim tāt' iyal vaḷ
vaṇkaṭṭu viḷai iṇmai kaṇṭu.

He has accomplished the creation of a golden commentary
of a hundred thousand for ten, as it is a hundred today(?),¹⁸⁴
having seen the absence of ripeness in the generous natural cohesion
with the nature of fresh pollen for the Paṭṭiṇappālai, equal in excellence.

C2 [UVSL 579-F] p. 299, l. 7, G1 [GOML D-232 = D-120/TP-47] p. 199 f., UVSL edition

முச்சக் கரமு மளப்பதற்கு நீட்டியகா
விச்சக் கரமே யளக்குங்கால் செச்சை
தான்மேற் றேன்றொடுக்கு மாய்புண்ணீர் நாடன்
கரிகாலன் காணெகும் புற்று.

*1a முச்சக் C2, Cām.; முச்ச G1

*1d நீட்டியகா Cām.; நீட்டியகொ C2, G1

*2a விச்சக் C2, Cām.; விச்ச G1

*2cd யளக்குங்கால் செச்சை COR.; யளக்குங்கொல் செச்சை G1; யளக_____கன்சயா C2;
யளந்தால் – செய்ச்செ Cām.

184 The playing with numbers in the first line cannot be understood without background information. It might either refer to the generic topos of the shrinking of texts due to insufficient knowledge, or to the liberal payment given to the poet and commentator by a delighted patron.

*3ab தான்மேற் றேன்றொடுக்கு C2; யரிதாண்மெற் றேன்றொடுக்கு G1; யரிகான்மேற் றேன்றொடுக்கு Cām.

*3c மாய்புண்ணீர் corr.; மாய்புண்ணீர் C2, G1, Cām.

*4b காணெகும் C2; காளெகுப் G1; காணெருப் Cām.

mu cakkaramum aḷappataṛku niṭṭiya kāl
iḥ cakkaramē aḷakkum kāl ceccai
tāṇ-mēl tēṇ toṭukkum āy puṇṇīr nāṭaṇ
karikālaṇ kāṇekum p' urru.?

[See third verse of *Porunarāṇruppaṭai*, where the same verse is found in an uncorrupted form.]

***Malaipaṭukaṭām(1)*¹⁸⁵**

C2 [UVSL 579-G] p. 363, l. 9 + p. 364, l. 1 ff., G1 [GOML D-269 = D-120/TP-47] p. 280 f., UVSL edition

தூஉத் தீம்புகைத் தொல்விசம்புப் போர்த்துக்கொல்
 பாஅய்ப் பகல்செய்வான் பாம்பின்வாய்ப் பட்டான்கொல்
 மாமிசை யான்கோன னன்ன னறுநுதலார்
 மாமை யெல்லாம் பசப்பு.

*1a தூஉத் C2, Cām.; தூஉ G1

*1b தீம்புகைத் C2, Cām.; தீம்புகையத் G1

*1c தொல்விசம்புப் C2; தொல்விசம்பு Cām.; தொல்விசம்பிற் G1

*1d போர்த்துக்கொல் C2; போர்த்துக்கொல் Cām.; பேளத்துக்கொல் G1

*2ab பாஅய்ப் பகல்செய்வான் C2, Cām.; பாஅப்பப் பக்கல்செய்வான் G1; பாஅய்ப் Cām.

*3ab மாமிசை யான்கோன் C2, G1; மிசையான்கோ Cām.

*3cd னனூறு நறுநுதலார் C2; னனூறு நறுநுதலார் G1; னன்ன னறுநுதலார் Cām.

*4a மாமை C2, G1; மாஅமை Cām.

tūu tīm pukai tol vicumpu pōrttu-kol
pāay pakal ceyvāṇ pāmpin vāypaṭṭāṇ-kol
mā micaiyāṇ kōṇaṇṇaṇ naru nutalār
māmai ellām pacappu.

Is the old sky covered by pure sweet smoke?
 Has he who spreads [and] makes the day fallen into the mouth of the snake?¹⁸⁶
 [There is] pallor over all the darkness
 of her with the fragrant forehead of King Nannan on top of a horse.

¹⁸⁵ This verse is quoted by *Yāpparuṇkala Virutti* in the commentary on *sūtra* 4 (p. 45), that is, in about the 10th century!

¹⁸⁶ That is, has the sun been swallowed by Rahu?

III.4 The *Caṅkam* Legends

III.4.1 Introduction

When trying to establish the history of transmission for a literary corpus such as that of the *Caṅkam*, one of the sources to go by is the story that is told in the tradition itself. Since in this case we are talking about a period of roughly two thousand years, there are in fact numerous stories that have been told. Many are quite similar, while others introduce new ideas and entirely new settings. From both the subtle and not so subtle variations in this narrative stock, we can find out small details concerning the fate of our corpus that might otherwise have escaped attention. Or, expressed differently, the way a text features in the imagination of the people who have created it also tells us something about how those people may have dealt with the actual physical artefact that embodied that text: the long line of successive manuscripts.

Presumably every literary tradition, be it secular or religious, has a founding legend. Needless to say from the point of view of literary history, such legends tend to appear at a later date; they are a canonisation or even a post-canonisation phenomenon. The model of the Tamil literary legends is found, as already mentioned, in the preamble to a famous commentary on a treatise about Akam poetics, Nakkiraṇ on *Iraiyaṇār Akapporuḷ*. It tells the story of three successive literary academies at the court of the Pāṇṭiyas, of which two were destroyed by a flood. From the last, located in Maturai, at least some works have come down to posterity. The narrative continues by describing the reestablishment of regular literary activities after the end of the third *Caṅkam*, which resulted in the first treatise, followed not long thereafter by the first commentary. The influence of this story can be felt in the overall shape of all the literary traditions going back to the first millennium. It seems that most of the various narrative versions of these traditions were produced between the 12th and 15th centuries, that is, after the various corpora had been compiled. During this period, the commentary and/or hagiographic traditions were at their height.

Founding legends for the Tamil literary traditions of the first millennium:

1. literary tradition (*Caṅkam*)
 - the major classics (*mēṛkaṇakku*) → **the *Caṅkam* legends**
 - the minor classics (*kīḷkkaṇakku*) → [the Tiruvalluvar legend ↑]
2. grammatical tradition → *paramparā* account influenced by the *Caṅkam* legend
3. “epic” tradition → the Five Great *Kāvyas* (*aimperuṅkāppiyam*)

4. Śaiva bhakti
 - the Twelve Sacred Arrangements (*tirumurai*)
 - [hagiographies of saints] → **the *Tirumurai* legend**
5. Vaiṣṇava bhakti
 - the Four-Thousand Divine Compositions (*tivyappirapantam*)
 - hagiographies of saints and teachers → **the *Prabandham* legend**

In the wake of the *Caṅkam* corpus, regarded as the major classics (*mēṛkaṇakku*), we find the eighteen minor classics (*paṭiṇeṇ kīlkaṇakku*), a designation found in the commentary tradition slightly after the names of the *Caṅkam* hyper-anthologies had been established.¹⁸⁷ There seems to be no legendary narrative for the majority of the *Kīlkaṇakku*, although there are several colophon verses containing information regarding their authors/compiler and patrons. The exception is the *Tirukkuraḷ*, with several accounts as to how its author, Tiruvaḷḷuvar, was received by and integrated into the academy. The most productive phase of these narratives was only after the eighteenth century. For the epic or *mahākāvya* tradition, the same commentaries mention the “Five Great Poems” (*aiṁperuṅkāppiyam*), which seems to suggest a legendary (or hagiographic?) background, but the corresponding narrative has apparently not survived. For the grammatical tradition, it is Pēṛācīriyar (on the *TP Marappiyal*) who tells the story of the successive grammarians and their works, in part guided by the treatises already enumerated in the first *Caṅkam* legend.

In a more literary garb come the legendary accounts of the two great devotional traditions of the first millennium, the Śaiva and the Vaiṣṇava, as found in their respective hagiographic writings. For the Śaiva side, this is in the *Tirumuraikaṇṭapurāṇam*, attributed to Umāpati Civaṇ (15th c.),¹⁸⁸ and for the Vaiṣṇava side, in the *Dīvyacūricarita* by Garuḍavāhana (12th c.) as well as in the *Kuruparamparāprapāvam* by Piṇṇaḷakiya Perumāl (15th c.). Both stories take as their point of departure a recited hymn from the most cherished parts of the respective canons, the *Tēvāram* and the *Tiruvāymoli*. These fragments induce the listeners to go look for the original texts. In the Śaiva case, it is the king Apayakulacēkaraṇ who sends the corpus compiler Nampī Āṇṭār Nampī on his way to find, with the mediation of Ganeṣa, a great quantity of neglected and

¹⁸⁷ Cf. Introduction, p. 15; the term *mēṛkaṇakku* as a complement to *kīlkaṇakku* seems to be attested for the first time in the *Paṇṇiruppāṭṭiyal* (a compilative work on literary genres that current scholarship dates between the 11th and 14th centuries), where in *sūtra* 346 the metres used in both subcategories are enumerated.

¹⁸⁸ For a recent translation and discussion of the *Purāṇam*, see Pechilis Prentiss 2003a and 2003b.

insect-eaten palm-leaf manuscripts in a sealed chamber of Śiva's temple. What could be salvaged corresponds to the *Tēvāram*. In the Vaiṣṇava case, it is the compiler Nātamūṇi who goes to Kurukūr, Nammālvār's birthplace. By reciting the works of the later Ālvār Maturakavi, he gains the favour of both Maturakavi and Nammālvār, who give him the text of the complete *Tivyappirappantam* to be written down and henceforth preserved.

All of these narratives share a number of pan-Indian features, such as an obsession with antiquity and superhuman origins, and the topoi of lost continuity and of abbreviating a far longer original. But there are also a number of features that are distinctly Tamil, such as the flood and the restoration of the texts through divine-human collaboration. While this complex deserves much more attention than it has so far received, in the present context only a modest beginning can be made by looking at those strands of the legend that are connected to the classical corpus proper. Apart from its hard, so to speak, metaphysical kernel, that is, the succession of the three academies and their poetic tradition, there are a number of other, lighter narrative elements that deal with encounters between gods, kings and various poets in the context of the literary academy. While they all certainly served an ideological purpose, it is above all these elements that gain a narrative momentum of their own, a momentum that has given rise to the wide range of amusing stories that have been retold for a full millennium, in four languages and in verse as well as prose. Since alone the texts and translations of the various versions come to some three hundred pages, they will not be included here, but published as a separate volume. The following chapter will only provide summaries and shorter quotations that are of immediate relevance.

III.4.2 The Preamble to Nakkīraṇ and Its Late Metrical Echo

III.4.2.1 Two Floods and Three Academies

The first *Caṅkam*, the middle *Caṅkam*, the last *Caṅkam*, [these were] the three *Caṅkams* the Paṇṭiyas initiated.

Among those of the first *Caṅkam* was Akattiyaṇār and the god with broad matted locks who burned the three strongholds (Śiva), and lord Murukaṇ who overthrew the hill, and Muṭinākarayar of Muriñciyūr, and the lord of treasure (Kubera) – these to begin with [were] 549, they say. Set among these [there were] 4449 who sang, they say. How many were sung by them? [They were] the *Paripāṭal* and *Mutunārai* and *Mutukuruku* and *Kaḷariyāvirai*, to begin with. It is said they were a *Caṅkam* for 4440 years. With Kāyaciṇavaḷuti as the first [and] Kaṭuṅkōṇ as the last 89 [kings] kept them convened as a *Caṅkam*, they say. Their being a *Caṅkam* [and] examining Tamil [took place] in the Maturai that was taken by the sea, they say. The manual for them [was] the *Akattiyam*, they say.

Now, those of the middle *Caṅkam* were Akattiyaṇār, and Tolkāppiyaṇār, and Karuṅkōḷi Mōci of Iruntaiyūr, and Kāppiyaṇ of Veḷḷūr, and Cīrupāṇṭaraṅkaṇ, and Tiraiyaṇ Māraṇ, and Tuvurai Kōmāṇ, and Kirantai – these to begin with [were] 59, they say. Set among these [there were] 3700 who sang, they say. Sung by them were *Kali* and *Kuruku* and *Veṇṭāḷi* and *Viyāmalai Akaval*, to begin with, they say. The manuals for them [were] these: the *Akattiyam*, and the *Tolkāppiyam*, and the *Māpurāṇam*, and the *Icainuṅkkam*, and the *Pūtapurāṇam*. They were a *Caṅkam* for 3700 years, they say. With *Veṇṭēr Celiyaṇ* as the first [and] *Muṭattirumāraṇ* as the last, 59 [kings] kept them convened as a *Caṅkam*, they say. Among them, five presented poems¹⁸⁹, they say. Their being a *Caṅkam* [and] examining Tamil [took place] in Kapāṭapuram, they say. At that time [too] it seems the Paṇṭiya country was taken by the sea.

Now, in the last *Caṅkam* those who examined Tamil were Cīrumētaviyār, and Cēntampūtaṇār, and Aṟivuṭaiyaraṇār, and Peruṅkuṇṇūr Kilār, and Iṇantirumāraṇ, and Nallatuvaṇār, the teacher from Maturai, and Marutaṇ Iṇanākaṇār from Maturai, and Nakkiraṇār, the son of Kaṇakkāyaṇār – these to begin with [were] 49, they say. Set among them [were] 449 who sang, they say. Sung by them were the *Neṭuntokaināṇūru*, and the *Kuṟuntokaināṇūru*, and the *Narriṇaināṇūru*, and the *Puṇaṇāṇūru*, and the *Aiṅkuṇūru*, and the *Paṭiruppattu*, and hundred and fifty *Kalis*, and seventy *Paripāṭals*, and the *Kūttu*, and the *Vari*, and the *Cirricai*, and the *Pēricai*, to begin with. The manuals for them were the *Akattiyam* and the *Tolkāppiyam*, they say. Their being a *Caṅkam* [and] examining Tamil [lasted] for 1850 years, they say. With *Muṭattirumāraṇ* who passed away being taken by the sea as the first [and] *Ukkirapperuḷuti* as the last, 49 [kings] kept them convened as a *Caṅkam*, they say. Among them three presented poems, they say. Their being a *Caṅkam* [and] examining Tamil [took place] in upper Maturai, they say.

This is the version found in the preamble of Nakkiraṇ's commentary on the *Iṟaiyaṇār Akapporuḷ*, the second of the important poetological treatises of the first millennium. Many things are remarkable about this brief text, but since many of them have already been discussed,¹⁹⁰ it is enough here to point out the few aspects that are relevant for our purposes. Let us put aside for the moment the astonishing numbers of years and members, which we will come back to with regard to the consequences they have for Tamil time calculations.

If we look at the main figures in these assemblies, in the first *Caṅkam* we find at least two gods, namely, Śiva and Murukaṇ. Another conspicuous figure is Akattiyaṇ, the Tamil counterpart of the Vedic seer Agastya, who was to have

¹⁸⁹ *kavi* (from Skt. “kavi- “poet”) can in Tamil refer to either a “poet” or a “poem”.

¹⁹⁰ The text has been translated in its entirety and discussed in detail several times. By far the most careful and erudite of these studies is the first, Aravamuthan 1930, which lays out the structure of the preface and argues succinctly for its having been a later addition. This study already includes all of the relevant cross references. It is still quoted (though to some extent in a distorted way) by Zvelebil 1973a. Buck/Paramasivam 1997, who provide a full translation of the commentary, do not add anything new to the issue. For other discussions on this text, see also Marr 1985 [1958], Gros 1983, Takahashi 2004, and Wilden 2006a: 133 f., 2009b.

a long and successful career as the first Tamilian grammarian and promulgator of Tamil culture overseas in the east.¹⁹¹ The most prominent figure in the second *Caṅkam* is Tolkāppiyaṇār, celebrated author of the first extant grammar of Tamil, and thus legendarily predating all of the poetic texts actually transmitted. In the third *Caṅkam* we recognise a few names of poets known from the colophons of “our” *Caṅkam* anthologies.¹⁹² The last king to have convened the *Caṅkam* is, again according to the colophon, the patron who sponsored the collection of long love poems into one of our anthologies, the *Akanāṇūru*.

As far as the texts are concerned, from the works of the first and second *Caṅkam*, only the *Tolkāppiyam*, the treatise on grammar, is reported to have survived. About the rest nothing is known, apart from the *Akattiyam*, another treatise on grammar, of which portions have been forged by the later tradition.¹⁹³ Note that of the three other theoretical texts that are mentioned, two bear Sanskrit names: *Māpurāṇam* and *Pūtapurāṇam*. Among the literary texts mentioned for the third *Caṅkam*, we recognise all of the eight smaller collections that today make up the *Eṭṭuttokai*.¹⁹⁴ The second hyper-anthology, the *Pattuppāṭṭu*, the collection of ten long songs, is absent.

Another remarkable feature is that this first written account appears in relative isolation. There is no confirmation at all in the early poetic tradition: no self-reference is made in the entire corpus of poems, at least not to an academy, despite the fact that a few hints can be found regarding a special relationship between the Pāṇṭiyas in Maturai, or Kūṭal by its older name, and Tamil. None of these is early.¹⁹⁵ Setting aside the problems of dating the commentary of Nakkiraṇ, which

191 For a general account of Akattiyaṇ in the Tamil tradition see Sivaraja Pillai 1930. On the history of the Akattiyaṇ reception within the Tamil grammatical tradition see Chevillard 2009a.

192 The identities of these names are discussed in Gros 1983: 90 f. However, for the well-known names that go on to play a role in the later versions of the legend, such as Kapilar and Nakkiraṇ, one must live with the fact that already within the *Caṅkam* corpus itself, the works ascribed to them cover a theoretical period of several hundred years, not to mention the later devotional works ascribed to poets of the same names. A crown witness is the poet Kapilar, who already within the classical corpus is supposed to have authored not only a range of poems in the four oldest anthologies, but also the *Kuṟiṇci* portion of the *Aiṅkuruṇūru* and the *Kalittokai*. This already gives him a lifespan of about half a millennium.

193 For more details, see Chevillard 2009a; some of these pseudo-*sūtra*-s are quoted and translated by Sivaraja Pillai (1930).

194 The *Akanāṇūru* is still called by its older name *Neṭuntokai*, “the collection of long [songs]”.

195 PN 58.13 addresses the Pāṇṭiya as the king of Kūṭal that is associated with Tamil (*tamiḷkeḷu kūṭal taṇ kōl vēntē*). *Ċirupāṇārruppaṭai* 66 f. makes a connection with the Tamil literary tradition: there the context is that of a bard who is sent to a place beyond Maturai where his skills would be more appreciated: “Even Maturai is poor [now], with [its] streets budding with delight | [and] its enduring rare tradition in which Tamil had obtained a position” (*tamiḷ nilaiperra tāṅku*

is traditionally considered the earliest commentarial work in the Tamil language, there are various reasons for arguing that its preamble is of a considerably later date. Some of the extra-literary material in the Pāṇṭiya inscriptions from the late 8th to the middle of the 10th century has been quoted in the introduction. This attests to a tradition that links the predecessors, as yet unnamed, of the ruling Pāṇṭiya kings with establishing a Tamil *Caṅkam* in Maturai.¹⁹⁶

The first instances of additional literary evidence that we have are some references in later commentaries of the grammatical and literary tradition, none of them unequivocally earlier than the 12th century (of which evidence will be discussed in chapter III.5.1), and a poetic work, the *Kallāṭam*, also with an uncertain date (chapter III.4.3.2). These findings seem to be confirmed if not by the character of the story quoted above, then certainly by some of its details. In whose interest could it have been to have Śiva – a god who is completely absent from the horizon at least of the earlier texts of the corpus – intimately connected with the foundation of this literary tradition? Why put the first treatise on Tamil grammar into the mouth or hand of a Vedic seer?

Pragmatically speaking, one way of admitting the fact that there were literary models which preceded the transmitted works of a highly complex and sophisticated literary tradition is to claim that the former were lost in a natural catastrophe. But what is more interesting than the real age of the legend and its “truth” is the fact that how it is told fits in very well with the historical situation in Tamilnadu as we find it at the beginning of the second millennium. Not that the picture is entirely clear, but what we see is the following: Suddenly, or not so suddenly, a Tamil tradition of commentary emerges, with the most fruitful period between the 11th and 14th centuries. Until that time, poems were transmitted individually, in anthologies, or in early hyper-anthologies. The exegetical genres were restricted to *kiḷavi*-s for Akam and *turai*-s for Puṇam. In the case of Akam, this took the form of a sort of miniature one-sentence commentary elucidating the poetic situation.

aru marapiṇ / maḱiḷ naṇai maṇukiṇ maturaiyum vaṇitē). Finally *Kali* 35.17 f. seems to describe the recurrent event of listening to new poetry in Kūṭal: “Is this not the time when one thinks of the words that are new on the tongues of wisdom | of the [poets of] Kūṭal with long mansions that walk the tongues of the land (~ that are famous throughout the land)” (*niḷaṇ nāviṇ tiritariūm niḷ māṭa kūṭalār / pulaṇ nāvīṇ piṇanta col putit’ uṇṇum poḷut’ aṇṇō*). Incidentally, a number of similar passages are also found in the *Pāṇṭikkōvai* (cf. Wilden 2009c: 114 f.); see also *Tirukkōvaiyār* 20.2 “like the bright sweet Tamil researched in Kūṭal with high fortifications” (*uyar matil kūṭaliṇ āyṇta oṇ tim tamiliṇ*).

196 The inscriptions to be taken into account, all but one on copper-plates, begin with Ciṇṇamaṇūr I (dated to 771–811 C. E.), followed by Erukaṇkuṭi (829 C. E.), the only non-copper-plate and only exponent of the ninth century, then Taḷavāyapuram (910 C. E.), Ciṇṇamaṇūr II (926–27 C. E.) and finally Śivakāsi (940–41 C. E.); cf. Wilden 2009b and 2009c.

The form is quite similar to that known from some Sanskrit and Prākṛit Mukṭaka collections such as the *Sattasāi*. For the Puṛam (heroic) poems, there was a counterpart containing historiographic information.

Now, roughly at the beginning of the second millennium, something considerably different begins to take place. With the commentaries, both theoretical and literary, we see on the one hand a massive effort at understanding. The extent of the difficulties faced by the commentators testifies quite clearly to a major disruption in the exegetical tradition. On the other hand, we observe a process of cultural re-interpretation, a reshaping of poetic content based on a different moral system. In other words: along with the commentaries comes the appropriation of a heritage as well as the reconstruction of a past. And our legend, which stands uncontested within the tradition, symbolises quite aptly the double concern at the heart of this movement. One is the claim for antiquity and excellence, which leads to the first outlining of a canon. Additionally, and almost unwittingly, there is a fusion of Tamil literature with a religious tradition that is no longer perceived as something foreign and coming from the north. From this point in time, Śiva is a lordly protector of Tamil. We will meet him again in the later development of our legend.

If now we finally come back to the numbers contained in the legend, especially the years, we find in them a strange sense of symmetry. The first *Caṅkam* lasted for 4440 years, the second *Caṅkam* for 3700 years, and the third *Caṅkam* for 1850 years. Altogether this is a period of 9990 years. The numbers of academy members, poets and kings connected with the *Caṅkam* stand in similar proportions. As for the general scheme, there are certainly corollaries with the Sanskrit teaching of the *yuga*-s, the world ages, which follow upon one another, becoming gradually shorter and less excellent. The loss of the *Caṅkam* might coincide with the beginning of the Kaliyuga, the last and worst part of the cycle that leads to the destruction of the universe. Needless to say, this is the period we are still living in. To be comprehensive, we must note the relevance of this calculation for the inner-Tamilian chronology. It is one of the factors that complicates any debate about dates in Tamil literary history. The *Tolkāppiyam*, the earliest extant grammar, for example, was traditionally dated to roughly 5000 B. C.E.¹⁹⁷, which can be explained through the following computation: since the text goes back to the second *Caṅkam*, we have to reckon the 3700 years that it lasted, plus the 1850 years of the third *Caṅkam*, plus the odd number of years that must have passed between the end of the third *Caṅkam* and “Nakkīraṇ’s” account of it. Historically

197 See Takahashi 1995 for different attempts at dating.

speaking we have here the link to proto-history which becomes crucial for the Lemuria extension of the legend that is still current in our days.

III.4.2.2 The Academy on the Ganges

Interestingly the actual “flood” legend is the silent background of all that is to follow, but it is hardly ever retold before the 18th or 19th centuries. There are a few verses in the *Tiruvīlaiyāṭarpurāṇam* by Nampi, with a still paler echo in the *Hālāsya Māhātmya* and no record at all in Parañcōti’s version (Aravamathan 1931: 118, Shulman 1978: 23f.).¹⁹⁸ The context is a curious incident that is often alluded to, in literature and inscriptions, namely that of the Pāṇṭiya king hurling his spear against the ocean, presumably in the course of a fight over the natural boundaries of the Pāṇṭiya land.¹⁹⁹ Seen against the background of the legend, it is the sea that encroaches time and again on Pāṇṭiya territory (taking the two former capitals of Southern Maturai and Kapāṭapuram), while the Pāṇṭiya defends Kap Comorin so as not to run the danger of also losing his present capital, Maturai. The Puranic Pāṇṭiya king is named Ukkirappāṇṭiyaṇ, who might correspond to Ukkirapperuvalūti, the patron of the last *Caṅkam*. Once the sea is defeated the foundation of the academy is on the king’s mind:

Tiruvīlaiyāṭarpurāṇam, Nampi

- 21.8 *kaṭal valiya catti viṭac catti viṭṭa kāvalarkup*
puṭavi pariv’ uṛa vēṇṭum varaṇ koṭuttup putumai paṭa
vaṭaiv-uṭaṇ ṇṇikiya caṅka-maṇṭapamum amaitt’ ūḷi
taṭam-uṭai nāvalar pōrrat tamīlc cokkaṇ iṇit’ iruntāṇ.
- 21.9 *maṇatt’ iṇṇam payakkum poṇ matil taṅkun tamīlk kūṭar*
raṇitt’ eṇṇuñ cīrakkun taṇ tamīlc caṅkan taṇaip paṇṇiṇ
nīṇaikkun kaṇ mutar Caṅkam miṭaic caṅkan nilaitt’ ākum
iṇic Caṅkam puṇar kaṅkaik karaip-paṇkiṇ puṛatt’ eṇṇa.

At the time when Cokkaṇ granted the boon, for the world to have pleasure,
 desired by the guardian who had let lose [his] power, when the mighty power of
 the sea was let lose,
 [and] newly created an appropriate high academy hall,
 he sat pleasantly for Tamil, while the great poets applauded.

¹⁹⁸ For the complex relations between the different Maturai *Purāṇams*, see chapter III.4.4.

¹⁹⁹ The first attestation of this topos might be *Cilappatikāram* 11.15–22, where the king throws his spear and the sea retaliates against the Paṅṇu river and the Kumari rock.

Kūṭal, with Tamil held by golden walls that give pleasure to the mind,
 – when one thinks [in terms] of tradition of the academy for cool Tamil that is
 said to be unique and excellent – is the seat of the first and the middle academy.
 The present academy is outside on the bank of the flooding Ganges, they say.

As usual the wording of the *Purāṇam* is open to interpretation. The first verse refers to the situation when the guardian, i.e. the Pāṇṭiya king, had effectively dealt with the danger posed by the aggressive sea. Śiva apparently grants a boon in recompense and establishes a or the literary academy, for which no place is mentioned. The precise implications of the subsequent verse depend on the understanding of the final predicate *eṇpa*. Shulman interprets it as a prediction from the mouth of Śiva. However, since the preceding verse contains a predicate with simple masculine singular, the plural *eṇpa* might rather be seen as a reference to the general public believe, that is, a comment on the events narrated before. In both cases the verse evokes the “historical” dimension of the event, namely the fact that there were three successive academies, as was told in Nakkiraṇ’s preamble. Surprising is the statement concerning the seat of the third academy, the bank of the Ganges and not Maturai, as in all the other versions. Perhaps this simply has to be seen as a Sanskritic reinterpretation of the older designation *uttara-maturai*, “upper” or “Northern Maturai”, which the Vaiṣṇavas for one identified with Kṛṣṇa’s Northern city of Mathurā.

The Sanskrit version of the *Hālāsya Māhātmya* confirms this latter point, here clearly interpreted as a prediction from the mouth of Śiva:

1746 f. *tam dṛṣ[ṭ]vā suṇḍarêśas tu sahasā prīta-mānasaḥ |*
pradadāv ugra-saṃjñāya tasmai rājñe varān bahūn ||46||
saṃghaṇ ca viduṣāṃ tatra samakalpayad īśvaraḥ ||46i||
mathurā-saṃsthitas saṃgha uttamo maddhyamo ‘bhavat |
ayaṃ saṃghas tṛtiyaś tu gaṅgā-tīre bhaviṣyati ||47||
ity uktvā loka-hita-kṛj jīvan-mukti-purêśvaraḥ |

Looking at him lord Sundara, [his] mind pleased, at once
 gave many boons to that king named Ugra,
 and the lord created an academy there for the knowledgeable ones.
 “The first [and] the middle academy have been located in Mathurā,
 this third academy, however, will be on the bank of the Ganges”,
 so said the lord who is a fortress of liberation to the souls, intent on the well-being
 of the world (...)

It is quite possible that it was that untenable claim of a Tamil academy on the banks of the Ganges that induced Parañcōti to dispense with this turn of events in the episode.

III.4.2.3 Two Floods and Three Academies in Verse

In fact the productive phase of this part of the legend coincides with the beginnings of literary historiography in the 18th and 19th centuries, which will be treated in chapter III.6.1, but one curious bit of evidence must be mentioned here. One other anonymous account of the three academies, in 103 lines of Ācīriyam metre, is found in U.V.Cāminātaiyar's preface to his edition of the *Cilappatikāram*, apparently unearthed by him on an isolated old palm-leaf.²⁰⁰ It is the only versified version that has been transmitted. Its metre, Ācīriyappā, is the ancient metre of the *Caṅkam* corpus itself, often employed in restoration periods as a means of “dressing up” texts as classical, during both the early phase of commentary production around the 12th c. and the renaissance of the 19th century. Linguistically speaking it looks old and could date as far back as the 12th century, but because of its content it is certainly later than the 15th century. It is clearly based on Nakkīraṇ's preamble and follows it closely, though with a number of significant deviations. Thus it is not necessary to quote the full text; the descriptions of the first and second *Caṅkam* follow the traditional one at every step, including patrons, poets, poems and numbers. The variations that occur concern the third *Caṅkam*; they are found on the one hand in the list of poets, on the other hand in the list of works. These passages are long enough to give a fair impression of the whole poem.

Anonymous Ācīriyam, lines 53–80

<i>arum kaṭai Caṅkam iruntōr yār eṇiṇ,</i>	
<i>ciṟumētāviyār, cēntampūtaṇār,</i>	
<i>aṟivuṭaiyaraṇār, peruṅkuṇṟūrkilār,</i>	55
<i>pāṭal cāṇra iḷantirumāraṇ,</i>	
<i>kūṭalācīriyar nallantuvaṇār,</i>	
<i>paravu tamīḷ maturai marutaṇ iḷanākar,</i>	
<i>avirkaṇakkāyar, navil nakkīrar,</i>	
<i>kīraṇ korṟar, kiḷar tēṇūrkiḷār,</i>	60
<i>ōruṇ kalaimaṇalūrācīriyar,</i>	
<i>nallūrp puḷiyaṇ kāypperuṇ cēntar,</i>	
<i>cellūrācīriyar muṇṭam peruṅkumarar,</i>	
<i>muciṟiyācīriyar nilakaṇṭaṇār,</i>	
<i>acaivirikkunṟattācīriyar aṇṟi,</i>	65

²⁰⁰ Note 2 in his preface reads: *icceyyuḷ pāṇṭināṭṭiṇuḷḷa cevvērc ciṟrampalakkavirāyar avarkaḷ vīṭṭilirunta paḷaiya ēṭṭup puttakamonṟil elutappaṭṭiruntatu*. “This verse was written on an old palm-leaf manuscript from the house of Ciṟrampalakkavirāyar from Cevvēr that is in the Pāṇṭiya land.”

<i>nāttalaṇ kaṇikkaṇ cīttalaiccāttar,</i>	
<i>muppāl uṇarum uppūri kuṭikiḷār,</i>	
<i>uruttira caṇmar, maruttuvar ākiya</i>	
<i>nāma nārkalait tāmōtaraṇār,</i>	
<i>mātavaḷaṇārōṭ' ōtum iḷanākar,</i>	70
<i>kaṭiyum kāma paṭiyaṇ korraṇār,</i>	
<i>arum ceyalūrvāl peruṇcuvaṇār uṭaṇ,</i>	
<i>puvi pukaḷ pulamai kaṭilar, paraṇar,</i>	
<i>iṇṇāt taṭinta naṇṇākar aṇṇiyum,</i>	
<i>olkā perumai tolkāppiyattukk'</i>	75
<i>urai iṭaiyiṭṭa virakar kallāṭar,</i>	
<i>pērmūlam uṇarum māmūlar tammoṭu,</i>	
<i>viccai karr' iṭu nacceḷḷaiyār mutal</i>	
<i>tēṇūrr' eṭuppa cem tamil pakarntōr</i>	
<i>nāṇūrruvar mutal nāṇpatton patinmar.</i>	80

When one says, who were those of the precious last academy:

Cīrumētaviyār, Cēntampūtaṇār,
 Aṇivuṭaiyaraṇār, Peruṇkuṇṇūrkiḷār,
 Iḷantirumāraṇ, worthy of singing,
 Nallantuvaṇār the teacher from Kūṭal,
 Marutaṇ Iḷanākar from Maturai of extensive Tamil,
 splendid Kaṇakkāyar, learned Nakkīrar,
 Kiraṇ Korṇar, bright Tēṇūrkiḷār,
 Maṇalūrācīriyar of choice art,
 Puḷiyaṇ Kāypperuṇ Cēntar from Nallūr,
 Muṇṭam Peruṇkumarar the teacher from Cellūr,
 Nilakāṇṭaṇār the teacher from Muciṇi,
 besides Acaivirikkunṇāttācīriyar
 Nāttalaṇ Kaṇikkaṇ Cīttalaiccāttar,
 Uppūri Kuṭikiḷār who is noticed three times,
 Uruttira Caṇmaṇ, Tāmōtaraṇār
 of the four arts who by name is a physician,
 Iḷanākar reciting together with Mātavaḷaṇār,
 Paṭiyaṇ Korraṇār whose passion was rejected,
 allong with Peruṇcuvaṇār living in rare Ceyalūr,
 Kaṭilar whose scholarship is praised on earth, Paraṇar,
 besides also Naṇṇākar who was killed unpleasantly,
 skilful Kallāṭar who interposed a commentary
 into the Tolkāppiyam of undeclining greatness,
 along with Māmūlar who perceived the roots of nouns,
 beginning with Nacceḷḷaiyār learned of knowledge,
 those who recited refined Tamil, for it to be sweetly raised,
 [were], beginning with four hundred, forty-nine.

The list of names has grown to about three times its original size, although with thirty names it is still far below the lists of plus-minus forty-nine that we will find

in the colonial period. Following the old enumeration, still in the same sequence, we find: Cīrumētaviyār, Cēntampūtaṇār, Aṛivuṭaiyaraṇār, Peruṅkuṇṛūrkilār, Iṇantirumāraṇ, Nallantuvaṇār the teacher from Kūṭal, Marutaṇ Iṇāṅkar from Maturai, Kaṇakkāyar and Nakkīrar, the only difference being that in the old list Kaṇakkāyar simply figures as the father of Nakkīraṇ, not as a poet in his own right. The next group is a series of thirteen poets that also figure in the preamble, though not as members of the academy, but as transmitters in the chain of the commentary tradition (*paramparā*):

- 1) Kiraṇ Korṛar
- 2) Tēṇūrkiṭār
- 3) Maṇalūrācīriyar
- 4) Puṭiyaṇ Kāypperuṇ Cēntar from Nallūr
- 5) Muṇṭam Peruṅkumarar, the teacher from Cellūr
- 6) Nilakāṇṭaṇār the teacher from Muciṛi
- 7) Acaivirikkunṛattāciyiyar
- 8) Uppūri Kuṭikkiṭār (= Murukaṇ's father)
- 9) Uruttira Caṇmaṇ (= Murukaṇ)
- 10) Mātavaḷaṇār
- 11) Iṇāṅkar
- 12) Paṭiyaṇ Korṛaṇār
- 13) Peruṅcuvaṇār from Ceyalūr

According to the old list, Puṭiyaṇ Kāypperuṇ Cēntar hails from Maṇalūr, not from Nallūr and thus is a single person. Similarly, Mātavaḷaṇār Iṇāṅkar was originally considered a single scholar. Thus the nine generations have been transformed into eleven, with Uppūri Kuṭikkiṭār and Uruttira Caṇmaṇ in between, that is, the father of Murukaṇ in his human incarnation about to judge the commentary and Murukaṇ himself (cf. III.4.2.4). Two others could be called common sense additions, namely Kapilar and Paraṇar, along with Nakkīrar. They are the main protagonists in the medieval academy stories. Yet another group of poet names is familiar from another branch of the legend, that concerned with the author of the *Kuraḷ*, Tiruvaḷḷuvar. The *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai* lists no less than fifty-three poets who each composed a verse in honour of Tiruvaḷḷuvar (cf. III.4.5.1). There we find Nāttalaṇ Kaṇikkaṇ Cīttalaiccāttar, Tāmōtaraṇār, Kallāṭar and Māmūlar. The two latter are specified in the Ācīriyam as grammarians, and Kallāṭar is clearly identified with the commentator on *Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram*, not with the poet of the *Kallāṭam*. If nothing else, this tells us that the Ācīriyam cannot have been composed before the 15th century. Two names, finally, cannot yet be placed, namely Naṇṇākar and Nacceḷḷaiyār. To be sure, there is a *Caṅkam* poet of the name Naṇṇākar, author of PN 176, 376, 379, 381, 384, but I have failed to find a possible affiliation of

Nacceḷḷaiyār.²⁰¹ Not much can be concluded from all this, except that there seems to have been an urge to enlarge the tradition in a rather clumsy way based on hearsay.

More interesting is the list of works from the third *Caṅkam*; the list does not agree with the traditional enumeration of the eight works in the *Eṭṭuttokai*. This is significant on the one hand with regard to the choices of omission and addition, and on the other hand because such deviations are encountered again in later-retellings.

Anonymous Ācīriyam, lines 81–89

pīṭu pēra ulakiṇ pāṭiya ceyyul
muttoḷḷāyiram narriṇai neṭuntokai
akanāṇūru puranāṇūru
kuṟuntokai ciṟricai pēricai variyōṭ'
*aram pukal **patirruppatt' aimpatōṭ' irupāṇ*** 85
*perum **paripāṭalum kuṟuṇkali nūrraim-***
patu mutal ākiya navaiyaṟum kalaikaḷ.
ak kālatt' avarkk' akattiyam ataṇoṭu
mikkām ilakkaṇam viḷaṅku tolkāppiyam.

The verses sung in the world so as to obtain greatness
beginning with the *Muttoḷḷāyiram*, *Narriṇai*, *Neṭuntokai*,
Akanāṇūru, *Puranāṇūru*,
Kuṟuntokai, *Ciṟricai*, *Pēricai*, with the *Vari*,
the duty-proclaiming *Patirruppattu*, seventy
great *Paripāṭal* and a hundred and fifty
short *Kali*, [were] blemishless [pieces of] art.
At that time, for them along with the *Akattiyam*
the excellent grammar [was] the shining *Tolkāppiyam*.

Let us recall the sequence of the old list: “*Neṭuntokaināṇūru*, and the *Kuṟuntokaināṇūru*, and the *Narriṇaināṇūru*, and the *Puranāṇūru*, and the *Aiṅkuṟunūru*, and the *Patirruppattu*, and a hundred and fifty *Kalis*, and seventy *Paripāṭals*, and the *Kūttu*, and the *Vari*, and the *Ciṟricai*, and the *Pēricai*.” The new list opens with the *Muttoḷḷāyiram*, a work in praise of the kings of the three royal houses that certainly belongs to the first millennium and is sometimes named along with the eighteen minor classics. Again, its last great phase of popularity seems to have been the 15th century; what is preserved today of presumably once nine hundred stanzas, as mentioned above, has come down to us in the *Purattiraṭṭu*. The *Eṭṭuttokai* work that is missing is the *Aiṅkuṟunūru*, perhaps with

²⁰¹ This name is mentioned as an example for names beginning with *nal-* (“good”) in Mayilainātar’s commentary on *Naṇṇūl* 420.

the intent of redressing slightly the balance between Akam and Puṇam within the corpus. It is also noticeable that the original sequence of the eight anthologies is interrupted by some lost treatises that have been thought to have dealt with music (*icai*). But a final judgement on this list will be reserved until the discussion of the list found in *Tamiḻ Nāvalar Caritai* (chapter III.4.6.1).

III.4.2.4 A Drought, a Poetic Manual, and a Commentary

Before engaging into a query concerning the narrative ramifications of the legend, a closer look at the rest of the story in the preamble to Nakkīraṇ's commentary is unavoidable. While a framework – the academies and their protagonists and works – is provided by the flood legend, the work of cultural adaptation, along with the basic literary motifs, is delegated to a story of resurrection after cultural upheaval. The end of a drought not only marks the beginning of fresh literary productivity, but the acquiring of the exegetical tools necessary to master the heritage.

The origin of the Kaḷaviyal

At that time the country of the Pāṇṭiyas went through a drought of twelve years. While it went on, and while hunger was increasing, the king called all the learned men [and] said: “Come, I can't protect you; my land suffers greatly; you proceed on [any] way known to you; when the country [is] a country [again], remember me [and] come [back].” When he had said [so], after they all had left the king [and] gone away, twelve years passed by without counting. After they had passed rain fell abundantly in the country. After it had rained the king said, “Now since the country has become a country [again], bring [back] those proficient in the manuals,” [and], when he sent men out in all directions, they found [and] brought those proficient in the field of letters/syllables (*eḷuttu*) and in the field of words (*col*) and in the field of metre (*yāppu*), [but] they came [back] saying, “We haven't found anywhere those proficient in the field of meaning/poetic constituents (*poruḷ*).” When they came, the king too was excessively anxious and kept saying, “What [is the good] of examining letters/syllables and words and metre without the meaning [provided] by the field of meaning/poetic constituents? If they say we don't obtain the *Poruḷatikāram*, even if we obtain these [others] we don't obtain [them]”, [and] he begins meditating on the fire-coloured god of Ālavāyil in Maturai. Thinking “What the hell! Great is the anguish come to the king. Since precisely that is within wisdom, it is our part to end that,” he made all these sixty aphorisms, engraved [them] into three copper-plates [and] put [them] beneath the altar.

After he had put [them there], the one who worshipped the god's shrine, sweeping everywhere the god's temple, sprinkling water, strewing flowers, [but] never sweeping with a broom beneath the altar, that day prompted by the god decided, “I will sweep with a broom” [and], to cool his mind, he swept with a broom; because [of the grace] of the one who put [them there], the plates went along with that broom. When they came forth the truth dawned upon him who had taken them along [and] looked at them: it showed itself to be a *Poruḷatikāram*. When it appeared, the brahmin meditated, “It is that our lord mercifully has made [these] upon perceiving that the king kept saying, after hearing what [the messengers] said, that he was anxious about the non-existence of a *Poruḷatikāram*,” [and]

without going to his house he went [and] stood at the front-gate of the palace [and], after he had informed the gate-keepers [and] the gate-keepers had informed the king, the king called the brahmin saying, “Please enter”, [and] as [the brahmin] went [and] entered, [the king] received [and] looked at what was shown [to him and] said: “A/the *Poruḷatikāram*! Fate [wills] it that our lord, upon seeing our misery, mercifully has made this,” and he looked in that direction [and] stood paying [his] reverence, [and] he had the academicians called [and], whereupon he said, “A/the *Poruḷatikāram*, made mercifully by our lord after he had seen our misery! Take this along [and] see to the meaning,” while they took it along [and] mounted the big bench of stone (*kal-mā palakai*) [and] examined [it], all of them saying that the commentary made by them was good, a few days went all by.

The viewing of the commentary on the *Kaḷavu-iyal*:

As [the days] went by, all of them agreed: “No matter how many comments we thus give, an agreement is not found; we will go to the king, bring it [before him] that it is necessary to grant us an arbitrator, [and] finally see that as the meaning which is said by him to be the meaning [and] that which is not said by him to be not,” [and] they went to the king. And the king went to meet [them], saying “What, have you seen the meaning for the manual?”, [and] when they said “In order to see that, it is necessary to grant us an arbitrator”, [and] when the king said “Come on, how can I find an arbitrator for you? You happen to be the [most erudite] forty-nine. There is no one to rival you, is there?”, they went [and] mounted the big bench of stone, [and] as they meditated “The king himself has said this, how can we obtain an arbitrator?,” [the thought] passed them, “He who made the treatise is the god of Ālavāyil with shining matted locks, isn’t he? He [is] the lord, he must be given us an arbitrator,” [and] when they lay prostrate with “We shall lie prostrate,” in the middle of the night a voice sounding three times brought back harmony to them all, saying, “In this village there is the son of Uppūri Kuṭiḷiḷār, called Uruttiracaṇmaṇ, green-eyed, ruddy-haired; he [is] five years of age, he is a dumb child; when [you] without despising him for being thus take [him] along, put [him] on a seat, sit beneath [him and] comment on the meaning of the treatise, upon hearing a commentary that is true [his] tears will overflow [and his] body hair bristle; upon hearing a commentary that is not true he will be silent/indifferent; he is the god Kumāra (Murukaṇ-Skanda). He has appeared here because of a curse.” When [this] happened the entire *Caṇkam* got up, directly circumambulated the shrine of the gods, went to Uppūri Kuṭiḷiḷār, told him all these tidings, desired [of him], “The lord must grant [us] Uruttiracaṇmaṇ,” carried [the child back], put white [clothes on him], made him wear white flowers, adorned [him] with white sandalwood, placed [him] on the big bench of stone, and when they sat beneath [him and] commented on the meaning of the treatise, he heard all the commentaries comment on the meaning [and] remained silent/indifferent; when Marutaṇ Iḷanākaṇār from Maturai commented [his] tears overflowed just once [and his] body hair rose, afterwards when Kaṇakkāyaṇār’s son Nakkiraṇār commented, [his] tears flew over with every Pada [and] he remained with body hair bristling. As [this] was [so], they took up shouting [and] said “We have obtained the true commentary on this manual.”

Because of this, there are also those who say that the commentary on this manual has been made by Uppūri Kuṭiḷiḷār’s son Uruttiracaṇmaṇ; [but] he did not make [it] – let us say he heard the true commentary. The commentary on the manual made by the feet of the lord of Ālavāyil in Maturai has been seen by Nakkiraṇ, [and it] was heard by Kumāracuvāmi (lord Murukaṇ), let us say. Now we shall talk of the way the commentary has come down [to us]:

The ways the commentary has come down:

Nakkiraṇār, the son of Kaṇakkāyaṇār from Maturai, told it to his son 1) Kīrakoṇṇār; he told it to 2) Tēṇūrkiḷār; he told it to 3) Paṭiyaṇkoṇṇār; he told it to 4) Celvattācīriyar Peruṇcuvaṇār; he told it to 5) Puliyaṇkāy Peruṇcēntaṇār, the teacher of Maṇalūr; he told it to 6) Āntai Peruṇkumāraṇār, the teacher of Cellūr; he told it to 7) Tirukuṇṇattācīriyar; he told it to 8) Mātaḷavaṇār Iḷanākaṇār; he told it to 9) Nilakaṇṇaṇār, the teacher of Muciṇi. Thus comes the commentary.

One reason this story became so effective is probably its simple prose, practically unprecedented, as well as its narrative drive. The constitutive narrative motifs are the following:

1. Even after the loss of the third *Caṅkam* – by a drought, as the text suggests,²⁰² not by a flood like its two predecessors – academic activity continues under the aegis of the Pāṇṭiya king in Maturai.
2. What had been lost in the catastrophe were not the literary works (which are not even mentioned), but part of the theoretical knowledge, that on poetics.
3. Human effort is not enough to remedy the situation; a new treatise has to be brought down to earth by the help of a god, lord Śiva in person, in his manifestation at the Ālavāy temple in Maturai. It comes in written form, on copper-plates, not on palm-leaf, and is hidden in a place known to all but that is never searched.
4. A treatise is not comprehensible without a commentary. The scholars asked to produce one naturally start quarrelling. The place where their dispute takes place is the famous *palakai*, the seat of the poets which is to become traditional and proverbial, the famous bench of judgement, which here however still seems to be an object made by humans and not a gift from the god.²⁰³
5. God has to intervene once more by sending down an arbitrator to mediate in the learned quarrel and to find the true commentary. This arbitrator is Śiva's

202 The topos of a famine that lasts twelve years is familiar from Jain hagiography, where, for example, a description is found of an exodus to the south of one part of the community, which resulted in the split between the Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras.

203 Literally this is simply a “plank” (from Skt. *palakā-*), but its other attributes are uncertain. There are two ways of interpreting the graphemes, namely either as *kal mā*, the two attributes “(made of) stone” and “big” (the reading followed in most modern editions), or as *kaṇamā* (as in the TL, following the analysis proposed by Irākavaiyaṇkār 1938: 135, kindly pointed out to me by Jean-Luc Chevillard). This can either be split as *kaṇam* plus *mā* “golden” (from Skt. *kanaka-*) or “heavy” (from Tamil DEDR 1404: heaviness) and “big”, or as *kaṇam-ā*, “cubical” (*kaṇam* as a mathematical term plus *ā*, short verbal root of *āku*, “to become”). The only parallel known to me, which uses nearly the same wording, is the Erukkaṇkuṭi inscription, which adds a third attribute *tiṇ*, “solid”. This might suit all four interpretations, although “cubical” seems more in accordance with the later versions that start from a small plank that has to grow in order to accommodate all the poets.

son, god Murukaṇ, cursed to be incarnate in a dumb and mute human boy. Since he cannot speak, his approval has to be expressed physically: tears and bristling body hair.

6. The group of scholars is largely anonymous, with a few named protagonists. Note that Kapilar and Paraṇar, two of the most famous poets of the *Caṅkam* age and in the later versions always found as part of a trio with Nakkīraṇ, do not figure here. (Marutaṇ Iḷanākaṇār's rival commentary is not taken up by the subsequent authors.)
7. The story ends, in the good old pan-Indian tradition, with a *paramparā* of the commentary, a lineage of transmitters over nine generations. This might be taken as an indirect clue not to the age of the commentary, but to its having been written down as well as to the temporal difference between the commentary and the preamble that is embedded in it.

The ideological concerns of the narrative are fairly overt and easily summarised. One is the loss of continuity, the break in the *paramparā*, expressed in the demand for a theoretical clarification. There can be only two reasons for this: the desire to understand earlier literary productions that were based on conventions no longer perfectly remembered, or the urge to produce new poetry along the same lines. In fact, the break in continuity is camouflaged by a very simple narrative trick, and once we have seen this, it becomes much easier to bring the account of these events in line with something that is historically plausible. The rhetorical device is employed at the junction between the two parts of the story, the account of the three successive academies and the famine in the Pāṇṭiya land that resulted in the loss of poetics. The text suggests, without actually stating it, that the king who had presided over the last *Caṅkam*, Ukkiṛapperuḷuḷuti, was also the one whose land and fortune were ruined by a drought and who took up restorative measures once rain had started to fall again.²⁰⁴ The king is, however, not named in the second part of the story. The length of drought is described as “twelve years [that] passed by without counting.” Here, it seems to me, we have

204 This is not explicitly stated in the narrative itself, but only at the very end of the preamble, drawing a sort of conclusion concerning the treatise: *ini kalam enpatu, kaṭaiccaṅkattār kālattuc ceyyappaṭṭatu. ini kaḷam enpatu, ukkiṛapperuḷuṭiyār avaiḱkaḷam enpatu. kārāṇam enpatu, akkāḷattup pāṇṭiyaṇum caṅkattārum poruḷ-ilakkaṇam perātu iṭar-paṭuvāraik kaṇṭ* ‘ālavāyir perumāṇ-aṭikaḷāl veḷippaṭukkappaṭṭatu. “Now, talking of the time, it [the *Kaḷaviyal*] was made in the time of the last academy. Talking of the place, it was put in words on the assembly floor of Ukkiḷapperuḷuṭi. Talking of the cause, it was revealed by the great Lord of Ālavāy upon seeing, at that time, the Pāṇṭiya king and the academicians in distress because they could not get a grammar on poetics.”

the crucial element. What is described as an interruption in the activities of the third academy rather looks like an intervening period between the first compilation of some of the *Eṭṭuttokai* anthologies and their first hyper-anthologisation and re-evaluation as canonical works of Tamil literature.

Another aspect is that of rivalry between different schools of poetics; while they are not mentioned by name, this rivalry is nevertheless tangible. It has long been observed that in fact another, much longer and more comprehensive treatise on poetics must have existed, namely the *Poruḷatikāram* of the *Tolkāppiyam*. This text is quoted several times in *Nakkīraṇ*, which proves that it was not lost. Indeed, in many respects the *Kaḷaviyal* (which is the older designation of the *Iraivaṇār* or *Iraiyaṇār Akapporu!*) represents an alternative attempt to formulate the rules laid down in chapters 3 to 5 of the *Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram*, as is shown by many similar or identical phrasal elements and even *sūtra*-s (Takahashi 2004, Wilden 2006a: 133 f.).

Another possible explanation for not mentioning the *Poruḷatikāram* might be, however, not school rivalry but different strategies for dealing with a complex situation. Seen from the perspective of the 7th to 9th century, the drawbacks of the *Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram* were manifold. First, its inclusivistic tendencies had made it unwieldy: by incorporating too many concepts, which were in part contradictory, a situation had arisen not unlike that of the Sanskrit *Nāṭyaśāstra*.²⁰⁵ Secondly, for all its bulk it had not kept up with poetic developments and as a consequence, was undergoing constant enlargement, with poetic situations and new aphorisms being added to already enormous *sūtra*-s (Wilden 2004). Thirdly, its convoluted syntax and language may have already, in parts, been nearly incomprehensible. The *Kaḷaviyal* school might have been the first to seek a new way out of this dilemma. Instead of fiddling with what had been transmitted, they chose to compose a new, simple Akam treatise based on older phrasal materials. The rationale of putting such a treatise into the mouth of god, then, would simply be that this is a means of investing a new and short text with enough authority to counter that of the already established *Tolkāppiyam*. All further developments and additional theoretical considerations could then be relegated to the commentary.

If we want to imagine a historical situation that necessitated this, what springs to mind is the first hyper-anthologisation of the six older *Eṭṭuttokai* collections in the early 7th century, which in the case of *Akanāṇṇūru* and *Puraṇāṇṇūru*, with their numerous later poems, may have occurred not long after their com-

²⁰⁵ For an illustration of these developments, see Wilden 2013: “Ten Stages of Passion (*daśa kāmavasthāḥ*) and Eight Types of Marriage (*aṣṭavivāha*) in the *Tolkāppiyam*”.

pilation. This is indirectly suggested in the preamble by its choosing as the protagonists in the resurrection the Pāṇṭiya king Ukkirapperuvalūti, the last king of the third *Caṅkam* and the instigator of the search for the *Poruḷatikāram* after the drought, and Uruttiracaṇmaṇ, the dumb child-god. It can hardly be a coincidence that these two names are identical (with minor morphological deviations) with those of the patron and compiler of the *Akanaṇūru*, as mentioned in its colophon.²⁰⁶

In this case, a treatise on poetics would have been needed in order to comprehend and classify the inherited poetic texts, a topos that will reoccur even more forcefully in the second great narrative version, the first *Tiruvilaiyārṇapurāṇam* of Nampi. Mirrored by the commentary are thus fresh literary productions that had to be integrated into the newly forming canon. These would be the *Kalittokai* (the rationale of many of its more baroque thematic details is explained for the first time in Nakkīraṇ) and the *Paripāṭal* (not basically an Akam text, but containing many later Akam motifs such as the group bath after the rains). These were added to the existing corpus by means of the story in the preamble. The other literary development of theoretical relevance was the *Kōvai*, the new Akam-Puṇam genre of stringed events. It has lent its structure to the commentary in that the latter closely follows the sequence of the *Pāṇṭikkōvai*, which is Nakkīraṇ's main illustrative text. This text is not added to the corpus, but is merely used for practical reasons.

This would give us a temporal framework of, say, the 7th century for the compilation of a preliminary older corpus and the composition of the new manual. This may have been followed, in the 8th century, by a growing uneasiness because of works that could not be satisfactorily described within the old conventions, that is, the younger works of the classical corpus and the *Kōvai*. The 9th century

206 A similar identity is found with respect to the commentator, also enumerated among the members of the third academy by his full name Nakkīraṇār, the son of Kaṇakkāyaṇār from Maturai. Setting aside the earlier *Caṅkam* poets who also went by the name of Nakkīraṇ, the colophons of the *Pattuppāṭṭu* ascribe two of the Ten Songs to Nakkīraṇ, with the same toponym and patronym. Now, it is already quite likely that the tradition of author names for the *Pattuppāṭṭu* is in part spurious, as is tangibly the case with the five *tiṇai* authors connected with *Aiṅkuruṇūru* and *Kalittokai*. There too we have an ascription to Kapilar (unsurprisingly the *Kuṛiṇcippāṭṭu*). Similarly, Nakkīraṇār, the son of Kaṇakkāyaṇār from Maturai, is supposed to have written both the *Neṭunalvāṭai* and the *Tirumurukāruppaṭai*, two poems that quite definitely belong to different periods. Zvelebil (1973a: 120 f.) discusses the matter and comes to the conclusion that while Nakkīraṇ cannot have been the author of the *Neṭunalvāṭai*, the author of the *Tirumuru*. and the commentary may have been one and the same person (which forces him to place the *Tirumuru*. as late as the end of the 7th century). He also accepts Ukkirapperuvalūti and Uruttiracaṇmaṇ in their stipulated double role. The natural conclusion, however, is that these names, which already formed part of the tradition, were chosen in order to suggest continuity.

may have seen solutions to these problems being found in the form of disputes and various other attempts, these culminating in Nakkīraṇ's commentary. In this period we also have evidence, in the inscription of Erukkaṇkuṭi (829 C. E.), of a fable connecting the Pāṇṭiya court in Maturai with a *palakai*. Then, the nine generations of orally²⁰⁷ handing down and refining the commentary would bring us right into the 11th century and the preamble, with its first narrative version integrating the legendary motifs connected with an academy in Maturai. This would fit the other available evidence. Iḷampūraṇar, the first commentator on the *Tolkāppiyam* side, and the *Yāpparunkala Virutti* do refer to the *Kaḷaviyal* but not yet to its commentary, while Aṭiyārkunallār, the *Cilappatikāram* commentator, knows the legend in the preamble's wording and Pērācīriyar, in the 12th century, clearly knows the treatise, commentary and preamble (Aravamuthan 1930: 296; chapter III.5.1). Parallel to this, we see several *Caṅkam* motifs that are not based on the preamble developing in the Śaiva devotional corpus. Both types of motifs are integrated for the first time by the Śaiva compiler Nampi Āṇṭār Nampi and in the revivalist Akam poem *Kallāṭam*.

III.4.3 Academicians Infiltrating the Śaiva Canon

In order to understand the integration process of the classical heritage within the Śaiva corpus, it is first necessary to understand something about the relation between the learned-literary and grammatical tradition and the devotional traditions. The basic difference between these is simply one of impact. The poetogrammatical tradition, while certainly healthy and strong enough in numbers to produce several different opinions, approaches and special interests, was elitist. This is well illustrated by the very concept of an academy, taken as a symbol for a learned community. Many years of training and individual initiation were necessary to become an expert – worthy to be a member of such a hypothetical community. As a learned body, they could choose what they considered literature; indeed, for many centuries bhakti poetry was at best of marginal interest to them. An exception must be made, perhaps, for the metricians, but even in works on metrics the number of quotations from bhakti works is not very high. Bhakti, for its part, was a popular movement, although it was compartmentalised by various factors, such as sectarian affiliation and access to education. For many of its pro-

²⁰⁷ There is admittedly no proof that handing down the commentary from generation to generation implied oral transmission, but, as has been argued by Zvelebil (1973a: 118), this appears to be a pragmatically plausible interpretation.

tagonists this was limited, to say the least. And with the growth of the respective corpora, each compartment became more and more a universe unto itself.

Thus it is highly probable that the *pulavars*, the poet-scholars of the old school, were familiar with bhakti poetry and cultural practices, as presumably they were no less devout than the rest of the average population, not to mention their interests of patronage and public self-representation. Their way of integrating these strands of interest into their work was to write invocation verses and religious similes. There is little reason to believe that the majority of Viṣṇu and Śiva devotees had an intimate acquaintance with the older literature, all the more since that of the *Caṅkam* had to be recovered with an effort and elucidated by various exegetical means.²⁰⁸ Things may have been different with respect to the newly arising secular genres. In the case of the *Kōvai*, to give just one example, there seems to have been a healthy competition, of which the first two exponents were the *Paṇṭikkōvai* and the *Tirukkōvaiyār*, the former a homage to the Paṇṭiya king and the latter to lord Śiva.

For both Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas, the academy was a vaguely remembered legendary institution of poetic authority. It thus represented prestige that was not very important to them, but was occasionally invoked. Bhakti Tamil was also called *Caṅkam* Tamil, mostly in signature verses.²⁰⁹ In addition, on the Śaiva side some of the academy poets found entry into the narrative imagination, with a number of events not dissimilar from those told about other notable servants of the lord, such as Campantar or Māṇikkavācakar. These seem to have gained momentum via the mediation of a very erudite poet who also was a staunch Śaiva devotee, the author of the *Kallāṭam*. It is in his work that the “grammarian” Pāṇṭiya strand of the legend appears to have been tied to Śaiva narrative motifs.

208 Most that has been written on this subject, such as Cutler 1987 and Hardy 1983, proceeds from the assumption that the widespread use of *Caṅkam* motifs and poetic techniques in bhakti literature proves the direct reception of the classical literature on the part of the devotional poets. However, it can be shown that this reception is much more likely to have taken place through the mediation of the intermediate poetic production, one of the most important bridges incidentally being the *Pāṇṭikkōvai*; cf. Wilden 2014 and Vijayavenugopal 2014.

209 Cf. Campantar’s envoy in *Tēvaram* 3.74.11 *caṅkam mali cen-tamiḷkaḷ pattum ivai vallavarkaḷ caṅkai ilarē*, “Those who master all these ten verses in the refined Tamil that flourishes in the academy have no doubts (as to liberation)” and Āṇṭāl’s *Tiruppāvai* 30, where she refers to her own poem as *caṅkat tamiḷ mālai muppatum* “thirty verses that are a garland of academic Tamil”, similarly Tirumaṅkaiyālvār in *Periya Tirumoli* 3.4.10.4: *Caṅkamukat tamiḷ-mālai pattum vallār taṭaṅ-kaṭal-cūḷ ulakukkuṭ talaivar tamē*, “Those who master all ten of the Tamil garland from the mouth of the academy will be chiefs of the world surrounded by the vast sea.”

III.4.3.1 The *Tirumuṟai*

Reference has already been made to *Tēvāram* 3.54.11, where Śiva seems to be involved in the anthologisation of the classical corpus, that is, in putting together the *tokai*-s. Another often discussed passage is *Tēvāram* 6.76.3, line 2, quoted already in Aravamuthan (1932: 281):

nal pāṭṭu pulavaṇ āy Caṅkam ēri
nal kaṇakak-kīḷi tarumikk’ aruḷiṇōṇ kāṇ

see the one
 who entered the academy as the poet of a good song
 [and] granted the good gold purse to Tarumi

Here we are faced with an unequivocal allusion to one of the main poetic events that is repeated over and again in the puranic versions of the legend, the story of how Śiva created a poem on behalf of his unlearned, poor and yet fervent devotee Tarumi, writing it on a palm-leaf to be taken to the academy where the Pāṇṭiya king had offered a prize for the best poem.²¹⁰ Of course the details are somewhat vague in this brief single line, but the snapshot seems to be of the moment in the narrative – after Tarumi, who has presented the poem to the assembly and been applauded by all the poets as well as by the king, is challenged by Nakkīraṇ, who alone finds fault with the verse – when Śiva is forced to make an appearance in person to defend his creation. There is much more than a name identity with Tarumi; the idiom in which the events are expressed is fully in accordance with the later versions. The word *Caṅkam* is used, the scholars of the academy are the *pulavar*, and the gold offered by the Pāṇṭiya comes in the form of a *kīḷi*, a piece of cloth or purse made of tied cloth.

One more detail even gives rise to the question whether the *caṅkapalakai*, the famous bench of judgement, was already known, since the action of sitting on that bench or plank is always described as an act of *ēṟutal*, “mounting”. If we were to take this as one further allusion to the situation at the academy, we would have to read the first half-line as being elliptical: “who mounted the academy [plank] as a poet”. I have refrained from doing so for two reasons. Firstly, such a reading would not correspond to the story as it is later told. It is true that Śiva gives the bench to the academy (to stop them quarrelling with each other about what is good or bad poetry), and there are occasions when he sits on the bench as one of

²¹⁰ That the topos as such belonged to the Śaiva narrative repertoire is borne out by an episode from the *Periyapurāṇam*, where Śiva writes a palm-leaf for the poor but virtuous poet Pattiraṇar, to be presented to the Cēra king (the Śaiva saint Kaḷarīrṟarivār) in order to be richly rewarded. In this context Śiva is called a *Caṅkam* poet (*caṅkap pulavar*; *Periyapurāṇam* 3776).

the poets. But such is not the scene described in connection with Tarumi. In this case Śiva simply enters the academy as a scholar in order to confront Nakkīraṇ, who had cast doubts on his poetic abilities. Secondly, the *palakai* is a detail firmly linked with the story of the commentary on the *Kaḷaviyal*.²¹¹

With or without the *palakai*, this passage is thought to belong to the core text of the earlier parts of the *Tēvāram*, Appar being the eldest of the three *Tēvāram* saints, dated sometime in the 7th century, that is, at least a century earlier than any other source from the Pāṇṭiya side or elsewhere. This particular Tarumi motif is not taken up again before the *Kallāṭam* in the 11th or 12th century.

There might be one more veiled reference to the *Caṅkam* in the *Tēvāram*, that is, in addition to the allusions to “academic Tamil” found in the signature verses. Among the sixty-three Nāyaṇmār, the canonised Śaivite saints, there is a group called the “poets who are not servants to falsehood” (*poṇ aṭimai illāta pulavar*). The first list of Śaivite saints is found in the latest of the three *Tēvāram* authors, Cuntarar (8th c.), to whom the *Tiruttoṇṭattokai* is ascribed, a poem of ten stanzas enumerating all the “slaves” (*toṇṭar*) of god, without, however, giving many details about their lives or deeds. Here, we do not find more than Cuntarar’s formulaic statement: “I am the servant of all the poets who are not servants to falsehood” (*poṇ aṭimai illāta pulavarkkum aṭiyēṇ; Tēvāram* 7.39.7, l. 1a).²¹²

Things become much more interesting in the second version of this list, preserved in the *Tiruttoṇṭarantāti* of Nampī Āṇṭār Nampī, the 11th-century compiler of the Śaiva corpus.

Tiruttoṇṭarantāti 49

taraṇiyiṇ poymai ilā tamil Caṅkam matil kapilar
paraṇar nakkīrar mutal nārpattoṇpatu pal pulavōr
aruḷ namakku iyum tiru ālavāy araṇ cēv’ aṭikkē
poruḷ amaittu iṇpam kavi pala pāṭum pulavarkaḷē.

The many scholar-poets, forty-nine beginning with Kapilar, Paraṇar [and] Nakkīrar, fortifications of the Tamil academy that is without falseness on earth, are the scholar-poets who, applying poetics/producing meaning, sing many pleasing poems on the red feet of Hara in holy Ālavāy, who gives us grace.

Here we can surmise that Nampī takes over Cuntarar’s group of poets, for not only do they occupy the same place in the list of saints, but they are still endowed

²¹¹ It is possibly an element from the wider Pāṇṭiya narrative stock, since it is mentioned for the first time in a Pāṇṭiya inscription, Erukkaṇkuṭi (829 C. E.). This is still a far cry in both time and space from the Cōḷa- heartland *Tēvāram* of Appar.

²¹² This series of references is discussed in Nagaswamy 2004: 492f.

with their formulaic epithet of being free from falsehood. In addition it seems that Nampi took some of his statements from Nakkīraṇ's preamble. Forty-nine is the number of poets of the third *Caṅkam*, and it is Śiva of the Maturai temple in Ālavāy who gave the *Akapporuḷ* treatise to the academicians. By now, however, the *Caṅkam* poets no longer sing *Caṅkam* poems, but “songs on the red feet of Hara”, i.e. devotional Śaiva poetry. One detail that was not mentioned in the preamble is the trio of the most famous poets, Kapilar, Paraṇar and Nakkīraṇ. This is an element that testifies, along with Appar, to the existence of an independent thread of Śaivite *Caṅkam* stories. That this adoption of secular poets into the Śaiva fold was serious business becomes evident when looking at the eleventh *Tirumurai*, the last-but-one book of the canon that contains miscellanea. Here we find devout reincarnations of all of our three older poets; their names are even sanctified with the suffix *tēvar* (“god”). They are listed as the composers of the following works:

Nakkiratēvar: *Kayilaipāti Kaḷattipātiyantāti, Tiruviṅkōymalai Eḷuppatu, Tiruvalaṅcūli Mummaṇikkōvai, Tiruvelukūrirukkai, Peruntēvapāṇi, Kōpappiracātam, Kāreṭṭu, Pōrriṭ Tirukkalivenpā, Tirumurukārruppaṭai, Tirukaṇṇappatēvar Tirumaṇam*

Kapilatēvar: *Mūttanāyaṇār Tiruviraṭṭaimaṇimālai, Civaperumāṇ Tiruviraṭṭaimaṇimālai, Civaperumāṇ Tiruvantāti*

Paraṇatēvar: *Civaperumāṇ Tiruvantāti*

In the case of Nakkīraṇ (the poet, not the commentator), even one of the actual *Caṅkam* works has made its way into the Śaiva corpus, namely, the *Tirumurukārruppaṭai*, the latest of the *Pattuppāṭṭu* and indeed a devotional poem, albeit only to Śiva's son Murukaṇ and not to Śiva himself. For a number of these works, although by no means all, the later legends tell us the occasion of their composition. That the link between the old poet Nakkīraṇ and the devotional poet Nakkiratēvar was perceived is attested by one title colophon for the *Tirumurukārruppaṭai* (AUL Aṇṇāmalai 860). It deserves to be quoted in full, because it makes mention of the Third *Caṅkam*, while clearly the transmission of the text is related to the 11th *Tirumurai*. Unfortunately we cannot be certain whether it represents the continuation of an old association or an early testimony of a newly forged one, because the manuscript in question is a late 19th-century copy from an early edition²¹³ and as such might be part of the early wake of the

²¹³ Roja Muthiah catalogue [RMRL database no. 010569]: *Tirumurukārruppaṭai: mūlapāṭam. Maturaikkaṭaicaṅkattu Makāvitva Cīrōmaṇiyākiya Nakkiratēvar aruḷicceytatu. iḷtu Tī. Caṇmuka Aiyaravarkaḷāl pārvaīyīṭappaṭṭu Tiru Cuppiramaṇiyatēcīkaravarkaḷatu [and]...*

Tamil Renaissance. Nevertheless, here is the text, found on the first folio of the manuscript, set into three columns:

tirucciṛṛampalam. kaṭavuḷ tuṇai. tirumurukāṛruppaṭai. mūlapāṭaṇ. teyvattaṇmai poruntiya maturaik kaṭaiccaṇkattu makāvittuvacirōṇmaṇi y-ākiya nakkiratēvar aruḷicceytatu.

Tirucciṛṛampalam. Help of god. Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai. Root text. Made grace to Nakkiratēvar, great savant and crest jewel of the last academy in Maturai that is of divine nature.

The process of reinterpretation is completed in the 12th-century *Periyapurāṇam*, Cēkkiḷar's great hagiographic poem on the sixty-three saints of the Śaiva tradition. As is to be expected, one of its chapters (also called *purāṇam*), while a very brief one (chapter 8, first episode), is devoted to the “poets who are not servants of falsehood” (*poṇ aṭimai illāta pulavar*):

3939.

*ceyyuḷ nikaḷ col teḷivum cevviya nūl pala nōkkum
mey uṇarviṇ payaṇ ituvē eṇa tuṇintu viḷaṅki oḷir
mai aṇiyum kaṇṭattār malar aṭikkē āḷāṇār
poṇ aṭimai illāta pulavar eṇa pukaḷ mikkār.*

With true understanding that looks to many refined treatises that clarify the words current in verses, renowned for [their] concluding: “this is the meaning”, those who are servants to the blossom feet of him whose throat is adorned with resplendent black exceed in fame as the poets who are not servants to falsehood.

3940.

*poṇ' amainta arav' ārum puri caṭaiyār tamai allāl
col-pataṇkaḷ vāy tiravāt toṇṭu neṇit talainiṇṇa
perriyiṇil mey aṭimai uṭaiyār ām perum pulavar
maṇṇavar tam perumai yār aṇintu uraikka vallārkaḷ.*

The great poets who were in servanthship to truth, in the quality of standing preeminently on the path of service, not opening [their] mouths for lines of words, except for words about him whose done-up matted hair is full of beautiful snakes, – who can know [and] talk of the greatness of those?

Here we find the two main topoi connected to the poets who do not lie; Cēkkiḷar devotes one stanza to each of them. The first takes up the grammarian's topos of

patippikkappaṭṭatu. [Tiruttaṇikai Caṇmuka Cuvāmi]. [Ceṇṇai] Kalvippiravāka Accukkūṭam, [185–?], 16 pp. (information provided by E. Francis).

erudition. These are scholar-poets, learned in the Śāstras and capable of understanding their exact meaning. The second agrees with Nampi in the matter of what they actually sing about, namely, lord Śiva and nothing else. Just as revealing is what has been left out in these two stanzas, that is, the place where they acquired their erudition, namely the academy, and secondly, the association with Maturai. The latter omission can most probably be explained with regional politics: Cēkkiḷār was writing his *Purāṇam* at the height of Cōḷa power and thus did not want to concede much room to the vanquished enemy, the Pāṇṭiyas. However, another explanation is possible. Of three references, only one mentions the *Caṅkam* and its affiliation with Maturai together with the poets who do not lie. I am inclined to argue that Cuntarar's allusion is simply too brief to draw any conclusions, but one must consider the possibility that it was Nampi alone who connected these two separate strands and related the group of Śaiva poets handed down to him by tradition to the Pāṇṭiya stories of the academy in Maturai.

In any case Cēkkiḷār's decision not to relate this connection can be shown as having been deliberate, as otherwise there are quite a number of references to the *Caṅkam* in the *Periyapurāṇam*. In the chapter on the saint Mūrti (chapter 20) we find a description of Maturai, where the Pāṇṭiya capital is described as the city of excellent threefold Tamil and the academies as being under the aegis of lord Śiva (PP 977, 979). In the chapter on Campantar (chapter 33) Śiva, to whom the saint sings, is referred to as a poet of the first *Caṅkam* (*talaiccaṅkaṅ pulavaṇār*; PP 2565). And finally in the same chapter, Kūṭal, the city of the Pāṇṭiya king who installed the academy (*kūṭal | mā nakarattuc Caṅkam vaittavaṇ* PP 2741), is made the place that witnesses Campantar's victory over the Jains: the manuscript with his hymns on Śiva floats upstream and does not sink.

III.4.3.2 The First Synthesis: *Kallāṭam*

The connection of the two strands, Cōḷa and Pāṇṭiya, becomes persuasive and irrevocable with the *Kallāṭam*. This is a fascinating text, but unfortunately not much is known about it. Suggested dates vary between the 10th and 11th centuries;²¹⁴ based on the development of the themes we can say no more than that it definitely predates all the Maturai *Purāṇams*, beginning with Nampi, but then, Nampi's date is also not at all secure. It is an Akam poem in a hundred stanzas, strongly revivalist, extremely erudite and complex; it makes use of an emulation

²¹⁴ Zvelebil (1974: 178) dates the lifetime of Kallāṭaṇār as 850–950 C. E.; Zvelebil (1995: 312) writes “most prob. 11th c.”, which is also the opinion of Aruṇācalam (2005 [1971]: vol. 4, 15 f.).

of the old *Caṅkam* metre Ācīriyappā. In a sort of Akam-Puṇam combination not unlike that of a *Kōvai*, it is at the same time a Śaivite poem, introducing extensive similes from the Śaiva horizon into its depiction of love situations.²¹⁵ It is the first text to attest a large number of what will become known as the sports of Śiva in Maturai (*viḷaiyāṭal*, “sport, game”, with the Sanskrit counterpart *līlā*-), of which sixty-four are recounted in the *Purāṇams*. The *Kallāṭam* is not quoted by the commentators of the poetological tradition, as far as I know, and so we do not possess any material relating to its reception in the early medieval period. It was known, however, in the 19th century, as it was first edited in 1868 by Cāminātaiyar’s teacher Miṇāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai (with a layout that still very much resembled that of a paper manuscript in that the lines were only split by hyphens). Cāminātaiyar, in his autobiography, quotes a maxim to the extent that one should not risk an argument with people who have studied the *Kallāṭam* (*kallāṭam karravarōṭu collātātē*),²¹⁶ presumably because they could not be beaten in an erudite dispute.

The first allusion to the academy is found in one of the invocation stanzas, called here “salutation” (*vaṇakkam*), a slightly more modern word. It is addressed to the *Vēlaṇ*, usually the designation of a priest of Murukaṇ, recognisable by one of the god’s insignia, his spear (*vēl*). Here, however, it must be taken literally as the “carrier of the spear”, that is, lord Murukaṇ himself.

Kallāṭam, *Vēlaṇ* *Vaṇakkam* 49–55

<i>kuṟu-muṇi tēra neṭu maṟai virittōy</i>	
<i>āṟu tiru eḷuttum kūru nilai kaṇṭu</i>	50
<i>niṇ tāl pukaḷunar kaṇṇuḷ polintōy,</i>	
<i>maṇik kāl aṟiṇar perum kuṭi tōṇri</i>	
<i>īṟaiyōṇ poruṭku paraṇar mutal kēṭpa</i>	
<i>perum tamīḷ viritta arum tamīḷ pulavaṇum</i>	
<i>pāy pār aṟiya niyē ātalīn</i>	55

You who expounded the long Vedas so that they were clear to the short sage,
 You who saw the allotted position of the six holy syllables
 [and] prospered in the eyes of those who praise your feet,

²¹⁵ Although the basis is not quite clear, it has been claimed that the *Kallāṭam* was modelled on the *Tirukkōvaiyār*, and some editions, such as Cōmacuntaraṇ 1963, relate (and prefix) a *Tirukkōvaiyār* poem to each stanza of the *Kallāṭam*. While it is true that they share the aspect of the topics being simultaneously erotic and religious, the most tangible differences are metre (revival Ācīriyappā versus Kaṭṭaḷaikkalitturai), sequence and length: while the *Tirukkōvaiyār* has 400 four-line stanzas in a (more or less) narrative sequence, the 100 stanzas of *Kallāṭam* range in length from 17 to 66 lines and have no obvious order.

²¹⁶ This saying is reported in Cāminātaiyar’s autobiography, chapter 59.

because You are to be known on the extended earth
 as a scholar of rare Tamil who,
 appearing in the great family of those knowledgeable in the base of gems
 expounded the great Tamil
 of the lord's poetics, for Paraṇar and so forth to hear.

Three events are mentioned in these lines: the instruction of Akattiyaṇ (traditionally called the “short sage”) by Murukaṇ, the god's appearance in the academy, and his creating the commentary on the *Irāiyaṇār Akapporuḷ*.²¹⁷ Several aspects are puzzling here and show that the preamble cannot have been Kallāṭaṇār's only source. First, the instruction of Akattiyaṇ, the Tamil counterpart of the Vedic Agastya, is usually attributed to Śiva in person, but Akattiyaṇ is taught Tamil, not the Vedas. While it goes without saying that any sage must know the Vedas, Akattiyaṇ's special knowledge is of course in Tamil grammar, given the fact that he had composed the lost first Tamil grammar for the first academy. Secondly, the academy is not referred to directly here, but instead we are given a simile for the academicians. They are called “those knowledgeable in gem lore” (*maṇik-kāl aṇiṇār*), which can only be understood as an extension of the familiar metaphor of a poem as a gem (visible for example in titles such as *Mummaṇikkōvai*, “string of three [types of] gems”, that is, poems in three different metres). This presupposes that the story of the *Caṅkam* was well enough known to be recognised through a mere playful hint. Thirdly, Murukaṇ is hailed here as the one who has explained the lord's (Śiva's) treatise on poetics, that is, he has apparently created a commentary. Now this is clearly not in line with the story told in the preamble, where Murukaṇ is only present as the five-year-old dumb boy Uruttiracaṇmaṇ who sanctions Nakkiraṇ's commentary. Interestingly, however, shortly before the *paramparā* account at the end, the preamble mentions a deviating opinion to the extent that Uruttiracaṇmaṇ was not the witness of the commentary, but its author (*eṇpārum uḷar*: “there are also those who say ...”). We might have to conclude that Kallāṭaṇār had access to this other source. Another small indication pointing in a similar direction might also be mentioned: Paraṇar being the first in the list of poets. Current versions start either with Kapilar or with Nakkiraṇ.

That Kallāṭaṇār, however, did not feel himself bound to one particular version of events can be seen from at least one later passage, where we find a lengthy account of the instructions in Tamil given to Akattiyaṇ from the hands, or rather the mouth of Śiva:

²¹⁷ Here we find one of the first instances in which the old name of the treatise, *Kaḷaviyal*, begins to be superseded. It is not yet called *Irāiyaṇār Akapporuḷ*, but, slightly less specific, *Irāiyōṇ Poruḷ*: not “Akam poetics”, but the “poetics of the Lord”.

Kallāṭam 63/66.16–26²¹⁸

aru-maṛai vitiyūm ulak' iyal vaḷakkum
karutt' urai poruḷum vitippaṭa niṇaintu
vaṭa-col mayakkamum varuvaṇa puṇartti
ain-tiṇai vaḷuvātu akap-poruḷ amutiṇai
kuṟu-muṇi tēravum peṟum mutal pulavarkaḷ 20
ēḷ-eḷu peyarum kōt' aṟa parukavum
pulaṇ neri vaḷakkiṇ puṇar ulakavarkkum
muṇ tavam perukkum mutal tāpatarkkum
niṇ' aṟint' uṇara taṁiḷ peyar niṟutti
eṭuttu parappiya imaiyavar nāyakaṇ 25
mey tavam kūṭal

... in the truly penitential Kūṭal
 of the leader of the immortals who established,
 lifted [and] spread the name of Tamil, to be lastingly understood [and] perceived
 by the first ascetic who made [his] penance increase before,
 and by those of the world joined in the custom of the path of scholarship,
 to be absorbed without rest by the seven [times] seven persons,
 the first poet-scholars who obtained, to be made clear by the short sage,
 the nectar of love poetics that does not swerve from the five settings,
 having thought in a regular manner of the rules in the rare Vedas,
 the custom natural to the world and the meaning resting in intention,
 having joined those who come from a mixture with northern words.

Here we have a description of Kūṭal, or Maturai, as the seat of Śiva. He teaches Tamil to the “first ascetic” Akattiyaṇ and to “seven times seven” scholars living in this world, that is, the forty-nine members of the third academy located in Maturai. To them he gave the “nectar of love poetics that does not swerve from the five settings”, once again his own Akam poetics (*akapporuḷ*), which begins with the worlds *anpin aintiṇai*, “the five settings of love”. The rest of what is said about the treatise is in part surprising and in part not completely clear. The manual seemingly is explained to the academicians by the “short sage” (*kuṟu-muṇi*), which is, as already mentioned, a well-established designation for Akattiyaṇ. But since this sage is also mentioned again as the ascetic taught by Śiva, one wonders if Kallāṭaṇār did not want to make a playful allusion necessitating a literal reading of *kuṟu-muṇi*, namely as Murukaṇ who was brought, in the form of a five-year-old boy, to the assembly to judge the commentary. In this case, we can see here a confirmation of the statement found in the invocation cited above, according to

218 As so often, the numbering of the hymns is not identical in the various editions. The two referred to here are those of Miṇāṭcicutaram Piḷḷai and of the Kaḷakam edition of Cōmacuntaraṇ.

which Murukaṇ not only confirmed the commentary made by Nakkīraṇ, but gave the explanation in person. If we want to read *kuṛu-muṇi* in its usual sense, we have to accept that it was Akattiyaṇ who explained the treatise. To be sure, this sounds anachronistic even from the point of view of the legend, since Akattiyaṇ is supposed to have lived and written his grammar at the time of the first academy, and his text is said to have been lost in the interval between the second and third *Caṅkam*.

The allusion to the “the rules in the rare Vedas” presumably refers to the famous explanation of *kaḷavu*, “secret love” as a Gandharva marriage. This is, as one of the eight types of marriage established in late Vedic literature, as it is presented in the first *sūtra* of the treatise. The mention of “custom natural to the world” seems to be part of the detailed exposition in Nakkīraṇ’s commentary of these eight types of marriage and the forms they take in the Tamil land. This implied meaning is for the moment enigmatic to me. The reference to the intermixture of Sanskrit words may well again refer to the first *sūtra* of the *IA*, where we find a Tamilised *kantaruvam* for the Sanskrit word *gandharva*-. It is true that there were several consecutive phases in the history of Tamil literature during which Indo-Aryan loan words were regarded as undesirable. A case in point is the parallel *sūtra* in the *Tolkāppiyam* (TP 89i), where the word *kantaruvam* is avoided and replaced by a complicated Tamil simile (Wilden 2006b: 97 f.). However, for the time being no study has been made of the language policy followed by the *Kallāṭam* itself.

An even more explicit reference to the *Iṛaiyaṇār Akapporuḷ* as a gift of Śiva to the Pāṇṭiya king and the academy is found in stanza 3, again in a simile that contains a description of Maturai and its divine lord.

Kallāṭam 3.10–18

<i>ulak’ iyal niṟuttum poruḷ marapu oṭuṅka</i>	10
<i>māraṇuṁ pulavarum mayaṅk’ uṟu kālai</i>	
<i>munt’ uṟum peru maṟai muḷaitt’ aruḷ vākkāl</i>	
<i>aṇṇiṇ ain-tiṇai eṇṇu aru-patu cūttiram</i>	
<i>kaṭal amutu eṭuttu karaiyil vaitattu pōl</i>	
<i>paraṇṇiṇ tamīl cuvai tiraṭṭi maṟṟ’ avarkku</i>	15
<i>teḷi tara koṭutta teṇ tamīl kaṭavuḷ</i>	
<i>taḷal kaṇ tarakkiṇ carumam āṭaiyaṇ</i>	
<i>kūṭalam perum pati kūṛār kiḷai eṇa</i>	

like the relatives who did not talk of the great lord of Kūṭal,
the one whose garment is the hide of a tiger with fiery eyes,
the god of southern Tamil who gave, for it to be clear,
to them, gathering the taste of extensive Tamil,

like the ambrosia lifted out of the ocean [and] put on the shore,
 the sixty *sūtra*-s [beginning with] “*aṇṇiṇ aintiṇai*”
 by words of grace, sprung out of the great Vedas that have priority,
 at a time when the Pāṇṭiya and the scholars were confused,
 for the use of poetics to be retained that establishes the nature of the world

Here the situation seems to be the one familiar from the preamble to Nakkīraṇ, namely the moment after the drought when no poetic manual could be found. Śiva sends help in form of the *IA* in sixty *sūtra*-s, still the number of aphorisms in today’s treatise, the first beginning with the words “*aṇṇiṇ aintiṇai*”.

One more passage of interest has to be mentioned. It is similar to the one quoted from Appar’s *Tēvāram* in referring to Tarumi, the poor Brahmin boy who went to the academy with a poem he was given by Śiva (whose story we will see in greater detail in the next chapter on the Maturai *Purāṇams*).

Kallāṭam 1.11–14

koṇku tēr vāḷkkai cem tamīl kūri
poṇṇ kuvai tarumikku aṇṇ’ uṭaṇ utavi
eṇ uḷam kuṭikoṇṭu irum payaṇ aḷikkum
kaḷ aviḷ kuḷal cēr karuṇai em perumāṇ

our compassionate great lord joined by [her with] curls opening with nectar [blossoms],
 who granted great gain, occupying my mind,
 by reciting in refined Tamil the *koṇku tēr vāḷkkai*
 [and] helping with love Tarumi to a heap of gold,

Here the beginning of the poem composed by Śiva for Tarumi’s sake is quoted for the first time. It is a real *Caṅkam* poem, found in the *Kuṟuntokai* as No. 2,²¹⁹ attributed to Irāiyaṇār, a word that literally mean “lord” and thus could be reinterpreted as a reference to Śiva as the author. This poem thus won a later life in Śaivite folklore, although, as we shall see, the Tamil versions never quote more than the first two metrical feet (the traditional way of referring to a poem), at least not before perhaps the 18th century. The Sanskrit versions, however, give a translation of this poem, probably the only one that is available today. The *Kallāṭam* (in 13/14.19–27)

219 This is the poem in *Kuṟuntokai* 2:

<i>koṇku tēr vāḷkkai am ciṟai tumpi</i>	Pretty-winged bee whose livelihood is searching for pollen
<i>kāmam ceppātu kaṇṭatu moḷimō</i>	Without saying [what I] desire, speak of what [you’ve] seen!
<i>payiliyatu keḷīya naṭṭiṇ mayil iyal</i>	Are the flowers you know also as fragrant
<i>ceṇi eyirru arivai kūntaliṇ</i>	As the tresses of the young woman with close set teeth
<i>naṇṇiyavum uḷavō nī aṇṇiyum pūvē.</i>	[And] peacock nature, in habitually united intimacy.

might also contain the first reference to Tiruvalluvar, the author of the *Tirukkuraḷ* in the assembly of academicians, but this will be taken up in chapter III.4.5.

III.4.4 Śiva's Sports in Maturai

The biggest chunk of narrative materials pertaining to the *Caṅkam* is found in puranic and related *kāvya* literature that is rarely read by scholars today and notoriously difficult to date.²²⁰ It might roughly cover the 12th or 13th to the 17th centuries. Here, for the first time since the preamble, we do not find allusions and similes but a series of full-fledged stories relating events. Most are already known, but here they have gained a dramatic momentum all of their own. On the one hand, most of these texts are connected to Śiva in Maturai, especially in his form as lord Cuntaraṇ (Skt. Sundara) at the temple of Ālavāy; on the other hand they are connected to the royal dynasty of the Pāṇṭiyas. They relate the famous sixty-four “sports” (Skt. *līlā*, Tamil *viḷaiyāṭal*) of the god, who amuses himself by interfering in the course of the world and the fate of humans in various ways. The different Pāṇṭiya rulers under whom these “events” took place form a sort of narrative timeframe.

Some of these sports, as already mentioned, have been alluded to in the *Kallāṭam*, but the first comprehensive account is given in the *Tiruvīḷaiyāṭarpurāṇam* of Perumparrappuliyūr Nampī (= Nampī's *TVP*), not yet in a temporal sequence, but at considerable length. There is no concrete evidence that could be used for dating this text. Clear is only that it precedes all the others, because it contains more archaic versions of several events and is not yet a smooth narration. One would be tempted to surmise, but this is mere speculation, that it was meant to be a sort of Pāṇṭiyaṇ literary counterattack against the Cōḷas and their *Periya-*

²²⁰ None of the texts dealt with in this subchapter have been translated. The later *Tiruvīḷaiyāṭarpurāṇam* was first known in the West as early as 1835, when Taylor wrote an English summary in connection with his cataloguing work on the Mackenzie collection, ironically related to the search for material for reconstructing the Maturai area history and the Pāṇṭiya dynasty. A very important paper, or rather series of papers is Aravamuthan 1931 and 1932, which brings together and discusses almost all the relevant sources, and points out probable relations between the different texts. Also Aravamuthan's main interest is sifting the material for clues into the history of the Tamil academy in Maturai, following the inquiries he began in Aravamuthan 1930. He is the only one to proceed from the earlier *TVP*, giving the only available summary of Nampī. Dessigane/Pattabiramin/Filliozat 1960, whose focus is on the history of Śaivism, give a synopsis of the parallel chapters in the two Tamil versions and the Sanskrit version, with a French summary of Parañcōti. An overview is found in Zvelebil 1974: 177 ff. Also Shulman 2001a+b must be mentioned with regard to his interest in some of the academy stories and their ramifications in various versions; it is he who points out one Telugu parallel.

Purāṇam. As such it may have been introduced at the time of Māravarman Cuntara Pāṇṭiya, the king who restored Pāṇṭiya power and reconquered Maturai, making it once more the Pāṇṭiya capital after a Cōla interregnum of almost three hundred years. Māravarman Cuntara Pāṇṭiya ascended the throne in 1216 as the founder of what is called the second dynasty. In any case, it is the first great Śaiva narrative text from the Pāṇṭiya side and it stresses the importance of the Pāṇṭiyas as the power on earth with whom the lord and creator interacts and even intermarries.

Next in the sequence is the *Hālāsya Māhātmya* (HM), the first Sanskrit version. It is even more extensive and elaborate as far as the storyline is concerned, but simpler in formal respects, making almost exclusive use of Śloka where Nampi employs a variety of metres. The episodes are placed in a sequential order here and have picked up a number of northern elements. In this case we do not even have an author, let alone a viable date; the text professes to come from the mouth of Agastya and to be part of the *Skanda-Mahāpurāṇa*. From the point of view of thematic development it is clearly based on Nampi and is thus later. The complete absorption of a Tamil local tradition and its transposition into Sanskrit, the northern and trans-regional literary language, does not seem to agree very well with the generally south-oriented perspective of the Pāṇṭiyas. It might fit in rather with the more cosmopolitan view of the Vijayanagara Empire, which, after a brief Muslim interregnum in the early 14th century, made Maturai their southern capital and placed a viceroy there. In this light, a date of late 14th or early 15th century would seem plausible.

The most acclaimed version is Parañcōti's *Tiruvilaiyāṭarpurāṇam* (= Parañcōti's *TVP*), which is generally dated to the early 17th century. It has gradually replaced all the other versions in popularity. It is very easy to show that the text depends primarily on the *Hālāsya Māhātmya* as its source. The temporal structure, here more sophisticated and transformed into a sort of genealogical account of the Pāṇṭiya dynasty, and many thematic details are taken over from the Sanskrit version. It is also much more devout than any of the others, repeatedly stressing the greatness of god and the Pāṇṭiyas' devotion to him. It is hard to determine whether it was a nostalgic work commissioned by a very late Pāṇṭiya ruler, politically insignificant but still dreaming of former glory, or a romantic work under the sway of the Nayaks, who had been viceroys for Vijayanagara since the early 16th century and gained independence with the fall of the great empire in 1665.

The popularity of all three texts is shown by the enormous number of manuscripts that have survived; preparing critical editions for them would indeed be an epic task.²²¹

221 Alone the (predominantly Śaiva) manuscript collection at the French Institute in Pondicherry

Much thinner is the thread of transmission for a number of other, shorter versions. Again clearly part of the highly cultured Nayak court at Maturai is the second Sanskrit version, the *Śivalilārṇava* by Nilakaṇṭha Dikṣita, court poet of Tirumalai Nayakaṅ (1623–1659). This is not a puranic text but a very sophisticated *kāvya*, an intricate court poem employing many of the more complex Sanskrit metres. Here, in typical *kāvya* style, the focus is neither on devotion nor on the Pāṇṭiya share in the events, but on the stories and their embellishment with descriptive and reflective elements. Here we must ask whether the *Hālāśya Māhātmya* can be considered a source, or whether there are reasons to place this text after the Parañcōti version.

There are two more texts concerned with Śiva's sports that are related to the Maturai environment.²²² For different reasons, neither adds to our information on the development of the academy stories, but they might help us to narrow the timeframe for the dating of the puranic texts. One is the *Maturaiccokkanātar Ulā* of Purāṇa Tirumalainātar, a *kāvya* poem in Tamil that belongs to one of the small *Pirapantam* genres, the *Ulā*, a poem about the victorious procession of a king (or god) through his city or land, deeply impressing all the women he passes on

lists no less than 30 mss. for the *Hālāśya Māhātmya* and 18 mss. for the *Tiruvīlaiyāṭarpurāṇam* (the hand list does not always specify to which of the two versions is being referred). In comparison, the *Periyapurāṇam*, considered an extremely popular text, is represented by 26 manuscripts. **222** In fact, with what follows, the list is far from complete even for the Maturai material. Aravamutham 1931: 109f. names two more Sanskrit puranic texts that referred to the sixty-four sports, a *Kadambavanapurāṇa* and a *Aṣṭamipradakṣiṇa Māhātmya*, both supposedly brought into Tamil, though the latter as late as the early 20th century, as the *Aṣṭamipirataṣiṇa Māṇmīyam* of Irāmacāmi Pīḷḷai. He also mentions a *Tiruvīlaiyāṭar Payakaramālai* by Virapattira Kampar, a *Tiruvucāttāṇa Nāṇmaṇimālai* by Paḷaṇiyappaṅ Cērvaiṅkārār (late 16th c.?), and finally a *Kūṭarpurāṇam* (1932: 89). So far I have only been able to trace the Tamil version of the *Kaṭampavanapurāṇam* by Vimanāta Paṇṭitar (possibly 16th c.), which enumerates the sixty-four sports in chapter 10 and gives a one-verse summary for each of them; the academy stories still follow Nampi in sequence and content. Also deserving further attention are the many motifs that turn up not only in the academy stories, but in other versions of the sixty-four sports and in other puranic stories. Thus Nampi's sport 52 tells the story of the poets Kāri and Nāri who, on their way to the Pāṇṭiya king in Maturai, are intercepted and tested by Śiva in the guise of a shepherd and sent off with a demand that half of their poems should be in praise of the lord. Also Nampi's sports 54–57 deal with the exploits of a poet, here named Pattiraṅ, who is involved in poetic contests and incites the support of Śiva and who also receives a plank (*palakai*) to sing on. Aravamuthan (1932: 91f.) also reports a curious story from the Vaiṣṇava *Kūṭarpurāṇam*, where the Pāṇṭiya king is plagued by spiritual doubts and so, guided by his god, offers a purse of gold to the person who is able to resolve them. Large numbers of scholars assemble in Maturai for a debate, whereupon they all are asked to place their doctrine into writing and put the palm-leaf onto the purse, which is able to judge the contents and finally grants the victory to Viṭṭucittāṅ (alias the Vaiṣṇava saint Periyālvār).

his way. Here the sports are alluded to in passing in a sort of digest of only 516 verses, allegedly in chronological order; if so, it seems rather likely that the text used the *Hālāsya Māhātyam* as a source. Zvelebil (1995: 583) dates it in the beginning of the 16th century.

Another intermittent version was probably the Tamil *Cuntarapāṇṭiyam* of Aṇatāri. This one too appears datable, but unfortunately it has not been transmitted in its entirety. It also deals with the sixty-four sports of Śiva, linked with the genealogy of the Pāṇṭiyas. However, a portion about the academies is not preserved in the apparently only surviving manuscript of the GOML, a paper copy from a palm-leaf from the Maturai Tamil *Caṅkam* (Chandradekharan 1955: ii). Aṇatāri was part of the Nayak court in Maturai and had as his patron a minister of King Kaccikiruṭṭiṇappa Viṛappa Nāyakkaṇ (1572–1595). However, according to Zvelebil (1995: 39; with reference to Rākavaiyaṅkar 1907: 371–375), the poem was composed for a former patron, Ciṅkarāyaṇ of Kuṇṇattūr in 1563–64. A detailed analysis would be necessary to be certain of its sources.²²³ However, the only verse alluding to the academy might be instructive on this account. It quite remarkable as it is an extended *śleṣa*, a *double entendre*. Found at the beginning, it is a lengthy praise of the River Vaikai that flows around Maturai.

1.20

aṛaṇ urai taḷuvi ēṭ' aṇai uṛr' ain-tiṇai
tuṛai maṛṇi Caṅkamē cūḷntu verp' iḷint'
uṛai aṇi paṭaitt' aṛaṇ uvappa mēvaliṇ
īraiyaṇār poruḷ eṇa pakarntat' eṇpavē.

Embracing words of Dharma, having flowers on [its] banks, joining ghats in five [types of] landscape, scattered with conches, falling from the mountain, creating a decoration for the residence, for Hara to rejoice, when it reaches, it [the Vaikai] is called “the wealth of the lord”, they say.

The first reading is a rather conventional praise of a great river. However, quite a number of the attributes of this river are either not used in their primary meanings, thus triggering the reader’s awareness of possible additional messages, or they have a terminological sense within the realm of poetics. The primary meaning of *ēṭu* is of course “palm-leaf” (the main term for manuscript) and not “flower”, and *Caṅkam* can be a “conch”, but also the famous “academy” of Maturai. *Ain-tiṇai* is

²²³ Aravamutham (1931: 110) claims it to be a translation from a Sanskrit original called *Sundarapāṇḍya*. We will come back to the topic of Tamil adaptations from Sanskrit when discussing the alleged sources for Nampī’s *TVP*.

the designation for the five primary settings of Akam poetry, and *tuṛai*, a frequent term for “ghat”, is in 16th-century parlance an Akam speech situation (what was called *kiḷavi* in the earlier tradition).²²⁴ *Poruḷ*, finally, is not only “wealth”, but also a “meaning” and a “poetic constituent”, and as such it is used in the title of the poetic treatise written by the lord.

Embracing words of Dharma, having palm-leaves as support, joining the five settings and the situations, encompassing the academy itself, falling from the mountain, creating a decoration for the residence, for Hara to rejoice, because it is attached to [him], it [the poem] is called “a *Irāiyaṇār* poetic wealth”, they say.

Thus this verse betrays an intimate knowledge of poetics rather than familiarity with the Shaivite academy stories. With *ain-tiṇai* it playfully alludes to the beginning of the *Irāiyaṇār Akapporuḷ*, recalling the way the same thing was done in *Kallāṭam* 3.13 and 63/66.19 (cf. p. 244 ff.). At the end it refers to the very name of the treatise as used in the *Kallāṭam* (Velaṇ Vaṇakkam 53: *iraiyōṇ poruḷ*) and, as we shall see, by Nampi (*TVP* 15.19.4: *poruḷatikāram piṛaṅkiṛ’ iraiyaṇār poruḷ eṇavē*). Needless to say, none of this makes overly much sense if merely read in connection with a river. It rather must be read as sort of meta-poetic statement of affiliation for the poem as such. Aṇatāri wants to place himself in the line of Kallāṭaṇār and Nampi, quite an exigent poetic programme.

One more puranic text, this one less voluminous, that does not belong to the Maturai milieu intriguingly contains an account of academy events that deviates considerably from the Maturai story line, namely the *Cikāḷatti Puṇṇam* of Civappirakāca Cuvāmi (17th c.). Here the framework is not that of Śiva’s sports, but the fate of the poet Nakkīraṇ, in this version connected not only with Maturai, but also with Cikāḷatti, the place where he is supposed to have composed the *Tirumurukāṛṇṇappaṭai*. This turn of events has still left traces in at least one part of the transmission of Nampi’s *TVP*. However, it is not taken up by any other text in the Maturai line.²²⁵

Before actually starting on the stories, it seems necessary to point out something that has been used for reconstructing a textual tradition but that to me rather looks like a literary motif, and a widespread one at that. Beginning with Nampi’s *TVP* there is a discussion throughout the available secondary literature, starting with its editor Cāminātaiyar (1972, preface, p. 9), about Nampi’s sources. This predecessor is called the “*Sārasamuccaya*”, supposedly a Sanskrit *Purāṇa*,

²²⁴ This usage can be seen, for example, in the colophon of the Vaiṣṇava AN manuscript [UVSL 107] (cf. p. 129).

²²⁵ There are Sanskrit and Telugu versions of the Kāḷahasti materials, namely, the *Kāḷahasti Māhātmya* and the *Śrī Kāḷahasti Māhātmyamu* of Dhūrjaṭi, that also ought to be taken into account.

which is, however, not to be found.²²⁶ This hypothesis is based on a verse towards the end of the first sport, which is significant and surprising in itself: this sort of information is usually found in the *pāyiram* section, the preface.²²⁷

TVP 1.35

*ōt' ariya uttara-māpurāṇam taṇṇuḷ uṇmai taru cāracamuccayattu muṇṇam
mētaku nal katai viriviṇ kaṇṭ' eṇakku viyāta vāṇmiki eccaṇ coṇṇa eṇ-eṇ
tītil viḷaiyāṭaḷkaḷiṇ piṇaṇkum intat tiruḷaiyāṭaḷiṇ parappai curukki iṇru
pōtam uṇa numakk' uraittēṇ yāṇum. cokkaṇ pukaḷiṇai yār karai-kaṇṭu pukaluvārē.*

Today I am telling you, for [your] enjoyment, after having compressed [its] extent, this sport that is redolent with the flawless eight [times] eight sports related to me by the deity of Vyāsa [and] Valmiki, after seeing in detail the good story, eminent with the intention of the *Sārasamuccaya*, that gives the essence in the highest *Mahāpurāṇa* difficult to recite. Who are those that praise the fame of Cokkaṇ to the full²²⁸?

Thus the *TVP* would be a compressed version of the “*Sārasamuccaya*”, which in itself is a digest of the “highest *Purāṇam*”. In fact even the title is suspicious, since it is no more than a generic name. The Sanskrit word *sāra-samuccaya* means “a condensation of sap”, that is, a condensed version of vaster material. It is a word that is used in work titles as the second member of a *tatpuruṣa* compound (“the condensation of X”), as for example in “*Prayogasārasamuccaya*” [D. Goodall, oral information]. So all that is being said here is that the *TVP* is the abridged version of a condensation of a/the highest great *Purāṇam*. That it is Sanskrit and a translation are not mentioned at all, although the use of Sanskrit words might imply this. Also seen from a point of view of its contents, a Sanskrit original is not really likely. The *TVP* certainly propagates a form of Śaivism in which the northern and southern traditions are fully integrated, as was the case already in the 7th century. But still the stories, the sixty-four sports, are regional stories, with a clear local and emotional allegiance – to name just a few: how could there be a Sanskrit original for the events at the academy in Maturai, or for the lives of the

²²⁶ Aravamuthan (1931: 110, n. 2) refers to another verse from *TVP* Nampi, invocation 23, directed to a teacher or spiritual preceptor (*ācīriyar*) by the name of Veṇkāṭaṇ or Paramañānacivaṇ, depending upon the interpretation of the poetic syntax. While he unfortunately does not discuss it, he seems to imply that this teacher of Nampi must be seen as the author of the *Sārasamuccaya*. However, this verse does not even make a connection with the *Sārasamuccaya*, and nothing more is known about an author.

²²⁷ In fact there is a whole *pāyiram* subchapter of eight verses on the origin of the text (*nūl varalāru*), but it is purely mythological.

²²⁸ *karai-kaṇṭu*: literally “after having seen [the other] shore [of this ocean of fame].”

Tamil saints Campantar or Māṇikkavācakar? To summarise, the point seems to me a rather formulaic form of legitimation by invoking an affiliation to an old and great tradition, here the Sanskrit puranic tradition.

The same can be seen in both of the other two versions, although the strategies are slightly different. The *Hālāsya Māhātmya* provides a larger framework in its chapter-final titles, which locate the respective chapter “in the holy *Skanda super-purāṇa*, in the collection of Agastya, in the *Hālāsya Māhātmya*” (*śrī skānde mahā-purāṇe agastya-saṃghitāyāṃ hālāsya-māhātmye*). Also the beginning phrase *om agastyah* suggests Agastya as the narrator of the *Purāṇa*. So here proper names for the greater tradition are provided, but again they just look fictitious, or at least not backed by other sources. Parañcōti’s *TVP* finally has one *pāyiram* verse that gives its credentials, after the heading of “way [of transmission] of the primary treatise” (*mutal-nūl vaḷi*):

*aṇṇal-pāl telinta nanti aṭikaḷ-pāl caṇṇakumāraṇ
nuṇṇi nīrai aṇṇiṇ āyntu viyātaṇukk’ uṇartta vanta
puṇṇiya muṇivaṇ cūtaṇk’ ōṭiya purāṇam mū-vāru
eṇṇiya ivarṇuḷ kāntatt’ iṇa caṇṇitaiyīṇ mātō.*

Is [it] not of the *Īśa-saṃhitā* of the *Skandapurāṇa* among these *Purāṇas* counting three [times] six that was recited to the bard(?) by the meritorious sage (Agastya) who came to be informed by Vyāsa, after choosing with love from the fine fullness of the *Sanatkumāra[purāṇa]* at the feet of Nandi, who had understood it from the majesty (Śiva)?

The construction of the verse poses problems, but its essence seems comprehensible: Vyāsa, instructed by Nandi upon the authority of Śiva himself, imparted the gist of the *Sanatkumārapurāṇa* to Agastya. Agastya, in his turn, recited part of one of the eighteen [*Mahā*] *Purāṇas*, namely the *Īśasaṃhitā* of the *Skandapurāṇa*, to the “bard” (*cūtaṇ* from Skt. *sūta*), presumably in this context a deprecatory self-reference to the actual author, Parañcōti. In other words, again we are faced with the retelling of a part of a digest. One is tempted of course to see here a reference to the *Hālāsya Māhātmya* as a precursor, but although the elements echo each other, they are by no means identical. The *Hālāsya Māhātmya*, told by Agastya from the *Agastyasamhitā* from the *Skandapurāṇa*, is presumably not the same as the retelling of the *Īśasaṃhitā* from the *Skandapurāṇa*, told by Agastya, who had it from Vyāsa as an excerpt from the *Sanatkumārapurāṇa*. Needless to say, no transmitted version, either in Sanskrit or in Tamil, of the admittedly very variable *Skandapurāṇa* contains such sections. It is just that the technique is the same and that the same illustrious names are evoked.

Now the time has come to take a closer look at the stories. Table 27 gives a rough idea of the extent of the available material, amounting to a total of 1045 verses, although the mere number of verses is misleading, since a verse can

comprise anything from a simple two-line Sanskrit Śloka to a four-line Tamil Ācīriyaviruttam of eight metrical feet per line.

Table 27: Academy stories

text	chapter	verses
<i>Nampi's Tiruviḷaiyāṭarpurāṇam</i>	15–20	99
<i>Hālāsya Māhātmya</i>	57–62	468
<i>Parañcōti's Tiruviḷaiyāṭarpurāṇam</i>	51–56	255
<i>Śivalilārṇava</i>	20	76
<i>Cikāḷattipurāṇam</i>	7	137

In the Maturai puranic texts, the stories are distributed over six chapters that correspond each other in the different versions, their difference in number reflecting the author's attitude towards chronology. Nilakaṇṭha Dikṣita has summarised the events in one chapter (or even slightly less than one, because the end of his canto 20 deals with the birth of Minākṣī). The Kālahasti text has a different approach altogether, assembling in one chapter the complete deeds of the poet Nakkīraṇ (= Nakkīrac Carukkam).

The basic story line runs as follows: The literary academy (*Caṅkam*), installed by the Pāṇṭiya king in a special hall (*caṅka maṇṭappam*), with a number of poets beginning with Kapilar, Nakkīrar and Paraṇar, desired a seat that would accommodate the entire assembly in the order of poetic rank. Śiva, asked for help, gives them a plank (*palakai*) broad enough for one person to sit on. However once installed in the academy hall, the plank or bench grows enough to have room for any number of true poets trying to sit on it. When, after years of composing, the poets are unable to sort out their various works that have become all mixed up on the floor of the hall, Śiva appears among them as a scholar and lends his assistance, for which he is accepted into the academy. In order to avoid such problems in future, he composes a poetological treatise for them, i.e., the *Iṟaiyaṇār (Akap) poruḷ*. After some dispute, Nakkīraṇ's commentary on this work is accepted by the assembly. So far the first story.

In the second story the Pāṇṭiya king has perceived a wonderful perfume exuding from the hair of his beloved wife. Intrigued by his perception he hangs up a purse of gold at the entry to the academy hall and promises it as a reward to the poet who is able to compose a poem about what is going on in his mind. Needless to say the poets fail. However, upon the request of an unlearned, poor and yet devout Brahmin boy named Tarumi, Śiva composes a poem addressed to a bee, asking it whether it has ever smelled flowers as fragrant as the hair of the beloved, starting with the words *koṅku tēr vāḷkkai* (= *Kuruntokai* 2). Bringing a palm-leaf

with the poem into the assembly, Tarumi is declared victorious. When he is about to cut down the gold purse, Nakkīraṇ stands up claiming that the poem has a fault. In order to back up his protégé, Śiva appears in the assembly and demands to know who has slighted his poem. Nakkīraṇ admits his reserve, and a discussion between the lord and the poet evolves regarding the question whether it is possible to describe the natural fragrance of hair as similar to the smell of a flower. Nakkīraṇ claims that hair can only be artificially fragrant, so that the question to the bee does not make sense. If hair is fragrant, it is from flowers or other such ingredients of a perfume applied to it. When Nakkīraṇ denies any other possibility, even for the hair of a divine woman such as Śiva's consort Gaurī, Śiva is exasperated by his persistence and finally reveals his identity, showing the fiery third eye on his forehead. Nakkīraṇ persists and utters the famous sentence: "Even if you were to have eyes all over your body, a fault remains a fault!" Burnt by Śiva's wrath, the hapless poet is forced to seek refuge in the lotus tank in front of the hall.

The third story deals with the regret of the other academy poets about having lost Nakkīraṇ. They decide to ask Śiva to forgive the delinquent, luring him with the announcement that Nakkīraṇ had spent his time in the tank by composing a poem in praise of the lord. Śiva descends into the tank, listens to Nakkīraṇ's verses, and is so pleased that he lifts him out of the water with his own hand and reinstalls him in the academy.

However, in the fourth story he is troubled by Nakkīraṇ's lack of true grammatical and poetical knowledge. When worrying his divine mind with the question who could instruct Nakkīraṇ, Pārvaṭī steps in and reminds Śiva how, upon the gathering of divine beings and Śaiva devotees around Śiva's abode at Mount Kailās, the earth had tilted and the southern part was lifted into the air. In order to restore the balance, Śiva had sent the sage Akattiyaṇ southwards to sit on Mount Potiyil. Before departing Akattiyaṇ had asked to be instructed in Tamil, which Śiva had done thoroughly. So Akattiyaṇ is called back as the ideal tutor for Nakkīraṇ. Upon Pārvaṭī's question why Śiva had declined to teach Nakkīraṇ in person, the god answered that due to the envy he had displayed on a former occasion, Nakkīraṇ had proved himself unworthy of being the god's direct disciple. Being perfectly instructed in Tamil by Akattiyaṇ, however, Nakkīraṇ is now capable of taking up his work in the academy with renewed zeal.

But now, in the fifth story, a quarrel has arisen within the academy as to whose poems should be the ones most worthy to be preserved. Śiva, again asked for his mediation, recommends Skanda as a judge, who due to a curse had been born as a dumb boy to a merchant from a nearby village. Put in the academy hall and subjected to a recitation of all the poetry that had been produced, the five-year-old child sheds tears of joy upon hearing the poems of the great trio Kapilar, Nakkīraṇ and Paraṇar, thus proving them to be the best.

The sixth story is not directly related. A later Pāṇṭiya king refuses to accord honours to Iṭaikkāṭaṇ, a stranger poet who is a friend of Kapilar and who has come to recite his works in front of the king. Insulted by this unjust refusal, he seeks refuge in the lord, who decides to teach the Pāṇṭiya king a lesson. Removing his Liṅga from the temple in Maturai and taking the academy with him, Śiva settles outside the town on the banks of the Vaikai and manifests himself in a new Liṅga. Learning of the incident, the Pāṇṭiya walks by foot to the new Liṅga in order learn from the lord what was his offence and how he could do penance. Śiva points out his impolite behaviour against Iṭaikkāṭaṇ. The king promises to make amends, Śiva and the academy return to Maturai, leaving the other Liṅga behind as the core of a new temple, and the king seats Iṭaikkāṭaṇ in the academy with all honours.

III.4.4.1 Nampi's *Tiruvilaiyāṭarpurāṇam*

Told like this, we seem to have a fairly consistent series of stories. But if we begin to pay attention to the details and ramifications in the various versions, we see in fact that we are dealing with a cluster of stories, some half-remembered variations of the same event, that have undergone a gradual process of streamlining and rationalisation. The most interesting is the version of Nampi, whose text represents the first attempt to build a larger structure. From the few remaining ragged edges of the pieces he has woven into a whole, we are able to glean a few bits of real information, not concerning the history of our corpus necessarily, but certainly about the way it was perceived in particular periods, and about the ways various sources were integrated into Nampi's fabric. Still noticeable in the "finished" narrative is a curious redundancy. A recurrent theme is the disagreement between the poets. In story 1, Śiva has to interfere no less than three times, in Nampi even four times: first he presents the *palakai*, which is supposed to settle poetic disputes by ranking the scholars. Then he enters the academy hall in person in order to sort out the tangled heap of poetic compositions. After that he gives the poetic treatise so that henceforth the scholars be well informed and have an authority. Finally he has to affirm which is the right commentary on that treatise. Story 5 is based on the same problem, but the versions differ as to what is being disputed. The solution offered, however, is one we already know from a much earlier source, namely the preamble to Nakkīraṇ's commentary on the *Iṟaiyaṇār Akapporuḷ*: Skanda cursed to be reincarnated in a dumb human boy, is called in as an arbitrator, deciding upon the right text with tears of joy and bristling body hair.

A closer look at Nampi's text makes it understandable why this is so. His chapter 15, corresponding to story 1, is in fact not a running text but consists

of three clear-cut units. The first five verses tell how the poets, headed by the famous trio of Kapilar, Nakkīrar and Paraṇar, ask the lord for a seat and are given the *palakai*, thus investing the academy with divine authority. Then we have a temporal break. What follows, verses 6–11, takes place at another time (*maṇṇu oru kālam*). There is no mention here about the trio of poets. What has happened is apparently that the successors of the original academy find a jumbled heap of palm-leaf manuscripts lying untied (because the strings, as usual, rot first) in the academy hall (v. 6).²²⁹ First of all, the poems are in disorder (v. 6) and secondly, they are written in a Tamil that the scholars of the day no longer perfectly understand (v. 7).²³⁰ Faced with the impossible task of sorting out the mess, they become very despondent (v. 8). Śiva, watching them, feels compassion and arises in their midst to ask what the problem is (v. 9). They answer that “the wisdom of the old poets is confused for us” (*mutu kavi pulavam mayaṇikiyatu emakku*) and gladly accept his help, offering him the forty-ninth and last seat²³¹ in their academy should he succeed (v. 10). Of course he does, and with an inkling of his more-than-human nature, they admit him into their ranks (v. 11).

What is going on here does not look like the simple integration of the older academy tradition into the Śaivite-devotional fold. The scenario rather recalls the very real anxiety felt by the latter-day heirs of the tradition they were about to declare classical, that is, a 7th-century anxiety. It seems to mirror the process of hyper-anthologisation of our corpus. Comprehending and assembling these works, which, however, remain unnamed here, may well have appeared a super-human task. This short series of verses in Nampi’s *Purāṇam* seem like a fossilised bit of cultural memory, far closer to reality than either Nakkīraṇ’s preamble or any of the pious poetic narratives that follow, were it not for the *deus ex machina* solution of the human problem. Also the rest of this chapter (vv. 12–19) looks rather like an alternative account of the events connected with the establishment of the second poetological treatises, the *Iraiyāṇar Akapporuḷ*, a text still called by name in this version, then loan-translated by the *HM* as *Arthādhikāra*, lost in all the later versions.

Another time gap is announced by the phrase “once upon a time” (*oru kālam*) – it is ironic that Nampi should be so precise with respect to discontinuities, he who

²²⁹ In this verse the word for “palm-leaf” is not used, but this is clearly implied, since the poets assemble “where, because of the length of time, [their] worthy verses, unnumbered, had become confused | [and] piled up so as to touch the sky” (*āṇṇava ceyyūḷ kālam niḷattāl aḷav’ ila-v-āy talaimayaṇki | vāṇ toṭa uyarnta āṇku*).

²³⁰ “We will proceed by leaving out those that are not clear in our Tamil [and] keeping those that are good” (*nam tamiḷuḷ viḷakkam illātāṇa viṭṭu | nallaṇa koḷḷa kaṭavam*).

²³¹ Recalling the preamble, forty-nine was the number of poets sitting in the third *Caṅkam*.

was famously not yet concerned with the chronology of the sixty-four sports. Here the poets are sitting, presumably still on the *palakai*, analysing poetry, and discussing poetics. Śiva, listening in, realises that they are confused and “shows” (*kāṭṭu*) them, does not give them, “a lofty treatise in poetics, starting with ‘the five settings of love’” (*ōṇkiya poruḷ nūl ‘aṇṇiṇ ain tiṇai’ eṇṇu eṭuttu*), and again sorts out the poems that follow his poetics (v. 12). Now the poets start looking back at their own poems and try to decide how well they correspond to what they have just heard. Nakkīraṇ for one finds his own works incomparable, but there is disagreement (v. 13). Luckily Nakkīraṇ finds a means to stop the quarrel: he comes up with a palm-leaf, a written version of the poetics made by god,²³² and he challenges everybody with producing a commentary (v. 14). Nakkīraṇ’s commentary is graced with a smile and recommended to the others by Śiva (v. 15 f.). Reinforced by a voice from heaven, this is the commentary that is accepted (v. 17 f.). The name of the treatise is revealed at the very end (v. 19): “What shines as *Poruḷatikāram* is called ‘*Iraiyaṇār Poruḷ*’” (*poruḷatikāram piraṇkīrṇ’ iraiyaṇār poruḷ eṇavē*).

It is with Nampī’s second story that the actual devotional series begins. As far as the narrative core is concerned, stories 2 to 4 – recounting the poetic competition started by the Pāṇṭiya king, Tarumi’s victory with the help of Śiva, the dispute between Nakkīraṇ and the lord, Nakkīraṇ’s disgrace and resurrection, and finally his instruction in Tamil on the hands of Akattiyaṇ – are the most stable part. Here poets only vie with each other with respect to flowery detail. In fact they could be counted as one single story. Again there is a textual reason to assume that such was Nampī’s attitude in the matter. If we follow the lead of his temporal specifications, we find that the phrases of the type already mentioned (“once upon a time”, *ōr* or *oru kālam* and the like) are used sparingly. They occur in the first verse of chapter 15 (and then two times further within that chapter, as has been pointed out), at the beginning of chapters 16, 19 and 20, but not in chapters 17 and 18. There the thread of narration is continuous.

An interpretation of the main ideological concern in the story of Tarumi and Nakkīraṇ has already been formulated by Shulman (2001a), in a subchapter with the title “Pedantry versus Poetry”: it would have been the overthrow of the petri-

²³² Here the Tamil is unfortunately not clear: “He approached the assembly in wonder, thinking ‘[this] has been pronounced by someone’, holding a poem that was weighty with wide-ranging poetics” (*naṇṇi avai-iṭai viyantu “naviluvatē oruvaṇ” eṇa | kaṇṇi viyal tarum poruḷāl kaṇattat’ oru kavitai toṭā*). However, a poem that can be held in a hand must be a written text, and in the given context it is fairly obvious that the text in question must be the lord’s treatise which, like all Tamil treatises, is a work composed in verse and thus can be referred to as a poem. The incident echoes the moment when, in the preamble, the priests sweeps under the altar and discovers the treatise written on copper-plates.

fied scholastic tradition of the academy by the spontaneous and emotional devotional one of bhakti. True as that may seem on the level of self-representation,²³³ matters are in fact much more complex. This supposed overthrow could have been something on the agenda of the 7th and 8th centuries, when there was a real alternative, that is, when the earlier literature was assembled in the manner of a corpus and “classicised” while at the same time bhakti was a young and vibrant movement, and indeed Tarumi’s story is alluded to for the first time in the *Tēvāram* itself. If we analyse the story with regard to the social realities upon which it might have been based, the picture is thus: The learned and respected representative (Nakkīraṇ) of a well-established institution under royal patronage (the *Caṅkam* under the Pāṇṭiyas) is challenged by an outsider (Tarumi)²³⁴, who has to his credit neither education nor wealth and connections (being an orphan); he is called the “son of a Śaiva sage” (*civa muṇi putalvaṇ*; v. 7), that is, he might come from either a yogic tradition or a family of temple priests, the interpretation favoured in the later versions. Śiva himself, as the embodiment of academic authority (being the author of the approved poetological treatise), shifts allegiance and puts in place his representative. This is an account from the victorious side of a conflict. Devotional poetry draws on or even supersedes “academic” poetry, both as a literary trend and then also in the patronage system. Kings, and not only kings, pay for bhakti hymns, all the more so since these hymns have the possible practical application of being sung at the temple.

A curious twist, which obscures this main issue, is the poem chosen to symbolise this victory. It is by no means a bhakti hymn, but, ironically, *Kuṟuntokai* No. 2, a poem from the very corpus that is being indirectly declared obsolete, the *Caṅkam* corpus. This “fact” is not yet mentioned in the *Tēvāram*; it appears, as we have seen, for the first time in the *Kallāṭam* (cf. p. 246 f.). I see two possible explanations. One is that this extravagant idea of the *Kallāṭam*’s extremely erudite and conservative author caught the imagination of his successors, a sort of hyper-correction based on the author ascriptions of the *Caṅkam* *kiḷavi* tradition. The poet of *Kuṟuntokai* 2, according to them, is a man called Iṟaiyaṇār, “lord”, which becomes

233 Another issue that should one day be raised in detail is the level of realism in such a self-representation. Traditional as well as scholarly fabula will have it that bhakti poems are simple and spontaneous, the very opposite of a scholastic tradition, but in fact this is the case for only a small minority of songs even within the bhakti corpus. The bulk of the devotional material is every bit as learned and scholastic as their predecessors, though naturally following in part a new set of conventions, one aspect being a new metrical system that is far more complicated than the classical one.

234 The name is already telling, which can be analysed as a Tamilised form of the Sanskrit *dharmin*: “the just one.”

one of the key designations of Śiva, especially as the author of the famous treatise on poetics. This, however, seems to be a fairly late development. Note that it is not found in the transmission of the *IA* itself or in its commentary, not even in the preamble. The first surviving attestation is ḷampūraṇar on *TPi* 474 (to be discussed on p. 297), who might be roughly contemporary to Kallāṭaṇār. The other possibility is that the *Kallāṭam* just reproduced an already established tradition. In this case it might best be seen as a rhetorical move on the part of a victorious faction: the enemy has to be beaten with his own weapons.

Either way the choice of poem is anachronistic even within the framework of the story. The incident is clearly not imagined as having taken place during the period of the original *Caṅkam* production, and the quotation is isolated. The song Nakkīraṇ composes in order to appease Śiva while lying in the tank is referred to as an *Antāti* (one of the most prolific bhakti genres) and can be identified as the *Kayilāipāti Kālattipāti Antāti*.²³⁵

What, now, can be the reason for retelling such a story in the 12th or 13th century? By this time the academy was long a legendary memory and the Śaiva bhakti corpus itself had already been canonised and become a token of the dominant religious fraction of the day, no longer growing but reduced to institutionalised temple recitation. If we think in terms of renewed Pāṇṭiya power and a corresponding process of self-assessment, in a period when Maturai was once again to become the capital of a Pāṇṭiya kingdom after centuries of ignominy as a Cōḷa satellite domain, it might make sense to see this as an attempt at reintegrating earlier traditions tied to earlier times of Pāṇṭiya glory. Of course the academy was long dead and could only be imagined in terms of the staunchly Śaivite dogma of the day, but its evocation was still powerful – it cannot be merely chance that these stories are accorded space that after all makes up almost ten per cent of the sports recounted in the *Purāṇam*.²³⁶ Simultaneously the author might well have

235 Cf. the mention of Nakkīraṇ's *Antāti* dealing with the lord of Kailāsa and Kālatti in Nampī 173. In Parañcōti's version, a number of other poems are evoked or named, some from the 11th *Tirumurai*, the part of the Śaiva canon in which the works of Nakkīraṇ were integrated, and others from "Kapilar" and "Paraṇar". This is rounded up with a number of puranic devotional verses put in the mouth of the poet (cf. Parañcōti chapter 53, where vv. 16–22 are sung by Nakkīraṇ, while v. 23 f. allude to three other texts, namely *Kōpappiraccātam*, *Peruntēvapāṇi* and *Elukūṟṟirukkai*, plus an unidentified *Tēvatēvaṇ*). It might also be worth calling to mind here that the Kālatti tradition (also found in Nampī but discarded by his successors) features the occasion of a composition for the *Tirumurukāṟruppaṭai*. The Sanskrit versions, of course, only have the possibility of composing new verses for Nakkīraṇ.

236 One should add here that in the intellectual sphere the actual works of the *Caṅkam* were by no means forgotten; this was still the heyday of producing commentaries, both literary and grammatical (in its extended Tamil sense). Thus one might even be tempted to see in the acad-

perceived his work as a poetic continuation of the bhakti movement, bringing back to life the holy figures of the past in verses as vivid and mellifluous as those of Cēkkiḷār in his *Periyapurāṇam* in the realm of the Cōḷas.

Another mythical figure of the hoary past fits well into this agenda, namely, Akattiyaṇ, although he adds an additional aspect. He brings in another powerful token of ideological discourse, one that survives until today, namely Tamil. In order to command Tamil loyalties, it is sufficient to pronounce the very word Tamil. We have already met the sage as the legendary author of the first grammar of Tamil, lost in the flood with the second academy. This strand of transmission, however, is not evoked here, perhaps because in the preamble's version divine authority is missing (just as during the legendary first academy, Akattiyaṇ is reported to have composed his grammar, but no mention is made of any help from Śiva, who was just one academy member among others). Instead we find another mythic explanation as to why Akattiyaṇ, the puranic sage and guardian of Mount Potiyil, should be intimately involved with Tamil; here we find an example of literary and devotional motifs being cleverly reconciled. Akattiyaṇ, about to be dispatched to his job on Potiyil, is concerned about the state of his knowledge of the local language, Tamil, and asks Śiva to teach him. Thus Akattiyaṇ becomes Śiva's primary disciple, who passes on his singular and comprehensive knowledge to Nakkīraṇ, instigated by the god who was concerned about the latter's imperfect understanding, which had led to the quarrel in the first place. Already Nampi refers to this mythic instruction in textual terms, if still on an oral basis. Nakkīraṇ learns the "*Sūtra(s)* of rare Tamil (*arun tamil cūttiram*; v. 18.8).

An anti-climax of a sort is story number 5 with the already mentioned redundant account of the origin of the commentary on the poetics given by the lord. Here at the latest we have proof that the preamble version of events must still have been at least vaguely remembered. The name of the treatise is slightly changed, now reading "the great *Sūtra* on subject matter composed before by the lord" (*īraiyaṇ muṇṇam conṇa irum poruḷ cūttira[m]*; v. 19.1). The initiative is not that of the Pāṇṭiya king, but that of the poets themselves. In disagreement over the commentaries they have each written, unsurprisingly they ask Śiva for help. In this version they do not ask for a mediator, but directly request an authoritative commentary. Śiva, however, guides them to an arbitrator, described in words that are redolent of the preamble's text, namely the dumb Uruttiracaṇmaṇ, son of the merchant Uppūrkiḷār, who is an incarnation of Skanda. Concerned by the conundrum of how a dumb boy will be able to express approval, they learn that

emy stories a folk explanation of why arcane scholarship was still interested in the works of these long-ago academy poets.

upon hearing the right commentary he will shed tears of joy and his body hair will bristle. Which then happens, but not only when hearing the commentary produced by Nakkīraṇ, also those of Kapilar and Paraṇar. Thus the trio is reunited. From a text-critical point of view, this canto looks like an attempt at literary smoothing over the slightly cryptic and inconsistent later parts of chapter 15, without, however, taking the trouble to remove the defective earlier passages. This attempt seems to be in the hands of somebody who no longer knew or cared about the real background in the grammatical tradition, that is, the actually transmitted commentary written by Nakkīraṇ. This unsatisfactory state of affairs generated a number of more elegant solutions in the versions to come.

The final chapter dealing with academy matters, chapter 20 on Iṭaikkāṭaṇ, poses an altogether different kind of problem. Nonetheless, it has drawn even less scholarly attention than the other sections. To briefly recall the events, Iṭaikkāṭaṇ (“the one from the deep wilderness”) is a poet who is not a member of the academy, although he is called a friend of Kapilaṇ (v. 1).²³⁷ When he recites his poetry in front of the Paṇṭiya in order to gain his patronage, he is simply dismissed without any reward. Seeking refuge in the lord, he manages to convince Śiva that an insult to his devotee means an insult to the deity itself. Śiva takes action by removing his Liṅga along with the academy from Maturai, thus forcing the Pāṇṭiya king to repent, make amends, and humble himself in front of Iṭaikkāṭaṇ, who ends up being installed into the academy. This little story is all the more puzzling since there do not seem to be any antecedents in earlier works. Zvelebil (1995: 276) lists, in addition to an actual *Caṅkam* poet who composed songs in all four early anthologies and can be safely discarded here, an Iṭaikkāṭar, the undated author of a lost poem called *Ūcimuri* (quoted in both the *Yāpparuṅkala Virutti* and in the commentary on the *Kārikai*, both 10th c.,²³⁸ and according to Zvelebil, a kind of *Cittirakkavi*).²³⁹

237 How far we are removed from the academy tradition here is illustrated by the attribute given to Kapilaṇ, formerly the most celebrated poet of the Tamil land. Here he is called *piṇṇamil* Kapilaṇ, the Kapilaṇ without *bhinna*, that is, the poet, not the author of the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*.

238 See YV 37 (= ed. Vēṇukōpālap Piḷḷai, p. 160) and YK 37 comm., both quoting the same poem, but with 2 lines in the *Virutti* and with 4 lines in the *Kārikai*, plus another four-line verse in YV 95 (= ed. Vēṇukōpālap Piḷḷai, p. 616).

239 Zvelebil in fact reports another version of the puranic story, in which Iṭaikkāṭaṇ is a friend of Tiruvaḷḷuvar and involved in precisely the event told in our *Purāṇam*, but without the interference of a god. Here he sings a poem to Kulēca Pāṇṭiyaṇ, who does not appreciate him. He therefore takes the entire academy to northern Maturai, from where the king humbly fetches them back. Thus far the story can be traced back to the *Apitāṇa Cintāmaṇi* (Singaravelu Mudaliyar 1910), one of the chief sources for the *Lexicon of Tamil Literature*. But Zvelebil (1995: 276) adds still another twist: “When the 3rd *Caṅkam* became autocratic and treated poets with disdain,

One way of analysing what is going on here would be to identify the figure of *Īṭaikkāṭaṇ* with a Siddha (*cittar*) poet named *Īṭaikkāṭṭucittar*.²⁴⁰ The Siddha were an esoteric group of Śaiva mystics, basing themselves on the *Tirumantiram*, who left behind quite a body of popular poetry between the 10th and 15th centuries and even beyond.²⁴¹ Might Nampi's story not rather be an echo of another conflict of hegemony, this time between the already established temple-worshipping Śaiva community and a more radical, but esteemed and influential, if marginal group following ascetic practices? In this case, bringing the representative of such a group back into the fold of royal protection and academic authority might be seen as a clever means of embracing what cannot be suppressed. This would incidentally also supply an explanation for the fact that this story was included into the puranic version at all. There were obviously other academy stories circulating, how many we will probably never be in a position to know, but a case in point is *Tiruvalluvar*, to be taken up in the next section. For all the Tamil love of the *Kuraḷ*, its author *Tiruvalluvar* did not have a Śaiva background and accordingly his story was not included.

III.4.4.2 *Hālāsya Māhātmya*

For several reasons, the *Hālāsya Māhātmya* should be called a reworked version. As already mentioned, events are placed in a chronological order by linking them with a (fictitious) Pāṇṭiya genealogy, leaving the academy stories in the same order but placing them into a later slot. Introductory verses in the first person singular (= Agastya) are employed, as well as post-positioned chapter headings, some of the latter similar to Nampi's subtitles, but with some liberty in narrative accentuation. The narrative thread has been smoothed so that some of the old

I. composed verses of *Ūcimuṟi* full of onomatopoetic words which the scholars in the Academy could not write with their styles: they broke them and gave up the work of transcription as hopeless. After a few more events of similar nature the *Caṅkam* became extinct." For the moment I am at a loss as to where this story might come from. Just as in the case of *Tiruvalluvar*, there are two possibilities, namely that their stories have either been told in one of the innumerable *Sthalapurāṇas* based on local traditions, or they are politically motivated products of the Tamil revival movement, dating back to the late 18th or even 19th century. One late retelling which combines the stories of *Īṭaikkāṭaṇ*, *Tiruvalluvar* and *Auvaiaṟ* into a presentation of these three before the aged and arrogant *Caṅkam* is found in the late 19th century *Pulavar Purāṇam*.

240 This is considered by Cōmacuntaram, who in vol. 6 of his *Cittar Ilakkiyam* (2009) prints the poems attributed to the Siddha poet. In his introductory biographical notes (2009: pp. 92–95), he recounts the *Apitāṇa Cintāmaṇi* for whom the Siddha poet and the author of the *Ūcimuṟi* are a single person.

241 For the Siddha tradition of poetry in Tamil, see Zvelebil 1974: 218–36.

fissures disappear, and, as stories go, the revision is also an embellishment and an elaboration, whereby the text has grown in volume by more than half. The work clearly has the aim of making a local tradition transregionally accessible. It is not just a translation, it is also a socio-cultural commentary on many elements particular to the south.

One of the major extensions is found at the beginning. It explains the origin of the academy. Lord Brahmā, busy on earth in a prolonged Āśvamedha sacrifice, is angered by his wife Sarasvatī, who is late for the final ablutions and has berated him for not having waited for her. He curses her to be born on earth in the shape of the forty-eight letters of the alphabet, to which Śiva will be added as the forty-ninth, which is *ha*.²⁴² The forty-eight letters take the shape of forty-eight human poets, already called academicians (*saṅghināḥ*), beginning with Natkīra, Kapila and Bharāṇa. Wandering around the land they come to Madhurā or Hālāsya, worship Śiva in his temple, and are encouraged by him to stay. Then the Pāṇṭiya king Vaṃśaśekhara builds an academy hall (*maṇḍapa*) for them.

What is the reason for this lengthy and complicated mythological insertion? To me the most rational explanation seems to lie in the necessity for cultural adaptation. For a Tamil audience it was not necessary to explain the significance of the *Carikam*, since the academies were inextricably bound up with the myth of Tamil cultural origins. However a wider audience with a Sanskritic literary background, such as the cultured elite of the Vijayanagara empire, would have never heard of such a thing, and thus the text would not have translated easily into any of the frameworks generally connected with *kāvya*.

When they settle in Madhurā they are confronted by the jealousy of the poets already established there, among them bad or pseudo-poets (*kukavi*). In order to put petty poetic disputes to rest they ask the lord for a “particular seat of knowledge” (*vidyā-pīṭha-vicitra*). The lord grants them a *phalaka* the size of a cubit (v. 57.68ab) that is “decorated with syllables of the alphabet beginning with *a* [and] ending with *h*” (*akārādi-hakārāṃta-māṭṛkāḥṣara-maṇḍitam*; 57.65ab). Verses 57.69–71 enumerate the various names given to this object, culminating in *saṅgha-phalaka*, “the academy plank”. Of course it can seat all true poets and grows for every worthy newcomer. Apparently then they spend quite some time just sitting on the plank and writing – thus easily glossing over Nampī’s first gap – placing what they have written in the academy hall. At some point it becomes too much and they decide to make order. First they try to sort things out by each

²⁴² The puzzle of how to add up either the Sanskrit or Tamil letters to forty-nine has already been discussed in Shulman 2001b: 362ff.

defending their own poetry as superior, but this leads to quarrels, despite the knowledgeable plank. Now the story continues as already known. Śiva steps in, makes order and takes a seat as the forty-ninth poet in the academy, not without revealing his true identity. In order to avoid such trouble in future – here Nampī's second gap is glossed over – he produces a treatise (*śāstra*) on poetics called the *Arthādhikāra* (“Chapter on Wealth/Meaning”). This makes sense only to one who knows the original Tamil poetic terminology: *Poruḷatikāram*, “Section on Poetics” is the title of the third part of the *Tolkāppiyam*, used in Nakkīraṇ's preamble to refer to the part of grammar that was lost after the drought. In other words, here the Sanskrit translates the Tamil directly, with no adaptation, thus showing that the work had become obsolete and was no longer even known by name.

In Nampī the next section, concerning the production of the commentary for the lord's treatise, is redundant because in story 5 this event is told a second time, as we have seen. The author of the *HM* evidently chooses to remove one of the two versions. Since he apparently wants to keep the second episode (involving the judgement of Skanda), he has had to find another solution to end this chapter, whereby he inadvertently creates a different redundancy in the *HM*: Natkīra starts praising his own poetry and deprecating that of the forty-ninth poet, who is Śiva himself. This foreshadows the famous dispute about the hair of ladies about to follow in the next chapter. Of course nobody shares Natkīra's opinion, Śiva reminds Nakīra who he is, and at the very end a disembodied voice is heard from above confirming his identity, thus bringing Natkīra back into line and making everybody long-lived and happy.

There is not much point in making a complete list of the changes, although some are significant for the overall structure. The second story is similar enough. The choice of the boy's name, here an Ādiśaiva brahmin, is more directly Śaivite, Sundaranātha being “the one who has Śiva for his lord”. And here he is deeply learned, if not in Tamil poetry.²⁴³ Remarkable is the way the hurdle of the poem is overcome. This is not done, as might be expected, by simply translating the words *koṅku tēr vāḷkkai* into Sanskrit. Instead we find a full-fledged Ārya poem rendering the gist of the Tamil poem very faithfully into Sanskrit, although the ornamental sections are left out (cf. p. 186, p. 246 + n. 219 for the Tamil original).

jānāsi puṣpa-gandhān bhramara tvaṃ brūhi tatvato me 'dya |
devyāḥ keśa-kalāpe tulyo gandhena kiṃ gandhaḥ ||32||

243 Instead he is knowledgeable in “grammar, Mimāṃsa [and] Nyāya” and “gone to the [other] shore of Śaivasiddhānta” (*pada-vākya-pramāṇa-jñāś śaiva-siddhānta-pāra-gaḥ*; *HM* 58.24). Parañcōti has an even shorter formula for Śaiva learning, namely, the mastery of Veda and Agāma (*TVP* 52.87).

You are familiar with the scents of flowers, bee. Tell me truthfully now:
Is there a scent equal to the scent in the tresses of the queen's hair?

This raises the question whether it is an ad hoc creation, made for the inclusion in the Purāṇa – in which case it would testify to the Tamil text still being known and available at the time of the Purāṇa being written – or whether Sanskrit adaptations of Tamil classics once existed, at least in the form of the potpourri single-stanza anthologies that were so popular throughout the late medieval period. Sadly nothing else seems to be known.

Interesting is the transfer of the quarrel between Śiva and Natkīra. While in Nampi the poet is still depicted as a disgusted (if slightly overconfident) professional, seeing through Tarumi and not believing in his authorship,²⁴⁴ the *HM* has no doubt about Natkīra's real motive: he is envious (*matsarin*, v. 58.46). Accordingly he is addressed as “mock-poet” (*kukavi*, v. 58.50) by the angered lord. Otherwise the ensuing discussion is quite similar, albeit longer, and includes a reference to scriptural authority to support the contrary positions.

Nothing much is different in story 3, except for the insertion of a ten-verse series of praise by which the academicians induce Śiva to forgive the aberrant Natkīra, who is still floating in the tank, followed by another series of eight after he has done so. They still refer the god to the *Antādi* composed in his honour, for this makes sense as a title in Sanskrit too, even if the text is not available. More elaborate is also the beginning of story 4, here explicitly linked to the tank episode. Śiva reflects that Natkīra's insubordination resulted from ignorance of the “*Sūtras* of the good Dravidian language” (*drāmiḍa-sad-bhāṣā-sūtra*; v. 60.10). Thus the task of Agastya (here accompanied by his wife, Lopāmudrā) is to instruct Natkīra in the *Dravidian Sūtras*. Interesting is the section in which Agastya himself gains his knowledge. His request to Śiva, before starting off to the Malaya (= Potiyil) mountain, runs thus:

mayi tatra gate sarve tatradyā-d drāmiḍā janāḥ |
jñātum drāviḍa-śabdāṃś ca bhaviṣyaṃti samutsukāḥ ||33||

When I have gone there, the Dravidian people who belong there
will be desirous of knowing the Dravidian words.

²⁴⁴ In Nampi *TVP* 16.17 Kiraṇ says to Tarumi: “A brahmin who does not know word [and] meaning, you, bring the scholar of the good poem who has composed [and] given this. Examining [it] in front of you, there is a mistake in the poem. Go!” (*col poruḥ ariyā pārppāṇ, ni, itai colli tanta / nal kavi pulavaṇ taṇṇai koṇṭu vā. nāṭi uṇ-taṇ / muṇ kavitaikku kuṇṇam uṇṭu. pō.*)

teṣām apy upadeśāya mama vijñāna-hetave |
mahyaṃ drāmiḍa-sūt[r]āṇi sahasôpadiśa prabho ||34||

For instructing them, too, for the sake of my comprehension
 teach to me the *Dravidian Sūtras* quickly, o master.

As we know, the request is granted, and after Natkīra has also profited from proper instruction, we find a coda to the chapter that serves as a transition, thus forging the link to story 5 that was missing in Nampī's version (where we find the second account of the creation of the commentary on the *IA*). Natkīra, who is now instructed fully, is desolate about his former attack on the lord's poem, and humbly he returns to the academy in order to teach the *Dravidian Sūtra* (the text oscillates between singular and plural) to his fellow poets, beginning with Kapila and Bharāṇa. The opening of this section is obvious: in the *HM*'s fifth story the poets start making commentaries (*ṽṛtti*; v. 61.9) on the *Dravidian Sūtra*. Here the arbitrator pointed out by Śiva, the incarnation of Skanda, is described as a dumb Vaiśya boy. As with Nampī, the commentaries accepted by Skanda are three, those of the trio of poets. The wording, however, is ambiguous, thus providing the basis for a further alteration on the part of Parañcōti. The word used by the *HM* to refer to the commentaries recited in front of the dumb child is not, as above, "commentary" (*ṽṛtti*), but the more general "composition" (*prabandha*). This choice of word gives rise to an inter-lingual misunderstanding when translating back into Tamil, for *pirapantam* (the Tamil rendering of Skt. *prabandha*-) is a poetologically significant term, a common designation for a great number of medieval genres of poetic composition. This is why for Parañcōti the account of the approval of the commentary is superseded by one of the poetic works of Kīraṇ, Kapilaṇ and Paraṇaṇ.

Not much that is surprising happens in story number 6. The *HM* fills a major time gap here by inserting a lengthy piece of genealogy, covering fourteen successive Pāṇṭiya kings (thus accounting for the fact that there is not much connection to what came before, except for the academy context). The last one, Kuleśa Pāṇṭiya, is depicted as well versed in poetry and poetics.²⁴⁵ The name of the poet insulted by him, Iṭaikkāṭaṇ, has no real equivalent in Sanskrit, so that there is a wordplay with different direct translations, starting with Madhyavanādhiśa in *HM* 62.9. New is a poem composed by the Pāṇṭiya king in order to appease Śiva, covering the verses 43–60, called "a string of praise by the Pāṇṭiya for Kuleśa" (*kuleśapāṇḍyastutivaṭṭa*),

²⁴⁵ *HM* 62.8 calls him "someone conversant in poetry and poetics, a good poet knowing Rasa and Bhāva" (*lakṣya-lakṣaṇa-vettā ca rasa-bhāva-jñā-sat-kaviḥ*), which is interesting because it clearly indicates a back-translation into Sanskrit from within a Tamil poetic context, where the loanwords *ilakkīyam* and *ilakkaṇam* designate poetry and grammar in the wider sense, including poetics.

with a refrain and a far longer metre. New is also an account of the various types of Śiva liṅga and their manifestations (*HM* 62.61–83), which serves as an explanation about why an additional temple is to be installed in Uttarahālāśya, the place where Śiva had taken refuge after vanishing from his main shrine.

III.4.4.3 Parañcōti's *Tiruvilaiyārpurāṇam*

Moving now to the version of Parañcōti, it is clearly a re-creation in Tamil of the *Hālāśya Māhātmya*, taking over all of the latter's innovations and making a few of his own, as has already been hinted at.²⁴⁶ Since Tamil does not have the strict convention of chapter-final titles, each first verse (here in first person plural) serves as a brief summary of the last sport and an announcement of what is about to come. Information on the Pāṇṭiya, under whose rule the events take place, is constantly provided. This is very different from Nampī, where in the academy chapters the only king named is Vaḷuti, who is the one who hung up the gold purse. The episode of the horse sacrifice and the forty-eight letters plus one is reproduced, with one deviation: since Tamil does not have the letter *ha*, Śiva becomes *a* instead, the first letter of the alphabet and present in every consonantal *eḷuttu*. Another curious detail is that the forty-eight poets are not created as poets of Tamil; they are described as “examining the accumulated northern [language] and the other eighteen [forms of] speech” (*tokka āriyamum ēṇai col patinēṭṭum āyntu*; 51.11). It seems that only their reception by the Pāṇṭiya king in Maturai induces them to specialise in Tamil, for in verse 21 they have become “poets of liberal Tamil” (*vaṇ tamil nāvinār*). At the end of this chapter we are finally faced with a cut. There is no further discussion after Śiva has sorted out the mixed up poems and is accepted into the academy as its forty-ninth member, thus avoiding the redundancy with both story 5 (the quarrel between the poets) and story 2 (the dispute between Śiva and Nakkiraṇ). The consequence is that the motif of the lord's treatise on poetics and its commentary is completely deleted. This makes one wonder whether Parañcōti had access to Nampī's text, or whether that treatise had vanished so completely from public consciousness that he sacrificed the episode without remorse. It seems that for Parañcōti, the fate of the academy has simply become fascinating narrative material.

The most noticeable innovation in Tarumi's story is a lengthy digression at the beginning, of no less than 77 verses, which describes the beautiful spring-

²⁴⁶ The chapter numbers are not identical, which might be due to the fact that Parañcōti has exactly 64 chapters, corresponding to the sacred sports, whereas the *HM*, with 71 chapters, sometimes devotes more than one chapter to one sport.

time in the Tamil land during which the Pāṇṭiya king happens to take a stroll with his wife and is taken by the scent coming from her hair. The rest is familiar, up to the end of story 3, with Nakkiraṇ singing his *Antāti* along with some other devout songs (cf. p. 260) and being reinstalled in the *Caṅkam*. Here the gold is finally given to Tarumi by a chastised Nakkiraṇ. As far as the Akattiyaṇ episode is concerned, the “*Dravidian Sūtra*” does not seem to have made much sense to Parañcōti. Three verses (54.19–21) describe what has been passed on from the old sage to the poet, a gamut of Sanskritic learning, namely “grammar” *viyākaṇa* (from Skt. *vyākaraṇa*-), a treatise (*nūl*) endowed with two prefaces (*puṇavurai*), teaching the twelve defects (*kuṟṟam*), the nineteen embellishments (*aḷaku*) and the thirty-two Tantrayuktis (*utti*),²⁴⁷ plus two types of commentary (*kāṇṭikai* and *virutti*). Thus prepared, Nakkiraṇ can truly repent his former errors, and, as in the *HM*, he ends up teaching this treatise to the other poets.

The story of how Śiva sent Skanda as a mediator is still found (with only 14 verses, by far the shortest in Parañcōti), although, as already mentioned, here his function is not to determine the correct commentary, but merely the best poetry. Again, had Parañcōti known Nampi, one would expect him to resort here to the old names for the merchant father and his son (which Nampi had taken over, in a slightly modified form, from the old preamble). Instead he makes up new names for both Skanda’s earthly father and mother (that were not given in the *HM*), namely, Taṇapati and Kuṇacālīṇi (v. 55.5). The dumb child is not named, and only at the end is the god whose incarnation he is revealed as being Kumāra. The most likely explanation is that Parañcōti no longer recognised the old episode and was carried away by his own narrative momentum. That might also account for his parting with the notion of a commentary to be judged, triggered, as already mentioned, by his misunderstanding of the *HM*’s use of *prabandha*. One might be tempted to argue here that, for such a gifted narrator as Parañcōti, this was not a misunderstanding but a re-creation. However, whenever he goes into scholarly details concerning language, grammar, poetics and rhetoric, his choice of words betrays that his own paradigm of learning has been a northern one rather than a southern one. One might assume that he was educated at a staunchly Śaivite institution in the south where the Sanskrit tradition was upheld, and thus it appears quite possible that his information about the earlier Tamil tradition, insofar as it was not Śaiva, was at best patchy.

As far as Iṭaikkāṇ is concerned, Parañcōti follows the *HM* closely, with a Pāṇṭiya genealogy nearly as long. As to how many of the kings actually corre-

²⁴⁷ Along with two other items I am unable to identify, namely, “the seven tenets and the four meanings” (*eḷu matamoṭu nāl / poruḷoṭum*).

spond to each other, I for one can only guess; some names seem like translations, some are totally different. A curious little detail here is that towards the end, during the ceremony of reinstallation in Maturai when Iṭakkāṭaṇ is honoured along with the other poets, the musical accompaniment consists, among other things, in ladies singing the *[Tiru]pallāṇṭu*, a canonised poem from the 9th *Tirumurai*, composed by Cēṭaṇār.

III.4.4.4 *Śivalīlārṇava*

If already Parañcōti gives the overall impression of being primarily interested in a colourful and event-filled narration for the delight of Śaiva devotees, Nilakaṇṭha Dīkṣita clearly rises to the challenge of demonstrating what a *kāvya* poet can do with such material. He writes a poem on the sports of Śiva, the *Śivalīlārṇava*, in twenty-two chapters, in which the larger part of the twentieth is devoted to the stories about the academy, followed by an account of the birth of Mīnākṣī. The poet is very idiosyncratic with respect to detail, and while he shortens the series down to 76 verses, he still manages to insert a number of elements of his own making.

Already the beginning is surprising. A group of poets headed by Kapila and Kīra has gone abroad, whereupon Sarasvatī, due to a curse only mentioned in passing, comes in the form of forty-eight scholars who mingle with the others. Specialists of the “secrets of the *Dramiḍa Sūtra*” (v. 4), they make their way to Maturai to worship Śiva. Apparently they settle there (there is no word of an academy or of the Pāṇṭiya), only to be ill-treated by local poets and non-poets, who continuously dispute with them about poetry (vv. 5–17, also including some general reflections of the author). Tired of people who are not up to their standards, they bring their plight before the lord and ask for help (vv. 18–23). It is Śiva who comes up with the idea of the plank (*phalaka*), and here we are explicitly told for the first time not only that it expands each time a true poet wants to sit down, but also that non-poets cannot even touch it, if they can see it at all (v. 24 f.). Again, the poets number more than forty-eight.

It is here that the Pāṇṭiya king comes into play; his name is Vaṃśacūḍāmaṇi and for fifteen verses he is engaged in serious love-play with his young wife (vv. 26–40), whereupon, during a moment of rest, the king catches the famous scent of his lady’s tresses. Setting the poetic task, hanging up the purse of gold, and the Ādiśaiva boy reciting the Āryā (literally repeated here from the *HM*) he obtained from Śiva takes a mere seven verses (vv. 41–47). When Kīra protests, Śiva immediately appears to defend his protégé and silences his adversary with an explanation on the qualities of divine female hair, securing the gold for the brahmin (vv. 48–54). It is at this time that Śiva joins the assembly – here for the

first time referred to as an academy – as a member and gives Kīra the opportunity to pick a quarrel with him, the nature of which, alas, we are not to know (v. 55 ff.). The famous sentence about the fault that remains a fault is given a new turn here (v. 20.58):

*catasṛṣv api dikṣu paśyatā catureṇāpi maheśvara tvayā |
kavi-karmaṇi naiḥṣi dūṣaṇaṃ katham udbhāvitam apy aho muhuḥ*

Even with four eyes in all four directions, o great lord who does not see
the corruption in his poetic work, how was it created by you even for one moment?

Kīra rounds this up with an inflamed speech about poetic tradition and intellectual independence (v. 59 f.). Interestingly Śiva, although none too pleased by this obstinacy, realises that it would have been up to him to give proper poetic instruction to the poets and decides not to punish the perpetrator (v. 61). Instead he simply becomes invisible and leaves Kīra to be burned by his own remorse, which nevertheless seems hot enough to drive him into the lotus tank. However, he redeems himself by singing to Śiva, who then arranges for him to be taught the *Draṁiḍa Sūtra* by Agastya (vv. 62–66). When Kīra has imparted his new wisdom to his fellow poets, they all start composing commentaries (*vr̥tti*) on the *Sūtra* and, naturally, quarrelling as to whose is best (v. 67 f.). At this point, Śiva appears in his Liṅga and directs them to the dumb Vaiśya boy named Rudra, who is a part of Skanda, cursed, who will pronounce his judgement by tears of joy and bristling body hair (the one element that has remained completely stable from the 10th to the 17th centuries). Predictably, he decides in favour of the commentaries created by Kapila, Bharana and Kīra (vv. 69–72). This leaves a mere three verses for the final episode, which just relates in passing that the later king Kuleśa insulted an academy poet and had to follow Śiva and the poets to the bank of the Vegavati (= Tamil Vaikai). Here somewhat abruptly another sport begins.

Especially from the details of story 5, the judging of the commentaries on the *Dravidian Sūtra*, one would be inclined to think that Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita had the *HM* as a model. However, it does not seem unlikely that at the same time he took a lead from Parañcōti as far as poetic exuberance is concerned, as manifest in the lengthy digression on the Pāṇṭiya's love making, which has a counterpart only in Parañcōti's description of the Tamil spring.

III.4.4.5 *Cikāḷatti Purāṇam*

However different our four major versions may have turned out to be, what in fact is more surprising is the stability of basic elements. That the range of variation was much wider is shown by the texts from another local tradition, that of

Kāḷatti (or Skt. Kāḷahasti). The *Cikāḷatti Purāṇam* is a joint work by three brothers, the most famous being Civappirakāca Cuvāmi, a prolific Tamil Vīraśaiva poet of the 17th century.²⁴⁸ It is very different in outlook, poetic technique and, presumably, agenda. It devotes its whole seventh chapter, the Nakkīrac Carukkam of 137 verses, to the story of Nakkīraṇ,²⁴⁹ which deserves to be considered a separate and complete little *kāvya*, or rather a *kāppiyam*, because it is much closer to the old Tamil tradition of epic narration. Correspondingly it betrays much less awareness of a wider, northern and Sanskritic perspective. Although it follows the poetic requirements, with some variety in metre and a full *etukai* rhyme (and quite a lot of the beloved plays on homophonous words), it is much more straightforward and easier to read than any of the Maturai texts, and contains some of the more grisly motifs that abound in folk stories.

It begins with a description of the Pāṇṭiya country (dwelling on all five *tiṇai* landscapes), of Maturai and the Pāṇṭiya king, before in verse 43 we finally learn that Nakkīraṇār is highly respected among the leading noble and learned men (*cāṇṇōr*) at the Pāṇṭiya court. The *palakai* episode takes a single verse, and the academy is not named at all: the discerning plank is another blessing sent by Śiva, just as many others in Maturai (v. 44). A little more space is accorded to the Tarumi episode. The king perceives the perfume of his queen's tresses and wonders at it, sets the task and hangs up the gold purse in front of the academy hall (so that incidentally we are given the information that we are dealing with an academy; v. 49). When no poem can be found, the consequences turn out to be catastrophic. A drought ensues and reduces the people first to misery and hunger, and then to cannibalism.²⁵⁰ While corpses lie around being eaten by dogs and crows, Tarumi ask Śiva to help the creatures and supply the poem. From this point until to the confrontation, the course is familiar. However, here the enraged Śiva is not content with scorching the obstinate Nakkīraṇ with a glance from his third eye. He curses him for his insult to Gaurī to wander around as a leper for the rest of this life.

What follows is unparalleled in the versions we have seen so far. Upon Nakkīraṇ's entreaty, Śiva softens the curse: after having seen Mount Kayilai he will be allowed to come back. There is a touching farewell scene, complete with

²⁴⁸ On Civappirakāca Cuvāmi, Zvelebil (1995: 177f.) supplies more than one and a half pages of information.

²⁴⁹ For an account of the story, see also Shulman 2001a: 123 f.

²⁵⁰ This development certainly has to be read as a late echo in reverse from the preamble and the drought in the Pāṇṭiya country that caused the loss of the *Poruḷatikāram*. Here it has been turned into a folk motif.

an allusion to *Tirukkuraḷ* 785 as has been pointed out by Shulman (2001a: 123),²⁵¹ and a lengthy lament. At some point the wandering and worshipping Nakkīraṇ sits under a Banyan tree and sees a curious incident for which none of his study of grammar and poetry (*ilakaṇam* and *ilakkiyam*; v. 101) has prepared him: an animal that is half bird and half fish falls from the tree onto the bank of the nearby pond, and the two halves try to pull the creature in different directions. At this point a *pūtam* comes, a demonic being, and carries the poet off to a mountain cave where already a thousand earlier victims wait to be eaten. In order to rescue the others and himself the poet implores Murukaṇ and sings the *Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai*. This brilliant song is of course highly pleasing to the god, whereupon he opens the cave, disposes of the demon and releases the prisoners. Kīraṇ tells Murukaṇ about his plight and the god knows a solution. He directs his devotee to the river near Kāḷatti; when bathing in the river, Kīraṇ is healed and understands that the place is in fact *teṇ kayilai*, the southern Kailas, which induces him to sing the *Kayilaipāti Kāḷattipāti Antāti* in praise of Śiva (the song by which, in the Maturai stories, he had redeemed himself from the pond). The lord grants him *darśan* and a boon, which is an occasion for Kīraṇ to ask for instruction in order to finally be rid of the ignorance that had brought him into all this trouble. He is allowed to sit at the feet of his god (the position of a student), but whether he returns to earth in order to impart his wisdom to the academy, we are not told.

In other words, for Civappirakāca Cuvāmi the academy is no more than a background, one of the formulaic attributes of Maturai, just as the Vaikai. Here the focus is clearly on the life and deeds of Nakkīraṇ, who becomes a saintly figure, joined to his god in the end, not unlike Campantar or Māṇikkavācakar, the two Nāyaṇmār whose stories have a place among Śiva's sixty-four sports. Some of the events have faint parallels in the earliest version of the Maturai cycle, Nampī, in the form of seven verses included in chapter 44 (= vv. 22–28), but there the passage seems out of context, and the editor Cāminātaiyar has marked them with an asterisk, explaining that they are found in only a few manuscripts.²⁵² There, Nakkīraṇ sits on Tiruparaṅkuṇṇam, one of Murukaṇ's sacred hills and sees the strange bird-fish falling from a tree. He is kidnapped by a Rakṣasa and sings the *Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai* to save himself. The context is that of the Pāṇṭiya king seeking a solution for the drought in his country that has been brought by Indra. The idea is possibly that singing the *Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai* would bring the rains

²⁵¹ *Kuraḷ* 785:

puṇarcci paḷakutal vēṇṭā vuṇarccitā “Without the need of joining together, it is consciousness
naṭpāṇ kiḷamai tarum. that gives the relation that is friendship.”

²⁵² This was already pointed out by Aravamuthan, T. G. (1931: 121n.), who also gives a summary of the contents.

back, but this is not said. No trace is left in the later versions, and indeed one wonders whether this is a later attempt of integrating the Kāḷatti material. But why here? It is also possible that yet one more story had found entry into Nampi's less systematic text, but was discarded by his successors (or by some of his copyists) because they could not make sense of it.

That other stories existed about the academy and its scholars is shown not only by Iṭaikkāṭaṇ, whose exploits at least in part have made it into the Maturai *Purāṇas*, but also by a branch of further additions that were not included there, all of them connected to the highly revered figure of Tiruvaḷḷuvar, the author of the *Tirukkuraḷ*.

III.4.5 The Tiruvaḷḷuvar Branch

The *Tirukkuraḷ* is considered one of the eighteen minor classics (*Patineṇkīlkkāṇakku*). Traditionally it is deemed the earliest, dating perhaps to the early 6th century. A collection of didactic verse, it is written in short two-line Kuraḷ-Veṇṇpā, hence the name *Kuraḷ*, “dwarf”. It consists of three parts, *aṛam* (for Skt. *dharma*), *poruḷ* (for Skt. *artha*) and *iṇṇam* (for Skt. *kāma*), that is, “duty, wealth and pleasure”, the three well-known aims of human life (*puruṣārtha*). It is heavily Sanskritised, although more in its syntax than lexically. It attempts to emulate the free word-order of Sanskrit verse, without, however, the corresponding morphological explicitness. As a consequence the reader often needs a commentary, and indeed, these are numerous. The northern Sanskrit influence is even clearer at the conceptual level; in many respects the *Kuraḷ* is reminiscent of a Dharmaśāstra text such as the *Manusmṛti*.

Its fate was to be very different from that of the *Caṅkam* corpus. Since its short verses lent themselves to being quoted, it was already popular in the commentary tradition. It gradually became the classical Tamil text *par excellence*, outliving all the others. By the 19th century it had become the oldest Tamil text completely extant; it was among the first to be printed at Fort St. George and incorporated into its syllabus. The foreigners, above all the missionaries, praised the text highly. It was non-Brahmanical, did not preach idolatrous heathendom, and contained little erotic licence. Rather, its contents expressed high-flown morality. At the time everyone agreed that the *Kuraḷ* represented the crown of Tamil literary creation. Many agree with this assessment even today; it is still part of the Tamil-nadu school curriculum. There exist innumerable editions, translations and studies.

At some point in time its author becomes Tiruvaḷḷuvar – at some point because we have no direct evidence of the text's authorship; it comes without preface,

colophon, ancillary verses or the like. However, it is the story of Tiruvaḷḷuvar's life that becomes a major extension of the *Caṅkam* legend, one that is more fluid and illusive than any we have seen so far. The *Kuraḷ* seems to be the only one of the eighteen *Kīlkaṇakku* that was linked to the classical corpus in this way, if linked is the right word. What is at stake, at least in some versions, is rather a matter of dominance and of its superseding the older corpus. The reception and spreading of the *Kuraḷ* legend(s) during the 19th century have been traced in an excellent recent article by Blackburn (2000). There the focus is on the social implications in the context of the period, especially the issue of Tiruvaḷḷuvar's birth as a pariah who is promoted to a Brahmin. Blackburn (2000: 450) notes that no narrative versions of the legend in Tamil in any of its forms have been found that predate the colonial period.

III.4.5.1 *Kallāṭam* and *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai*

Once again the earliest available reference to a *Caṅkam* legend including Tiruvaḷḷuvar may be found in the *Kallāṭam*. As might be expected, the reference is neither straightforward nor clear, but appears as a convoluted and allusive simile. The basic information it seems to convey is that at some point Vaḷḷuvaṇ spoke to the assembly in Kūṭal.

Kallāṭam 13/14.20–27

<i>camayak kaṇakkar mati vaḷi kūṛātu</i>	20
<i>ulakiyal kūṛi poruḷ itu eṇṛa</i>	
<i>vaḷḷuvaṇ taṇakku vaḷarkaviṇ pulavarmuṇ</i>	
<i>vaḷḷuvaṇ</i> <i>taṇakku vaḷar kavi pulavar muṇ</i>	
<i>mutal kavi pāṭiya mukkaṇ perumāṇ</i>	
<i>māt' uṭaṇ tōṇṛi kūṭal-uḷ niṛaintōṇ</i>	25
<i>taṇṇai niṇṛ' uṇarntu tāmum oṇṛ' iṇṛi</i>	
<i>aṭaṇkiṇar pōla</i>	

like they all became subdued,
 the scholars of growing poetry, because of Vaḷḷuvaṇ,
 who spoke about the nature of the world [and] said: “this is the meaning”,
 without talking of the moon's course [as did] the sectarian astrologers,
 standing [there and] perceiving him – except for one, [namely]
 the great lord with three eyes who had sung the first poem before [them],
 who was satisfied with Kūṭal, appearing with [his] woman.

The situation seems to be the following: In the academy at Kūṭal-Maturai the poets or poet-scholars (*pulavar*) listen to the discourse of a certain Vaḷḷuvaṇ. He talks about the nature of the world, that is, he talks about reality instead of spin-

ning poetic fiction, and he manages to say something relevant without resorting to astrology. This might very well refer to the worldly *Kuraḷ*, in contradistinction to the love or war poetry produced by the academicians. The only person present who is not “subdued” (= “defeated”) is Śiva, who has taken his place in the academy along with the goddess and apparently pronounces himself satisfied with what he has heard. The use of the verb *aṭaṅkutaḷ* suggests a test or contest, implying that the academy members were forced to acquiesce.

This mention of *Vaḷḷuvaṇ* has long been considered to be referring to *Tiruvalluvar*. *Vaḷḷuvaṇ* is “a title for a ritual specialist (and sub-caste) among the *Paraiyar*, a numerous untouchable caste in the Tamil country” (Blackburn 2000: 435), and thus, the personal name of the poet is not mentioned. “*Tiruvalluvar*” is a respectful form (with *tiru* and *-ar* as honorific prefix and suffix). It is possible that this expression is used here to designate a poet who was already famous. It is also possible that it is being used as a caste designation, with the implication that the members of the academy are uncomfortably aware of his low caste status. This is clearly the interpretation of the later tradition (as Blackburn shows in detail). But we have no other evidence from the period under discussion for this having been a problem in poetic circles.²⁵³

In fact I believe it more likely that the academicians’ reluctance was based on genre considerations rather than caste prejudices. The *Kuraḷ*, as the *Kallātam* seems to show, does not agree well with poetic theory if we think of it as *Akam* and *Puṇam*. The *Caṅkam* corpus does not include any of the didactic collections that are so prominent among the *Kiḷkkaṇakku*. Nor is anything similar found in the *Tolkāppiyam*, at least not as an independent text, although it is no doubt possible to subsume at least the aphorisms on *dharma* under the *Puṇṭattinai* ‘*Kāñci*’, i.e., ‘worldly transitoriness’, of which we find the first examples in the *Puṇanāṇūru*.

The next extant source bringing together *Tiruvalluvar* and the academy is, in my view, the famous *Tiruvalluva Mālai*, the “garland” in honour of *Tiruvalluvar*, consisting of fifty-three brief *Veṇṇpā* poems that are supposed to have been composed by the poets of the academy.²⁵⁴ This text, too, contains nothing indicating

253 Already among the *Caṅkam* poet names we find many that are based on occupation and/or caste, such as *korraṇ*, a “mason”, or *kollaṇ*, a “smith”, or even *eyiṇar*, a “tribal hunter”.

254 The fifty-three names of today’s *Mālai* are: 1. *Acaṇṇi*, 2. *Nāmakaḷ*, 3. *Iraiyāṇar*, 4. *Ukkirapperuvalūtiyār*, 5. *Kapilar*, 6. *Paraṇar*, 7. *Nakkīrar*, 8. *Māmūlaṇar*, 9. *Kallātar*, 10. *Cittalaiccāttāṇar*, 11. *Maruttuvaṇ Tāmōtaraṇar*, 12. *Nākaṇṇēvaṇar*, 13. *Aricīrkilār*, 14. *Poṇmuṭiyār*, 15. *Kōtamaṇar*, 16. *Nattattaṇar*, 17. *Mukaiyalūrciṇar*, 18. *Ācīriyar*, 19. *Nallantuvaṇar*, 20. *Kirantaṇar*, 21. *Cirumētaviyār*, 22. *Toṭittalaiviluttāṇar*, 23. *Veḷḷi Vitiyār*, 24. *Māṇkuṭimarutaṇar*, 25. *Eṇṇiccalūr Malātaṇar*, 26. *Pōkkiyār*, 27. *Mōcīkīraṇar*, 28. *Kāvīrippūmpaṭṭiṇattuk Kārikkaṇṇaṇar*, 29. *Maturait Tamīl Nākaṇar*, 30. *Pāratampāṭiya Peruntēvaṇar*, 31. *Uruttiracaṇmakaṇṇar*, 32. *Peruñcittaṇar*, 33. *Nariverūttalaiyār*, 34. *Matu-*

a date, place or authorship. Traditionally it is dated to the 10th century, but actually it could be placed anywhere between the 10th and 18th centuries. Given the fact that quite a number of lists of the *Caṅkam* poets, all similar but certainly not identical, crop up in the late 18th and early 19th century (on this, see below), one could be inclined to see today's *Mālai* as a redactional product of that period, even if some of the poems do appear to be older.²⁵⁵

While the collective authors of the text are supposed to represent the *Caṅkam*, only the first stanza actually connects Tiruvaḷḷuvar to the academy. While the verse is quite cryptic, as they go, it plainly presupposes knowledge of the later part of the preamble, that is, the story about the judging of the commentary. This means that the 10th century would be very early for a possible date.

Mālai 1

tiru taku teyvam tiruvaḷḷuvarōṭ'
uru taku nal palakai okka – irukka
uruttiracaṇmar eṇa uraittu vāṇil
orukkavō eṇrat' ōr col.

Pronouncing:

“Together with the holy divine Tiruvaḷḷuvar,
 on the beautiful good bench let equally sit
 Uruttiracaṇmar”, from heaven
 a voice spoke: “let them be united”²⁵⁶.

rait Tamiḷācīriyar Ceṅkuṇṛkkiḷār, 35. Maturai Aṟuvaivāṇikar Iḷavēṭṭaṇār, 36. Kavicākarap Peruntēvaṇār, 37. Maturaip Perumarutaṇār, 38. Kōvūrkiḷār, 39. Uṟaiyūr Mutukūṟṟaṇār, 40. Iḷikaṭ Peruṅkaṇṇaṇār, 41. Ceyirkkāvīriyār Makaṇār Cāttaṇār, 42. Ceyalūrḱ Koṭuñiceṅkaṇṇaṇār, 43. Vaṇṇakkañcāttaṇār, 44. Kaḷattūrḱkiḷār, 45. Naccumaṇār, 46. Akkāraḱkaṇi Naccumaṇār, 47. Nappālattaṇār, 48. Kulapati Nāyaṇār, 49. Tēnikkuṭikkiḷār, 50. Koṭiñāḷaṇ Māṇipūtaṇār, 51. Kavunṇiyaṇār, 52. Maturaip Pālācīriyaṇār, 53. Ālaṅkuṭi Vaṅkaṇār. The number fifty-three is puzzling, although there probably is a rational. Forty-nine is the supposed number of poets in the third academy. Here the first verse comes from the mouth of a disembodied voice (from above), and the second from the goddess of speech. If we also exclude verses 3 and 4, attributed to Śiva and the Pāṇṭiya king, we could count forty-nine poets beginning with Kalipar. Many of the names are familiar from the anthologies, but by no means all of them.

255 *Mālai* 23 for one is quoted in the commentary on the *Pirayōka Vivēkam* (see 18), that is, in the 17th century.

256 Morpho-syntactically problematic is the form *orukkavō*. It can be taken as a purposive infinitive of *orukku-tal*, “to bring together”, *orukka*. But the particle *-ō* is added. Infinitive verbal forms usually do not, or only with rare exceptions, carry particles. This suggests reading *orukka* as a second shortened optative (corresponding to *irukka* in line 2) with an added *-ō*. In early classical texts *-ō* is sometimes added to imperatives and optatives, and here it could have been used to give a slightly antiquated flavour, as might seem proper for a voice from heaven.

Here Tiruvaḷḷuvar appears with his full honours, not merely as the simple Vaḷḷuvar. This might indicate that the *Mālai* is either later than the *Kallāṭam*, or simply that it is more partisan for *Kuraḷ* superiority (in manuscripts, the *Mālai* is usually transmitted following the *Kuraḷ*). Again the situation is clearly one of a judgement in front of the assembly, since what is at stake is sitting on the *palakai*. But who is being judged about what? The syntax suggests that Tiruvaḷḷuvar is already sitting on the bench and that Uruttiracaṇmaṇ should join him there (where presumably all the others are already seated). But of course we know that Uruttiracaṇmaṇ is the name of the dumb boy, Skanda's worldly incarnation, who is brought to the academy to judge the commentary (and he is seated not on but under the bench). Two interpretations seem plausible. The weaker one would have Tiruvaḷḷuvar being accepted by the academy's authority and thus being told to take a seat in their midst. This is suggested by the rest of the *Mālai*, where all the other poets, including Śiva himself and Sarasvatī, write a stanza in honour of the *Kuraḷ* and its author. But a stronger interpretation would have Tiruvaḷḷuvar being equal only to the divine judge himself, with these two the only ones worthy of the place of honour on the *palakai*. This is clearly the view upon which the majority of later versions of this legend are based. However, none of them is attested before the very late 18th century.

Either way, it seems that we are witnessing a fight for recognition within the canonised corpus of texts. Such a story makes sense within the context of the grammatical tradition, where, from about the turn of the first millennium onwards, text corpora were named, classified and analysed, as is attested in the commentaries on the theoretical texts as well as in the development of literary commentary as a genre. The *Kuraḷ* appears to have been one of the first non-theoretical texts in Tamil to have received a commentary (Lehmann 2009: 68).

The distribution of *Kuraḷ* quotations might also be informative (for more on this, see chapter III.5). In Nakkīraṇ there are only five quotations from the *Kuraḷ*, but then Nakkīraṇ quotes little other than his *Pāṇṭikkōvai* (and occasionally from the *Caṇkam* classics and the *Cilappatikāram*). The pure Akam treatises on poetics do not seem to have set much store by the *Kuraḷ*. The *Tamiḷneri Viḷakkam* (TNV) does not quote it at all, Nampi quotes eleven *Kuraḷ* verses, and the *Kaḷaviyal Kārikai*, only three. In contrast, it is quite popular with the *Yāpparuṅkala Virutti* (74 quotations), and even more so with the *Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram* (189 quotes with ḷampūraṇar, only 27 with conservative Pērācīriyar, 167 with Naccīṇārkkīṇiyar). It is in these commentaries that we find the first designation of text corpora, such as *Eṭṭutokai*, *Pattuppāṭṭu*, *Kīlkaṇakku*, *Peruṅkāppiyam* (for more details, see the introduction, p. 15). Generally speaking, one might be inclined to see this story as the entry ticket of the didactic genres into academic circles. But clearly none of this is of concern to any of the devotional factions, cer-

tainly not the Śaivas, as otherwise it would have found entry into the *Tiruvīlaiyāṭal* tradition.

III.4.5.2 The 19th-Century Reports

What follows is a gap of several hundred years, in fact more than half a millennium, if we settle pragmatically for the 11th and/or 12th centuries for the *Kallāṭam* and the beginnings of the *Mālai*. This situation is not particularly unusual; we can easily provide other examples of legends that seem traceable only to the 19th century, such as the story of the first grammarian Akattiyaṇ and his twelve disciples, well known today to any student of Tamil grammar (Chevillard 2009a). With Tiruvaḷḷuvar our sources reach back nearly to the 18th century. However, the type of sources has become significantly different; we are at the watershed between texts from the traditional genres and texts produced for the colonial authorities.

Blackburn (2000: 458) reports as the earliest source a book by N. A. Kindersley, *Specimens of Hindoo Literature*, published in 1794, which contains “a brief summary of the Valluvar legend”.²⁵⁷ On the same page he mentions a few other early 19th-century accounts of the life of Tiruvaḷḷuvar, without specifying whether they refer to the legend. The first English version of relevance in our context is probably Wilson’s *The Mackenzie Collection. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Manuscripts* of 1828, which contains a manuscript description that ends with a summary of the *Caṅkam* episodes (Wilson 1882 [1828]: 209):²⁵⁸

257 Kindersley 1794: 53, note: “The author of this work [the *Kuraḷ*] was a *priest* of the lowest order of the *Hindoos* (the *pariar*), and this cast have a tradition, that the writer having ventured to appear with his moral performance (though at a very respectable distance) before the sacred bench of *Bramins* at *Madura*, it happened, while they were perusing it with admiration, that the bench on which they sat, miraculously extended itself so as to admit another member, which the *Bramins* interpreting as divine indication of the priest’s competency to fill the vacant seat, liberally overlooked his exceptionable cast, and placed him on it. The *Bramins*, however, deny this story.”

258 The manuscript in question is referred to, in the catalogue, as “*Madurai Pāṇḍya Rājākkaḷ Carittiram*”. It is possibly extant in both palm-leaf (10 folios) and paper form at the GOML, but as yet I have been unable to locate it. Today there are two paper copies (kept as D.436+437; cat. vol. II, p. 399 f.) bearing the title “*Pāṇḍyacarittiram*”, but the older of the two is dated to 1923 and contains more than 300 pages, which can hardly be a copy of 10 palm-leaves. Another reference to the same manuscript is found in Taylor 1835, vol. II, Appendix, p. 35 (where he states that in fact he did not make use of it: “It might have been useful as an auxiliary; but we conjecture that its place is more than supplied by our own sources.”) and Mahalingam 1972: ms. No. 39, where he describes it as “an abridged account of the *Madurai Sthalapurāṇam*”.

The last five chapters are devoted to marvellous anecdotes of the College of *Madura* founded by *Vamsa Sekhara*, for the cultivation of Tamil: the first professors of which forty-eight in number, it is said, were incarnations of the forty-eight letters, of the Sanscrit alphabet and *Sundareśvara* himself was the 49th. The latter presented the College with a diamond bench or desk, which would give place to no heterodox or inferior productions. The professors becoming arrogant, Śiva appeared as *Terupurāntaka Kavivīśwer*, or according to some accounts, as *Teruvaluvar*, the celebrated moral poet, and produced a work which being laid on the desk with the Books of the forty-eight professors thrust every one of them off, and occupied the whole in solitary dignity. The chief teachers of the *Madura* College were *Narakīra*, *Bāna*, and *Kapila*, to whose joint labours this work is ascribed.

This account is puzzling for several reasons. First, while what is recounted here is obviously similar to certain stories known from the *Tiruvīlaiyāṭarpurāṇam*, such as the giving of the bench, the *palakai* is not described there as a “diamond bench” (= Tamil *vacciram*, from Skt. *vajra*?). Secondly, the episode of Tiruvaluvar at the *Caṅkam* is not included in any earlier versions, as we have seen. Thirdly, in the versions we have examined until now, the tale does not mention the *Caṅkam* poets’ general arrogance, which must be punished by Śiva. And who does the punishing, Śiva or Tiruvaluvar? Or is Tiruvaluvar to be considered an incarnation, or an emissary, of Śiva? Fourthly, in the earlier versions it was the scholars who sat on the *palakai*, not their works. One would indeed like to see those manuscripts! What is clear from this summary is that it must be describing a well-known fact (as it refers to different reports concerning the actions of Śiva or Tiruvaluvar). Other sources, presumably contemporary, do not mention this. Blackburn (2000: 458) also names several 19th-century English stories about the life of the *Kuraḷ* author that do not refer to this legend. And while the possibly earliest version of the poetic “biographies” in Tamil, the *Tamiḷ Nāvalar Caritai* (which will be examined in the next section), has an entry about Tiruvaluvar, it does not refer to a *Caṅkam* episode, although it seems to consider this poet one of the academicians.

Only a few years later, in 1835, we find at least three more versions.²⁵⁹ Taylor, in his notes on the above-mentioned summary of Parañcōti’s *TVP*, devotes five fine-print pages to Tiruvaluvar (Taylor 1835: 175–179). He begins his discussion with a brief account of the academy as an institution, naming as his sources the *Tiruvīlaiyāṭarpurāṇam* and “a manuscript prepared by the head *Bramin* of *Madura*, with a view to present it to the late F. W. Ellis, Esq.”²⁶⁰ and the list of the

²⁵⁹ Almost contemporary and apparently based on the same sources is a study by Wilson entitled “Historical Sketch of the Kingdom of Pandya” that appeared in 1936. Since here the focus is on the academy itself, not on Tiruvaluvar, it will be cited and discussed in the following subchapter.

²⁶⁰ This seems to be the manuscript described by Taylor (1862: 163) as No. 2262 “Sanghattar

forty-nine members of the academy it contains.²⁶¹ The deviations here from the list of poets in the *Tiruvalluva Mālai* are substantial enough to make one think it is based on a different source. On p. 177 f. he presents the following account of the legends known to him:

His [Tiruvalluvar's] father was a *Bramin*, named *Yanarsal-Bagavan*; and his mother a *Pariar*, named *Athi* of *Caruvur*: as was the case with his brothers and sisters, he also was abandoned by his parents in infancy; and was brought up by a *Pariar* of the *Valluver* sub-division, who resided at *Mailapur* (or St. Thome), near Madras. This man had his foster-son well instructed in the Tamil language, and on the youth's exhibiting indications of talent, it is stated that the people of the neighbourhood formally requested him to write some work in elegant language, embodying the substance of the *Vedas*, from the Sanscrit, which should be generally acceptable to all classes of people; and which might, at the same time, humble the pride of the *Madura* college: the arrogance of the professors belonging to it having become offensive. *Tiruvalluver*, guided by advice, had the address to select three topics of general interest, and to avoid entirely every thing that might be disputed or might be offensive to any of every sect: adding to his precaution great ingenuity of thought, and peculiar beauty and elegance of language, he produced a work which united every suffrage; and stands confessed, even to the present day, to be the best and chief of all compositions in the polished dialect. It was not enough, however, to write such a book; it must of necessity pass the college, both for the sake of its own reputation, and for the indirect object of humbling the professors. There are

charitram, Tale of the College" in 31 leaves. Blackburn (2000: 457, n. 15) is also probably referring to this manuscript when he mentions "one oral account of Valluvar's triumph at Madurai, taken from a Meenachee Naig in 1809 (Mackenzie Collection, general, no. 1 'Sangattar cheritra')". The catalogue entry is quoted and discussed in Rajesh 2013: 34 f., but he does not seem to have seen the actual physical manuscript. It probably corresponds to the one described in the GOML catalogue (D. cat. vol. II, p. 422f.) as D.458 "*Maturaiccaṅgattārcarittiram*" (palm-leaf, 62 pages), sadly seemingly lost and entered in the list of missing inventory. There is a paper copy, R.435 (R. cat. vol. IV, p. 1155 ff.) of 39 pages, published 2009 by Ca. Tiyākārācaṇ in the Bulletin of the GOML under the title *Maturai caṅkappalakai carittiram*. This edition seems unsatisfactory upon a preliminary examination of photos taken in March 2012. The manuscript clearly is the missing Tamil source that links the *Tiruvāliyāṭal* legends about the academy with the life story of Tiruvalluvar, but the entire text has as yet to be studied in detail.

261 Taylor's list is as follows: 1. Kavilar, 2. Paranar, 3. Narkirer, 4. Mamuler, 5. Kaladanar, 6. Ukra-peruvaruthiyer, 7. Sittali-chattanar, 8. Maruthuven, 9. Tamotheren, 10. Nacandrevanar, 11. Aricilkirar, 12. Ponmudiar, 13. Gauthamanar, 14. Urittira-sanmanar, 15. Nattattanar, 16. Sirucarantambi, 17. Arsiriya-nallantuvanar, 18. Carandiyar, 19. Cakaipadinayer, 20. Alankodeivanganar, 21. Teditativiruntandiyandar, 22. Marakodeimarathanar, 23. Velluvithiyar, 24. Yericelur-madalanar, 25. Pottiyar, 26. Musukirandar, 27. Caveripumpattanadhukucareikannen, 28. Marathanelanathanar, 29. Barathampadiya-perundevanar, 30. Uruttirenkannenar, 31. Perunchittanar, 32. Nariverutalliar, 33. Sengunrukirar, 34. Sirumethaviyar, 35. Kodunkunrurikirar, 36. Uriyurmuttukottanar, 37. Virikadimethiyar, 38. Tallikaverisattanar, 39. Selurkodankannenar, 40. Canundurkilar, 41. Vennikuttiyar, 42. Nachumanar, 43. Narpavathanar, 44. Orambuthiyar, 45. Kulapathinathanar, 46. Mudatamakanniya, 47. Kavuniyanbarathayanar, 48. Mathuraimasiyanallantuvanar.

various accounts as to the result of the reference: *Cavelly-Venkata-Ramaswami*²⁶² tells us, that while *Satkara* (or *Narkiren*) was in conversation with *Yada-kadar* (*Idei-katen*), the poet *Tiruvalluvar* appeared, and laid his composition on the bench, which suddenly vanished. But the traditional account of *Madras* is somewhat different: according to which, the said poet, on the reading of his poems, obtained the suffrage of an aerial voice, of *Saraswathi*, and *Siva*, together with the unanimous approval of the whole forty-eight; while the bench on which they were seated, according to its alleged miraculous property, was found to have elongated itself and to afford room for just one more individual. The professors understood this as a divine intimation that the place belonged to the stranger poet; he was accordingly declared to be made a *Bramin* by extraordinary merit, and was invited to take a seat, as it appeared to have been appointed to him.

Another verbal and traditionary account is, that since *Tiruvalluvar* was of the *Pariar* class, the *Bramins* would not suffer him to come near them; on which he requested leave merely to lay his book on the bench, which leave being granted, the bench dissolved into water, and the forty-eight fell on each other in confusion; when after a while the bench, in its original small dimensions, reappeared, bearing the book upon it: an aerial voice was heard, and the *Bramins* afterwards pronounced their approval.

Here we see no fewer than three versions of the final contest. And as far as the *Kuraḷ* is concerned, they have identical outcomes. In the first version, the *palakai* vanishes, thus rendering judgement less on the *Kuraḷ* than on the academy members, who have proven themselves unworthy of the bench given by god. In the second version, the bench reacts in the traditional way, that is, it grows to give room to yet another poet who has proven his worth. In the third version, the bench, presumably already floating over the temple tank next to the academy hall, throws off the academy scholars and accepts only the incomparable text of the *Kuraḷ*. As a result of combining various sources, contradictions are apparent, such as the *Kuraḷ* author concurrently rendering the essence of the *Veda* and being inoffensive to any sect. One also wonders whether one or several of the sources might have been written in Sanskrit, because in none of the texts examined until now, either in Tamil or Sanskrit, has the name of *Nakkiraṇ* had been changed to *Satkara* (Skt. *satkāra*).

Taylor's account still has the tone of a report, whereby it attempts to synthesise the information gathered from various sources. Subsequent works offer a series of different narratives (listed in Blackburn), first in English, then also in Tamil.²⁶³ The

²⁶² This is a reference to Venkataramasvamie 1829, one of the first English "sketches" of poet biographies following the *Tamiḷ Nāvalar Caritai*, published by one of Mackenzie's chief collaborators. (On the Kavalī brothers and their contribution to the Mackenzie project, see Mantena in Trautmann 2009).

²⁶³ Except the manuscript mentioned by Taylor, which probably is the *Maturaiccaṅgattārcarittiram* kept in the GOML (see above, n. 260), the oldest Tamil version I have located so far is a text from the Tamil-Tamil fold, that is, written in traditional Tamil verse and presumably for the edifica-

story is gradually narrowed down or embellished depending on the agenda or the narrative talents of the respective authors. A particularly flowery example of this trend is Gover (1959: 206 ff., rep. of 1872), where one almost hears the water splash as the academicians drop off the shrinking bench on either end.²⁶⁴

To return to Taylor, an obviously new topos, not present in any form in the earlier narratives, is caste. Here we learn for the first time that the academy poets are Brahmins and that, by extension, their academy is a Brahmin institution.²⁶⁵ Whether this is a sort of “rationalisation” of their arrogance, which was already noted by Wilson, or whether these two elements are part of the same narrative is difficult to determine.²⁶⁶ Blackburn (200: 463 f.) deals extensively with the issue of Tiruvaḷḷuvar’s low-caste birth in the 19th-century literary discourse.

Here we must ask what is implied by the academy being labelled Brahmin. I would suggest viewing this at two levels, both deeply ingrained in the 19th-

tion of a Tamil audience: the *Pulavar Purāṇam* by Taṇṭapāṇicuvāmikaḷ (1839–1898). This is an account of the Tamil poets, beginning with Akattiyaṇ and leading directly to the author of the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava bhakti corpus. It was probably published slightly after the work by the English editor Casie Chitty (who does not link Tiruvaḷḷuvar to the academy), printed for the first time in 1901. The *Caṅkam* is mentioned only in connection with Tiruvaḷḷuvar, who, together with his friend Iṭaikkāṭaṇār and his sister Auvaiaṇ, presents his poetry in front of the academy and is finally accepted into its circle.

264 At the turn of the century, the early encyclopaedias of Tamil literature, the *Apitāṇa Kōcam* (ed. by Muttucāmi Piḷḷai, Madras 1902, rep. New Delhi 1997) and the *Apitāṇa Cintāmaṇi* (ed. by A. Singaravelu Mudaliyar, Madras 1919, rep. New Delhi 2001), relate individual versions of these events under the entry “Tiruvaḷḷuvar”.

265 Note that the Brahmin element is not mentioned by all the literary scholars; the following is the story of Tiruvaḷḷuvar’s life according to Casie Chitty’s *Tamil Plutarch* of 1859 (p. 115): “He [Tiruvaḷḷuvar], however, appears to have pursued a quiet and unobtrusive course of life, working at the loom for subsistence as the other Pariahs did until he was prevailed upon by his friends to take up the gauntlet against the professors of the Madura College, who had arrogantly defied all other men of learning in the country and claimed all literary honors to themselves. In order to humble the pride of the professors, he wrote an ethical poem, under the title of *Kural* (kuṛaḷ), and repairing to the College asked them to review it as judges of poetical composition, that he may have a seat on their College bench in case it was approved. The professors at first scorned at the idea of a Pariah-born poet offering himself as a competitor for a seat with them, but afterwards when he drew them into a contest and completely vanquished them, they not only approved his work and gave him the desired seat, but also conferred on him several honorary titles, such as, *Deivapulaver* (teyvap pulavar), the divine poet, *Mudetpavaler* (mutarpāvālar), the first of poets, *Perunaveler* (perunāvalar), the great poet, etc. A legend would have it that the professors were so sensible to their discomfiture, that unable to survive it, they all drowned themselves in the pond in the neighbourhood of the College; but this is not confirmed by other accounts.”

266 There seems to be a parallel in the longer version of Iṭaikāṭaṇār’s squirmishes with an arrogant academy, as reported by Zvelebil 1995 without a source reference (cf. n. 239). Here the caste attribution is not mentioned.

century problematic. First, there is the very real struggle for cultural hegemony. Brahmins were doubly despised in Tamilnadu: On the one hand they were the exclusive representatives of the northern Sanskritic culture that had monopolised certain forms of education for centuries. On the other hand, they were the privileged collaborators of the colonial administration, precisely for the reason that they were well educated, an education not necessarily in the European sense, but one that was nevertheless equipped with an infrastructure and a learning system. This social conflict culminated by the end of the century in the Tamil anti-Brahmin movement, which resulted in the persecution and expulsion of many Brahmins from South India, a conflict that still has repercussions today's discourse:²⁶⁷ until this very day indigenous scholars of Classical Tamil refuse to learn Sanskrit and make an effort to play down the role Brahmins have played in the production and preservation of Tamil literature. In this context, making the academy Brahmin and Tiruvalluvar an outcaste must be seen as rhetorical act of propaganda. From this viewpoint, the unprivileged outsider – a model of integrity, humanitarian vision and natural poetic genius – triumphs over a dead, academic establishment, an establishment that is moreover not truly Tamil and has thus been imposed on “the people”.

The second level of reading might be seen as a common colonial fable of the David-and-Goliath type: The downtrodden subject who is denied even basic rights gains victory, despite impossible odds. This is not done through violence, but through righteousness and talent. He beats the ruling powers, the enemy, with their own weapons, and thus spreads a message of hope. From this perspective the author of the *Kuraḷ* represents the Tamil people and the academy, the British colonial government.

It might be seen as an irony of fate that the very institution so intimately connected with the beginnings of Tamil literature and, in the late 19th century, that was again to become linked to the legend of Tamil cultural origins should have turned into a symbol of Brahmin intellectual dominance. This shows more clearly than anything else that the “real” academy, as a legendary seat from which the early literary production originated, had been forgotten completely, along with the works it was supposed to have created and approved. What survived was a literary topos adopted from the Śaiva narrative repertoire. However, there were niches in circles of traditional learning where at least a little more information

267 For the relationship between the Tamil Renaissance and upcoming Tamil nationalism in the first half of the 20th century, see Arooran 1980. For the notion of Brahmin versus non-Brahmin, see Pandian 2007.

had survived. This will become clear from another group of 19th-century narratives, which had come into existence for a very different purpose.

III.4.6 Legend Merging into “History”

III.4.6.1 The Beginnings of Literary Historiography

The 19th century has long been recognised as a period of consolidation, not only of colonial power, but also of knowledge about the colonised country, about Indian history, its languages and literatures. One particularly fruitful new discipline that emerged at that time was literary historiography. Blackburn (2000: 450) remarks: “It is striking that most ‘first novels’ in Indian languages were written by bilinguals and that most literary histories of Indian languages were published first in English; in other words, the literary canons were established not only in European categories but in a European tongue.” He hastens to qualify this observation with an emphasis on Indian agency in this process of “knowledge production”, and indeed a lot has been done in recent years to show that much of the historiographical work of this period was based on collaboration and synchronisation of materials and intellectual practices (Trautmann 2009, Ebeling 2010).

A very likely candidate for a bridge text that mitigated cultural expectations would seem the *Tamiḻ Nāvalar Caritai* (“the Life-Stories” or “Careers of Tamil Poets”), recalled to notice in Venkatachalapathy 2006: 93. It is an early witness of a non-sectarian viewpoint and stands out in the premodern era in its promulgating an almost exclusively religious and didactic literary canon. Venkatachalapathy suggests dating this work to “sometime after the late sixteenth century, but most probably ... the seventeenth or even the eighteenth century”. However, as so often, reliable information to settle the issue is not available. While there are, at best, indirect indications that the text may have been circulating in the 19th century (see below), the first clear mention of the text is the correction colophon (dated 3 April 1910) of Piṇṇattūr Nārāyaṇacāmi’s *Akanāṇūru* collation. Here one of the correctors, a man named Ārumukanayinār from Tir[u]cirāppaḷḷi, is mentioned as being in possession of a manuscript entitled *Tamiḻ Nāvalar Caritai* (cf. chapter II.3.2.1, p. 130). It is highly likely that this is the manuscript kept today in the UVSL in Cennai (No. 258/2054). It is also likely that this manuscript served as the basis for the first edition of the text completed by Ti.Ta. Kaṇakacuntaram Piḷḷai in 1921. This was followed by Turaicāmp Piḷḷai’s edition of 1949.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁸ It seems unlikely that it will be possible to locate more manuscript material, although the *Computerised International Catalogue of Tamil Palmleaf Manuscripts* lists two more, one in

Remarkable about this text is its title, which is misleading. The title suggests a work of literary history in the form of hagio-biographical sketches of Tamil poets, one of the favourite forms taken by literary histories in the 19th century. The most famous work of this type is Casie Chitty's *Tamil Plutarch* of 1859. And this is precisely what the *Caritai* is converted into by means of the commentary, a life-story section in prose, added by the 20th-century editor Turaicāmp Piḷḷai. But originally the work was an anthology of select verses by several poets augmented by brief colophon-like explanations. What, however, clearly distinguishes this work from other anthologies of stray verse is, first, the preface, a prose account of the three academies and, secondly, the series of fifty-one poets that begins with Śiva, Murukaṇ, and Sarasvatī. In other words, we are confronted yet again with the forty-eight poets of the third academy, with Śiva the forty-ninth, Murukaṇ discounted as a mere arbitrator, and Sarasvatī seen as the underlying identity of the forty-eight. This rather brings our text into the vicinity of the *Tiruvalluva Mālai*.

Also remarkable is the mixture of actual information and pious complementation. For the first time since the anonymous verse account (discussed in chapter III.4.2.3, p. 225 ff.), we have here the story of three academies, a story that in the puranic retellings is nearly gone without a trace.²⁶⁹ The brief prose text is redolent with formulations from the preamble to Nakkīraṇ's commentary on the *IA*. But then the same is true for the *Ācīriyam*. Telling is, once again, the account of the third academy and the works it produced, for here the wording clearly reflects acquaintance with both the preamble and the verse version, as well as an unidentified third source. The enumeration of poets follows the preamble's number and sequence, headed, however, by Kapilar and Paraṇar. The list of works runs as follows:

“Neṭuntokai, Kuruntokai, Narriṇai-nāṇūru, Puranāṇūru, Aiṅkurunūru, Patirruppattu, Pattuppāṭṭu, [ms. p. 3, l. 5: Maṇimiṭaipavaḷam, Kaḷiṛriyāṇainirai, Nittilakkōvai,] Muttollāyiram, Kūttu, Vari, Cīṛicai, Pēricai, seventy Paripāṭal, Pārataveṇṇā.”

Aṇṇāmalai and one from the GOML. The Aṇṇāmalai information, as usual, is inaccurate, while the incomplete GOML manuscript does not contain the beginning portion that deals with the *Caṅkam* (ms. D.355, entitled *Tamiḷnāvalarcaritam*). Turaicāmp Piḷḷai notes in his preface (1949: 12) that he was able to find two more manuscripts, one in the hand of Kōvintacāmi Reṭṭiyār from Cikaḷi and one from the Tirunelvēlic Caivacittānta Nūṛpatippuk Kaḷakam.

²⁶⁹ With the exception of the puzzling verses about three academies, the last described as located on the banks of the Ganges, found in Nampi's *TVP* and the *HM*, verses no longer contained in Parañcōti (cf. chapter III.4.2.2, p. 223 f.).

In several respects this list of texts corresponds to that of the preamble. It also uses the *Akanāṇūru*'s old name, *Neṭuntokai*. The modern name is used in the *Ācīriyam*. It contains the *Aiṅkurunūru* and all the non-extant texts listed in the preamble, including the *Kūttu*, which was not mentioned in the verse version. However, it agrees with the *Ācīriyam*, in contrast to the preamble, by including the *Muttollāyiram*. And there are several unique traits, which are quite fascinating. The list omits the *Kalittokai* from the *Caṅkam* works. Instead it includes the *Pattuppāṭṭu*, the “Ten Songs”, whose absence in the original list has long puzzled modern scholars. It also adds the *Pārataveṇpā*, a late first-millennium retelling of the *Mahābhārata* in Tamil that has been transmitted only in part.

Whether this is a reflection of yet another undiscovered source, the opinion of a particular school, or just the predilection of the *Caritai*'s author is hard to tell. I am inclined to argue that the choice of poems in the rest of the work betrays that the listed texts were all known only by hearsay, and thus the list might in fact simply be arbitrary. This suspicion is confirmed by another surprising addition that did not find entry into the editions but which is found in the manuscript, namely the inclusion of *Maṇimiṭaipavaḷam*, *Kalīṟriyāṇainirai*, and *Nittilakkōvai*. These are of course not separate works, but the names of the three sections of the *Akanāṇūru*. This makes one wonder whether the commentary tradition had another source of names for *Caṅkam* works. While commentators rarely name the works they quote from, sometimes they do. Naccinārkkinīyar, for one, occasionally identifies poems from the *Akanāṇūru* with the section titles.²⁷⁰

If we now look at the supposed academy poets (male and female), they turn out to be a motley lot, as already noticed by Venkatachalapathy. They are mostly later Śaiva poets (but none from the bhakti canon) and a number of kings and queens. But after the three deities, the series begins with several actual *Caṅkam* authors, plus Tiruvaḷḷuvar.²⁷¹ As for the quoted poems, the first, ascribed to

²⁷⁰ Thus with *Kalīṟriyāṇainirai* in TP 14n for AN 94, TP 15n for AN 49, TP 60n for AN 83, with *Maṇimiṭaipavaḷam* in TP 12n for AN 294, TP 15n for AN 145, TP 115n for AN 272 and TP 150n for AN 266. The *Nittilakkōvai* is not referred to in the same manner in the *Poruḷatikāram* (covered in Wilden 2009b), but it might well be mentioned in *Eluttu*- and/or *Collatikāram*.

²⁷¹ The complete list is: 1. Iṟaiyaṇār, 2. Murukavēḷ, 3. Nāmakaḷ, 4. Nakkīrar, 5. Kapilar, 6. Peruntalic Cattaṇār, 7. Kōvūr Kīlār, 8. Cāttantaiyār, 9. Caṅkattār, 10. Tiruvaḷḷuvar, 11. Auvaiyār, 12. Poyyāmoḷiyār, 13. Kampar, 14. Tolkāppiyatēvar, 15. Iṟaṭṭaiyarkaḷ, 16. Cayaṅkoṇṭār, 17. Oṭṭakkūttar, 18. Pukaḷēnti, 19. Mūvēntar, 20. Cērumāṇ Kaṇaikkāḷirumporai, 21. Pāṇṭiyaṇ Talaiyāṇaṅkāttuc Ceruveṇṇa Neṭuñceḷiyaṇ, 22. Pāṇṭiyaṇ, 23. Pāṇṭiyaṇ Tēvi, 24. Cattimurrap Pulavaṇ, 25. Cōḷaṇ Pulavaṇ, 26. Pāṇṭiyaṇ Pulavaṇ, 27. Oru Tāti, 28. Cōḷaṇum Tēviyum, 29. Kurunamacciāyār, 30. Ēkampavāṇaṇ, 31. Muṇaiyataraiyaṇ, 32. Kōṭaiccivantāṇ Pulavaṇ, 33. Uttaranallūr Naṅkai, 34. Tiruvārūr Nākaraca Nampi, 35. Puṅkaṇūr Kīlavaṇ, 36. Kuṭitāṅki, 37. Kaccirāyaṇ, 38. Kaṇṭiya Tēvaṇ, 39. Viṇṇaṇ, 40. Vāyarpati Vaṭukaṇ, 41. Kacciyappaṇ, 42. Oru

Īraiyaṇār, i.e. Śiva, is of course the *koṇku tēr vālkkai*, *Kuṇuntokai* 2 – the poem Śiva gave to Tarumi in order to win the Pāṇṭiya's purse of gold.²⁷² This is the only Akam poem. What follows for Nakkiraṇ, Kapilar, Peruntalaic Cāttaṇār, Kōvūr Kiḷār, Cāttāntaiyār and, slightly later, Auvaiyār, are in part, but not exclusively, real *Caṇkam* poems, all of them from the *Puraṇāṇūru*. What is remarkable is that none is identified as such. The most likely explanation is that these poems had been preserved in other sources. In fact, all of them are either included in the *Purattiraṭṭu* – the 15th-century anthology of heroic and didactic verse containing so much from the *Muttollāyiram* and also a few stanzas from the *Pārataveṇpā* – or quoted in the commentarial tradition of the *Tolkāppiyam*.²⁷³ Surprisingly, for Tiruvaḷḷuvar a single four-line *Veṇpā* is quoted, nothing from the *Tirukkuraḷ*, and his connection with the academy is expressed only implicitly by his inclusion in the list of poets.²⁷⁴

To summarise, both the preface about the three academies and the quoted poems seem to place the author of the *Caritai* in Śaiva devotional circles, with a smattering of *Ilakkaṇam*, that is, he seems to have relied for the most part on second-hand knowledge. Moreover, his interest in the academy seems to have been rather anecdotal; the *Caṇkams* are used as a frame story for a very peculiar Tamil literary history. Had he really wanted to reconstruct the works of the third *Caṇkam*, he could have extracted much more material from the commentaries, even if we allow for the fact that less than ten per cent of the quotations are identified by the commentators. That his work was not widely known in the 19th century is indicated by its transmission history, which, as mentioned above, is rather sparse. It also seems improbable that this text was produced to instruct a colonial interlocutor, as is fairly obvious from the role the academy plays in the historiographical works on literature from that period: many references to the

Pulavaṇ, 43. Pirāmaṇap Piḷḷaiyaṇ, 44. Ammaicci, 45. Kāḷamekap Pulavar, 46. Kumāracaracuvati, 47. Tattuvappirakācar, 48. Kavirācapillai, 49. Paramēcurap Pulavar, 50. Uṇṇāmulai Ellappa Nayaṇār, 51. Antakakkavi Vīrarākava Mutaliyār. The last of these poets is dated by Zvelebil (1995: 775) to the 17th century, which would thus constitute earliest time frame limit for the *Caritai*.

272 The second poem attributed to Īraiyaṇār is the corresponding verse 3 in the *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai*, and the verse attributed to Sarasvatī is the same as *Mālai* 4.

273 The *Caṇkam* poems that are quoted are the following: Kapilar (PN 109: not *Purattiraṭṭu*, quoted in TPi 68/TPn 67; PN 121 = *Purāt.* 571), Peruntalaic Cāttaṇār (PN 164 = *Purāt.* 1179), Kōvūr Kiḷār (PN 45 = *Purāt.* 781, PN 47: TC 340c, TPi 65/TP 63n, PN 46: TP 65i/TP 63n), Cāttāntaiyār (PN 82: TP 256i + TP 274i + TP 295p), Auvaiyār (PN 91 = *Purāt.* 1503, PN 140 [there not ascribed to Auvaiyār, but to Marutaṇ ḷḷanākaṇār] = *Purāt.* 1486).

274 It certainly would be worthwhile to identify more of the quoted poems, of which most are in *Veṇpā* metre. This has not been done by Turaicāmpil Piḷḷai. One also wonders what might have been the sources for the poetic biographies he adds.

academy can be found,²⁷⁵ but none of them is even remotely as rich in information as the *Cāritai*.

An actual point of convergence between the intellectual traditions is Wilson 1836, a study of the Pāṇṭiya kingdom. It rivals that of Taylor as contained in his 1835 catalogue.²⁷⁶ These studies are apparently based on the same sources, namely Parañcōti's *Tiruvilaiyāṭṭarpurāṇam* and the two manuscripts discussed in notes 258 and 260. Here we can see how the historical narrative is being spun (Wilson 1836: 212ff.):

The reign of Vamsa Sek'hara was also distinguished by an event which led to important consequences to the literature of the Peninsula, and which is one reason for placing his reign in the earlier ages of Christianity. This was the foundation of a College at Madura, for the cultivation, it would appear, of profane literature and the Tamil language. The different authorities agree in this account, dividing the merit of the act between Vamsa Sek'hara, and his son and successor, Vamsa Churāmani, also called Champaka, who, probably, completed what his father only commenced.

The professors of the Madura College were at first forty-eight in number, called the *sangattār*, or assembly. **The chief of these were Narakīra, Bāna, and Kapila, of whom no works remain.**[emphasis mine] These received instruction in the *Sūtras*, or rules, of the Dravira language, it is said, from the god Siva himself, who appeared amongst them as the forty-ninth professor, and enabled them to expound and propagate the primitive institutes of the language, which are invariably attributed in the Dekhin to the Muni Agastya. [...]

At the first institution of the Madura *sangattār*, it would appear that some dispute arose immediately between the professors and the Saiva priests, connected, not impossibly, with that contention for pre-eminence of knowledge which has ever prevailed in the Tamil countries between the Brahman and inferior castes. The priests, however, proved more powerful; an reconciliation took place between them and the literati of Madura. At least, we may thus interpret the legend of Narakira incurring the wrathful glance of Siva, and only escaping being burnt to ashes in the flames emanating from the eye in the forehead of the god by plunging into the holy pool *Pattamāri*, and there composing the *Andāti Pānyam*, a poem in honour of Siva. After this event the parties continued upon good terms; and Siva presented to the professors a diamond bench of great critical sagacity, for it extended itself readily for the accommodation of such individuals as were worthy to be upon a level with the sages of the *sangattār*, and resolutely destruded all who pretended to sit upon it without possession of the requisite qualifications. In other words, the learned corporation of Madura resembled learned bodies in other countries, and maintained as strict a monopoly as they possibly could of literary reputation.

²⁷⁵ A number of these are mentioned in Venkatachalapathy 2006, and Rajesh 2013: 150 ff. gives a detailed account.

²⁷⁶ The personal rivalry between the two scholars is quite visible in Wilson 1837 and Taylor 1837, a review by Taylor of Wilson's Pandya study and Wilson's reaction to it, respectively.

Thus far we have no problem in recognising our well-known puranic legend, notwithstanding some rearrangement of the temporal sequence, with the *palakai* found at the end. The poet names must have been deciphered from Tamil palm-leaf notation, for the traditional reading for Narakīra is Naṛkīrar (and thus the *r* was not marked with a *puḷḷi*), usually assimilated to Nakkīrar, and the traditional reading of Bāna is Paraṇar (the open *kāl* can mean a long *ā* or an intervocalic *r*). This clearly shows that even if there were Tamil interlocutors working for the Mackenzie project, they cannot have belonged to the fold of even moderate traditional learning. This is not surprising, because they were mostly Telugu Brahmins. In Tamil Śhaivite circles, where the *Purāṇams* were still familiar, as well as among the *Naṇṇūl* grammarians, where they form some of the standard examples,²⁷⁷ the pronunciation of these names would have been obvious. Wilson himself (who did not know Tamil) clearly states that he relied exclusively on written translations (Wilson 1837: 218), which must mean the translations contained in the Mackenzie collection. So it also does not come as a surprise when we are informed that none of these poets' works has survived.

Even more overt is Wilson's tendency to produce history in his paragraphs on the dissolution of the academy, which he ties to the entrance of Tiruvaḷḷuvar. While Taylor still reports different versions and discusses contradictions, Wilson relates a smooth account of the events and interprets them in terms that correspond to the conflicts in the Tamilnadu of his day (Wilson 1837: 217 f.):

The abolition of the *sangattār* is narrated in the usual marvellous manner.²⁷⁸ A candidate for the honour of a seat on the bench of professors, appeared in the person of Tiruvaluvar,

a Pariah priest of Mailapur, and the author of an ethical poem. The learned professors were highly indignant at his presumption, but, as he was patronised by the *rājā*, they were compelled to give his book at least the trial. For this purpose it was to find a place upon the marvellous bench, which the professors took care to occupy fully. To their astonishment, however, the bench extended itself to receive the work, and the book itself commencing to expand, spread out so as to thrust all other occupants from the bench. The *rājā* and the people of Madura witnessed the scene, and enjoyed the humiliation of the sages; and the professors were so sensible of their disgrace, that, unable to survive it, they issued forth, and all drowned themselves in a neighbouring pool. In consequence the establishment was abandoned.

If we contemplate this event in a literary view alone, we need not be at a loss to understand it. The first professors were eminent in Tamil composition, for the cultivation of which the college appears to have been founded. The members, however, had subsequently, in all

²⁷⁷ See, for example, *Naṇṇūl Virutti* on *sūtra* 368, with *kapilaparaṇar* as the example of a *dvandva* compound.

²⁷⁸ Here fn. 2 explicitly refers to the *Madura Sangattār* manuscript as a source.

probability, directed their attention more to Sanskrit composition, and had, at all events, neglected the cultivation of their native literature. [...] With Tiruvaluvar, however, circumstances changed. The old system was subverted, and a new impulse was given to the study of Tamil, which produced, in the course of the ninth century, in the Pándya and Chola kingdoms, a number of the most classical writers in the Tamil language.

It must be noted that no interlinguistic conflict seems to have been mentioned in any of Wilson's sources, and he seems to admit as much.

Once the fate of the *Caṅkam* was established as part of Pāṇṭiya history, it is referred to frequently when Tamil literature is discussed. A representative example can be found in a passage from the preface to Casie Chitty's *Tamil Plutarch*:

The inducements held out to poets and the rewards bestowed on them by the long line of *Pandiya* kings, who graced the throne of Madura from the ninth century before to the fourteenth century after Christ, were most liberal, and might have done honor even to the court of Augustus. These kings had three different *Sangams*, or Colleges established in their capital at three different periods, for the promotion of literature, more or less corresponding in character with the Royal Academy of Sciences founded by Louis XIV at Paris, and made it a rule that every literary production should be submitted to their *Senatus Academicus*, before it was allowed to circulate in the country, for the purpose of preserving the purity and integrity of the language. It may well be imagined how favorably these *Sangams* operated on the talent and genius of the nation. From every part of Southern India poets crowded into the *Sangam-mandapam*, or College hall to recite their compositions and the successful candidate besides winning the smiles of Royalty was rewarded with something more enduring and substantial as will appear from Vamshasu'da'mani Pandiyen presenting a purse of gold to the poet Tarumi, and Kule'sa Pandiyen honoring the poet Iddeika'der by the gift of a young elephant and a horse, besides gold, and fertile lands. Neither were the kings of *Chera* and *Chola* backwards in patronizing poets [...] (Casie Chitty 1859: iiif.)

Here the only indication that Casie Chitty might have known more than the puranic stories and their English retellings is the number of three academies. He does not, however, elaborate on this. For this the *Tamiḷ Nāvalar Caritai* is a possible source. The *Tamil Plutarch* does not betray an intimate knowledge of the grammatical tradition, and had the preamble been known to its author, one would expect it to have left more of a trace. Moreover Casie Chitty's interest in the academy is not at all historical; his anecdote serves apologetic purposes vis-à-vis the European challenge, as becomes even clearer later in his preface:

There can be no doubt that an infinite number of works in the different departments of sciences and literature was composed during this brilliant age; but in the early part of the fourteenth century when the Muhammedan hordes poured into Southern India, and Pra'krama Pandiyen was led away captive to Delhi, the Tamils had to deplore the loss of almost all their literature; for those ruthless fanatics amongst other outrages ransacked all the libraries in

the country, and committed to the flames “all that genius had reared for ages.” But auspicious days were yet to dawn upon the Tamils. The power by which they were oppressed has passed away and is succeeded by one destined by Providence to ameliorate their social condition, and advance their intellectual status. With the occupation of India by the British, that nation has introduced into the country every thing that has tended to make its own great. Not only has every facility been afforded for the improvement of the Tamil youth by the establishment of vernacular schools by Government as well as Christian Missionaries, but that mighty engine, the Press, has proved in India as elsewhere the greatest blessing, on the one hand by rescuing from oblivion the remnants of the ancient Native literature, and on the other by enriching it with numerous publications on European arts and sciences. (Casie Chitty 1859: ivf.)

Thus, by the second half of the 19th century the Tamil academies were no longer evoked as the portmanteau designation for a real poetic corpus perceived as the root of Tamil cultural origins. They were not even an agreeable literary topos any longer, but served as the focus of a romantic golden-age vision typical of the period. They were used to explain to Europeans that despite the present state of general decline and dilapidation, it still clung to the vestiges of a formerly glorious culture. This set the stage for the founders of the Tamil Renaissance, people like Ārumukanāvalar, Tāmōtaram Piḷḷai and Cāminātaiyar. It is hardly surprising that they should have had the feeling of rediscovering a completely different universe.

III.4.6.2 The Proto-History of Tamilnadu: Lemuria

Surprisingly, we find the most prolific and wide-spread development of our legend in the 20th century. And it seems to continue to flourish until today. This expansion has been studied at length in Ramaswamy 2004 (which also provides an extensive bibliography). This book provides a rich documentation of the emerging of what we might term a scientific myth in 19th-century Europe, and its reception in Tamilnadu from the early 20th century onwards. The construct in question is Lemuria, one of the many lost continents in world history. This one had its genesis in biology; it was created to explain the similarity of Madagascan and South Indian flora and fauna.²⁷⁹ Lemuria is the name of a lost land bridge between India and Africa. As a scientific hypothesis, it was soon discarded, like so many others before and after.

But its fate in Tamilnadu was quite different: it was used as a means for projecting the *Caṅkam* legend into the past. Two celebrated capitals of the earliest

²⁷⁹ The originator of this theory was the biologist Ph. L. Sclater in 1864, in his “The Mammals of Madagascar”, *Quarterly Journal of Science* 1, no. 2, 213–19.

Tamilian kingdom, Maturai and Kapāṭapuram, were swallowed by the sea. Where had they been? Lemuria becomes the lost homeland of the Pāṇṭiyas, and it bears various names, such as Kumarināṭu or Tamiḷakam. Since it was a grand idea and grand ideas need grand schemes, the story expands. Lemuria-Kumarināṭu becomes the continent of an original civilisation, and in extreme versions, Tamil becomes mankind's most ancient language. After their land was drowned in the ocean, the Dravidians slowly moved towards the north and colonised, depending on the scope of the story, the rest of India or the rest of the world.

There is one important factor to consider before we try to assess this last unexpected turn in a long tradition. The sources have once again shifted. We are no longer dealing with literary history, but something that is for the most part non-academic history. Nonetheless, it finds its way into schoolbooks. It becomes a topic of political discourse, and a serious focus in educational politics.²⁸⁰ In part, of course, this shift is a simple historical fact. In the 20th century we observe (and expect) the nearly complete acceptance of the neat Western distinction between literary and scientific history. History is supposed to be discussed in a scientific idiom. It is possible to describe this simply as a change of genre: the language of information has become the language of science. Consequently, in the case of Lemuria we do not find an original version of the narrative. What is available, however, is a narrative based on the quasi- or pseudo-scientific discourse of almost a century. In 1981, the Tamilnadu government sponsored a documentary film on the pre-history of the Tamil land. Here we are shown not only the lost southern cities of Maturai and Kapāṭapuram, but also the Pāṇṭiyan king, desperate because his realm is sinking into the floods.²⁸¹

Some of this is a key element in the post-modern nationalist discourse. But what is interesting to ask in our context is: what is the function of this last ornate extension of our legend? I believe its origin can be found in the struggle of a colonised country trying to find its place in a world that has become much larger. Tamilnadu was no longer simply part of India; it had to come to terms with England, with Europe, with the world at large. And the response was: Tamil represents the cultural heritage of a huge civilisation, of which one offspring is Europe. Thus, Tamil holds a place of honour in the world's heritage.

Let it be noted in an aside that at least one academic discipline incorporates the concept of Lemuria, unlikely as it may seem, namely a particular branch of

280 This has also been taken up by the Pure Tamil Movement (*taṇiṭ tamiḷ iyakkam*), which was founded in the early 20th century by figures such as Maṛaimalai Aṭiḷaḷ. This is studied and documented in Ramaswamy 1997.

281 For more extensive documentation (and details about the film's production), see Ramaswamy 2004: 98, n. 5 + 127 ff.

linguistics. To be sure there is a sub-stratum of inner-Tamilian historical and archaeological discourse in Tamil as well, where pre-history is written along these theoretical lines. It seeks affiliation with another important debate, namely, the one concerning the proto-Dravidian origin of the Indus culture.²⁸² As far as the fields of language and literature are concerned, research on the proto-history of Tamil in particular and the Dravidian languages in general is quite visible at conferences, even those calling themselves international (meaning that at least one non-Tamilian scholar is participating). The advocates of the “Nosthratic thesis” are looking for common predecessors of Dravidian and Indo-European languages. They even try to establish genetic relationships between Tamil and non-European languages, one favourite being Japanese.²⁸³

In these discussions, the *Caṅkam* corpus has mainly become an item of prestige and a symbol of ancient Tamil identity.²⁸⁴ It is described in much the same way as is the Veda in comparable Indo-Aryan contexts.

We have now followed the founding legend of the Tamil literary tradition through roughly a thousand years of transmission. From the beginning (or the beginning as it is available to us) it has dealt with various issues. As might be expected, one aspect at stake, certainly, was sanctioning a body of texts as a precious possession and an object of study.²⁸⁵ The first stage, the account of the three literary academies in the country of the Pāṇṭiyas, represents the establishment of a purely Tamilian literary tradition as the cornerstone of its culture. This takes place in a phase of acculturation, during which an economically superior Sanskrit tradition brandishing its Vedic heritage is making hegemonic claims of

282 Many of the participants in this debate are highly respected scholars, both Western and Tamilian, the most notable among them being Asko Parpola and the epigraphist Iravatham Mahadevan (see the bibliography for some of their latest output, based on decades of work).

283 The “classical” representative of such research is the still highly regarded G. Devaneyan, who published primarily in Tamil. His English work of 1966, *The Primary Classical Language of the World*, devotes a chapter to a discussion of Lemuria. He is also the author of a 15-volume world-etymological dictionary of Tamil entitled *Centamiḷ corppirappiyāl pērakaramutali* (Devaneyan 1985–2005). Work on the dictionary, now titled *Taṇittamiḷ Pērakarāṭi*, continues today at the Tamil University in Tañcāvūr with Pa. Aruḷi as editor. See also publications such as Ramanaathan 1998 (in English), which creates a veritable parallel universe. Its scope can be illustrated by the titles of his first three chapters: I. The Prehistory of Man and the Origin and Diversification of Language; II. Dravidian Civilisation of the Indus Valley; III. Sangam Period (300 B. C.–300 C. E.). See also Ramanathan 2007 (in Tamil) on the glory and antiquity of Tamil as a classical language, whereby the period “from BIG BANG to Present-Day Man” is covered (Ramanathan 2007, table found between pages 50 and 51).

284 See, however, Mahadevan 2009 and 2010, where an attempt is made to trace elements of *Caṅkam* religious culture, such as the god Murukan, back to the Indus seals.

285 See Shulman 1988.

sanctity. Since, however, the north-Indian gods were already firmly integrated into the Tamil world, they simply become part of the founding of a purely Tamil tradition. The second stage, the puranic simplification of the basic story into a game of the gods, reveals the outcome of the earlier competition between cultures. The Tamil religious imagination now works in Sanskritic terms, and the Tamil literary universe needs sanctioning from the great northern gods that have become great southern gods. They even condescend to compose poetry in Tamil. The third stage, the enthroning of Tiruvalluvar, the author of the *Tirukuraḷ*, on the *Caṅkam* bench, seems to have occurred much later. Although on the surface it still appears to be part of an inner-Indian discourse, it reflects the sentiments and expectations of Christian morals as represented by the Western colonising power. The fourth stage, the renaming of Lemuria as Kumarināṭu, is the first to openly acknowledge the fact that Tamilnadu is one country among many. While some of the European heritage is adopted into the Tamil horizon, Tamilnadu is, at the same time, integrated into the modern world.

It remains yet to be seen whether another version will arise, one that does not need to be rejected publicly by serious scholars and historians. In the trans-cultural system of knowledge in which we now live this can only mean: archaeological evidence of a submerged culture to the south of India. It is definitely being searched for. Indeed, before Schliemann finally discovered Troy in Asia Minor, he was widely regarded with the same look of amused disbelief that is now reserved for enthusiasts and new-age adherents. He found what he found because he trusted in the Homer he had read. Such is the suggestive power of words.

III. 5 Reception in the Grammatical Tradition

A completely different type of source, certainly no less voluminous but much more restricted in circulation, are the commentaries. Literary commentaries are of interest insofar as they comment on older texts and thus testify to their survival as well as their relevance for a later period. The relatively small number of (surviving?) direct commentaries on *Caṅkam* texts have already been listed in the introduction. Also useful are other commentaries on literary texts that contain, in small numbers, quotations from the classics when pointing out parallels or models, or that discuss earlier literature. Quotations from poetic sources as well as references to them are very numerous in the commentaries of the grammatical tradition. Here we must distinguish the domains of grammar. As a rule, grammarians in the Western sense of the word, that is, those working on phonetics/euphonics (*eḷuttu*) or morphology, syntax and semantics (*col*), quote more from “worldly usage” (*vaḷakkam*) than from poetic usage (*ceyyuḷ*). Moreover, they tend

only to quote phrases or, at the most, single lines. Many of their examples have been carefully handed down from generation to generation, and thus do not tell us much about the actual reception of *Caṅkam* literature. Extensive discussions and full-poem quotations are naturally found in works by poeticians (working on *poruḷ*), and to some extent also in works by metricians (working on *yāppu*). Altogether, the literary, grammatical and poetological commentaries form an enormous web of cross-references that has hardly been explored.²⁸⁶ To extract all the information they contain on classical literature would be a Herculean task, all the more so since electronic versions of commentary texts are still rare. Nonetheless, a foray into the jungle will be made here, first by taking up the references to and discussions of Nakkīraṇ and his *Caṅkam* legend as found in the commentary literature, and secondly by producing statistics about the quotations found in a limited, but hopefully to some extent representative, sample of poetological and grammatical commentaries covering roughly the period between the 10th and the 18th centuries.

III.5.1 The Legend Reflected in the Commentaries

Quite a number of references to the *Iraiyāṇār Akapporuḷ*, its commentary and preamble, and even partial paraphrases of its legend of the flood, can be found in a range of literary and grammatical commentaries dating between the 10th and 14th centuries. The bulk of these have already been discussed in Aravamuthan (1930: 296 ff.); nevertheless they shall be listed here for the sake of completeness and also because they contain a number of details that deserve re-reading and satisfactory explanations, such as for example the mention of a “commentary preface by ḷampūraṇar” in Aṭiyārkkunallār on the *Cilappatikāram*. In part this is interesting for chronological reasons. When were the treatise, the commentary, and the preamble known to a wider circle of grammarians? Two longer passages from 12th-century commentaries, however, testify to much more, namely the fact that the legend and the literature it promoted to classical status had become deeply woven into the fabric of Tamil literary history, as well as the self-perception of Tamil as a language and literary culture. The first of these two commentaries, that of Aṭiyārkkunallār,²⁸⁷ which is probably slightly earlier than the second, has

²⁸⁶ Apart from a small number of editions (most of them early 20th c. and difficult to come by), that contain lists of the quotations found in their commentaries, some ground has been covered with Chevillard 1994 and 1996 for the *Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram Cēṇāvaraiyam* and Wilden 2009b for the *TP Poruḷatikāram ḷampūraṇam, Pēraciriyam* and *Nacčinārkiṇiyam*.

²⁸⁷ Aṭiyārkkunallār’s commentary on the “epic” *Cilappatikāram* is one of the early landmarks

been discussed to some extent by Aravamuthan. The second, Pērāciyar's account of the development of the grammatical tradition (on *sūtra* 649 of the *Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram*, *Marapiyal*), has to my knowledge never been translated and deserves to be presented in full.

Mention must first be made of two commentaries that probably belong to the late 10th and early 11th centuries, respectively: the *Yāpparuṅkala Virutti*, that is, the commentary on the metrical treatise *Yāpparuṅkalam*, and ḷampūraṇar's commentary on the *Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram*. The *Virutti* (on *sūtra* 55) quotes *IA* 35 without identifying the source (*eṇa pīṇarum comṇār* "so say others"), thus suggesting that the treatise was not yet a recognised authority, although in this case this might only reflect the attitude of a metrician referring to a poetician. Still, a similar instance is also found in the work by ḷampūraṇar; under *sūtra* 30 of the *Poruḷatikāram* he quotes part of the same *IA* 35 as something "from another treatise" (*eṇap pīṇanūl-akattu*). However, on *TPi* 474 he adduces the *Iraiyāṇār Kaḷaviyal* as an example of a particular type of treatise (*piṇṭam*). In short, the author of the *Virutti* and ḷampūraṇar both know the treatise, but neither knows the commentary by Nakkīraṇ or the preamble with the legend. At least they make no reference to either. Two further references of this type are found in two later commentaries of the *Tolkāppiyam* tradition, namely in Pērāciyar (12th c.) on *TPp* 498, which quotes the first three lines of *IA* 3 and ascribes them to the "*Kaḷaviyal*", and in Nacciṇārkkiniyar (14th c.) on *TPn* 53, which quotes three *sūtra*-s (= *IA* 37–39) identified as "*Iraiyāṇār Kaḷaviyal*".

Things are different in two lengthy passages from the 12th-century commentaries of Aṭiyārkkunnallār and Pērāciyar.

Aṭiyārkkunnallār on *Cilappatikāram*, *patikam*

iraṇṭām ūḷiyat' ākiya kapāṭapurattiṇ iṭaiccaṇkattut tolkāppiyam pulappaṭuttiya mākirtti y-ākiya nilantaru-tiruvīṇ-pāṇṭiyaṇ avaiṅkaḷattu akattiyaṇārum tolkkāppiyaṇārum, iruntaiyūrk karuṅkōḷimōciyārum, veḷḷūrk kāppiyaṇārum, ciṇupāṇṭaraṇkaṇārum, maturaiyāciyaṇ māyaṇārum, tuvaraik kōmakaṇum, kīrantaiyārum eṇr' it toṭakkattār aimpattōṇpatinmār ulliṭṭa mūvāyirattu eḷunūrruvar tammār pāṭappaṭṭa kaliyum kurukum veṇṭāḷiyum mutaliya ceyyul ḷakkiyam āraṇtu,

In the middle academy in Kapāṭapuram, which was the [seat] of the second time, on the assembly floor of **Nilantaru-Tiruvīṇ-Pāṇṭiyaṇ, who was the Mākirtti that made understood (= commissioned a commentary on?) the *Tolkāppiyam***, there were, to begin

of the literary commentary, famous for its erudition with respect to music and drama. The first extant exposition of "threefold Tamil" (*muttamil*) as "natural, musical and dramatic" (*iyal, icai, nāṭakam*) goes back to him.

with Akattiyaṇār, Tolkkāppiyaṇār, Iruntaiyūrkaruṅkōḷi Mōciyār, Veḷḷūrkaru Kāppiyaṇār, Cīrupāṇṭaraṅkaṇār, Māraṇār the teacher from Maturai, Tuvaraik Kōmakaṇ and Kīrantaiaṇār, fifty-nine. Researching the poetic works beginning with *Kali*, *Kuṟuku* and *Veṇṭāḷi* that had been sung by the three-thousand seven-hundred that were placed among those ...

The context of Aṭiyārkkunnallār's discussion are the different theoretical works that deal with the three varieties of Tamil (*iyaḷ*, *icai*, *nāṭakam*), most of them lost. It is quite obvious that his account of the second academy is based on Nakkīraṇ, with the exception of the name of the Pāṇṭiya king in whose learned assembly the *Tolkāppiyam* was presented, which is mentioned in the preface (*pāyiram*) to the *Tolkāppiyam*.²⁸⁸ In the following, he names other Pāṇṭiya kings belonging to the second and third academy who are also absent from Nakkīraṇ's lists. One is "the divine Pāṇṭiyaṇ called Anākulaṇ of the second academy (*iṭaiccaṅkattu anākulaṇ*

288 This preface (*pāyiram*) to the *Tolkāppiyam*, prefixed to the *Eluttatikāram*, reads:

vaṭa vēṅkaṭam teṇ kumari
āy iṭai
tamiḷ kūru naḷ ulakattu
vaḷakkum ceyyuḷum āy iru mutaliṇ
eḷuttum collum poruḷum nāṭi
cem tamiḷ iyaṅkai civaṇiya nilattoṭu
muntu-nūḷ kaṇṭu muṛaiṭṭa eṇṇi
pulam tokuttōṇē pōkk' aṟu paṇuval
nilantaru tiruviṇ pāṇṭiyaṇ avaiyattu
aṟaṅ karai nāviṇ nāṇ maṛai muṛriya
ataṅkōṭṭācārka' aril tapa terintu
mayaṅkā marapiṇ eḷuttu muṛai kāṭṭi
malku nīr varaippīṇ aintiram nīṟainta
tolkāppiyaṇ eṇa taṇ peyar tōṛri
pal pukaḷ nīrutta paṭimaiyōṇē.

"From the Northern Vēṅkaṭam hills to Southern Kumari, in the good world where Tamil is spoken, examining syllables, words and meanings, beginning with the two [types of] worldly and poetic [speech], seeing, with the field that is intimately related to refined Tamil, the primary treatise, calculating it to be in order, he strung the work, a faultless discourse in the assembly of Nilantaru Tiruviṇ Pāṇṭiyaṇ, scrutinised, for errors to come to an end, by Ataṅkōṭṭācāṇ, who was accomplished in four Vedas, [his] tongue a bank of virtue, showing, according to unconfused custom, the order of syllables, manifesting his name as Tolkāppiyaṇ, who is replete [with the knowledge of] *Aintiram*, bordered by the abundant water, he the model that is established in great fame."

ēṇṇum teyvap pāṇṭiyaṇ), the other is “Mativaṇaṇār, a Pāṇṭiya who presented [his] work among the Pāṇṭiya kings who made the third academy sit” (*kaṭaiccaṇkam iriṇṇa pāṇṭiyaruṭ kaviyaraṇkēriya pāṇṭiyaṇ mativāṇaṇār*), both mentioned as authors of dramatic works in Tamil.

There is another famous passage in the same commentary in which the boundaries of the Tamil country are explained. Unmistakable are the northern Vēṇkaṭam (Tiruppati) hills, but the southern tip, Kumari, once the name of a river, now lies under the sea. In this context, Aṭiyārkkunallār revokes the first academy, which, like the second, was destroyed by a flood that swept away part of the Pāṇṭiya land.

Aṭiyārkkunallār on *Cilappatikāram* 8.1f.

mutalūli iṭutikkaṇ teṇmaturaiyakattut talaicaṇkattu akattiyaṇārum iraiyaṇārum kumaravēlum muṇaṇciyūr muṭinākarāyarum nitiyīṇkilaṇaṇum eṇṇi ivaruṭ iṭṭa nālāyirattu nāṇūru nāpattonpaṭiṇmār; eṇṇiranta paripāṭalum mutunāraiṇum mutukurukum kaḷariyāviraiṇum ulliṭṭavarraiṇum puṇaintu terintu nālāyirattu nāṇūru narpaṭiṇṇi iyāṇṭu iriṇṇār kāyčinaṇaluti mutar kaṭuṇkōṇ iṇṇai ullār eṇpattonpaṭiṇmār; avaruṭ kaviyaraṇkēriṇār eluvar pāṇṭiyaruṭ oruvaṇ camayākirttiyaṇākiya nilantarutiruvipāṇṭiyaṇ tolkāppiyam pulappaṭuttu iriṇṇāṇ.

At the end of the first period, in Southern Maturai, in the first academy, placed among Akattiyaṇār, Iraiyaṇār, Kumaravēl, Muṭinākarāyar from Muṇaṇciyūr and the lord of treasure [there were] 4449. Those who made [them] sit, fashioning and understanding what included innumerable *Paripāṭals*, the *Mutunārai*, the *Mutukuruku* and the *Kaḷariyāvirai*, for 440 years were 89, of whom Kāyčinaṇaluti was the first and Kaṭuṇkōṇ the last. Among the seven Pāṇṭiya kings who presented poetry among them there was one, Nilantaru Tiruvīṇ Pāṇṭiyaṇ who was Camayākirttiyaṇ²⁸⁹, who made the *Tolkāppiyam* understood [and] had [them] sit.

After some further elucidation of the shifting borders of the Pāṇṭiya land, the commentator proceeds to answer the crucial question concerning his sources for the information he is providing. After referring to a few lines in his root text (*Cilappatikāram* 11.18–20), in which the Pāṇṭiya king hurls his spear at the ocean for its trying to encroach on Pāṇṭiya land, he adds, after a noncommittal “and by other ways” (*piṇarvārrāṇum*), two more passages. One is well known but the other has given rise to speculation. The first is “from the commentary on the *Iraiyaṇār Poruṭ*²⁹⁰ written by Nakkīraṇ, the son of Kaṇakkāyaṇār” (*kaṇakkāyaṇār makaṇār*

²⁸⁹ Here, it seems, we are being informed about a predecessor to the king, with an almost identical name, who commissioned a commentary on the *Tolkāppiyam*, the first king being Mākkirtti Nilantaru Tiruvīṇ Pāṇṭiyaṇ, the second Camyākirttiyaṇ Nilantaru Tiruvīṇ Pāṇṭiyaṇ.

²⁹⁰ That is, the treatise on poetics written by the lord. Incidentally, this provides evidence for the shift in the name of today’s *Iraiyaṇār Akapporuṭ*, then known as the *Kaḷaviyal*.

nakkīraṇār uraitta īraiyaṇār poruḷ uraiyāṇum). This is, presumably, the preamble to the text known to us, since it is the only part of the text that provides any information about the academies. The second is “from the preface of the great ḷampūraṇar, who is [also called] Uraiyaṇār, the teacher of the commentary” (*uraiyaṇār ākiya ḷampūraṇavaṭikaḷ mukavuraiyāṇum*).

Since no mention is made of the name of the text for which the commentator ḷampūraṇar wrote his preface, Aravamuthan (1930: 300–303) – followed by Zvelebil (1973a: 121) – has concluded that it must have belonged to the same text. In other words, there would have been once a second, now lost commentary on the *IA* from the hand of ḷampūraṇar that also contained an account of the *Caṅkam* legend. This, in turn, would explain why ḷampūraṇar, in his commentary on the *Tolkāppiyam*, refers to the treatise *IA*, but not to the commentary written by Nakkīraṇ. This conclusion, however, is based on slim evidence. Given the fact that two important bits of information, namely the boundaries of the Tamil land and the name of the king in whose assembly the *Tolkāppiyam* was presented, are not found in the preamble to Nakkīraṇ but are found in the preface (*pāyiram*) to the *Tolkāppiyam*, it seems much more reasonable to conclude that Aṭiyārkkunallār referred to the poem known as a *pāyiram* by the alternate word *mukavurai*, and attributed its authorship to ḷampūraṇar.²⁹¹ In this case, the other two names of Pāṇṭiyas belonging to the second and third academy would have to be attributed to the unnamed other sources.

An additional argument that is brought forward by Aravamutham (1930: 300–303) is a passage from Pērācīriyar’s commentary on *Marapiyal* 649 (which will be given in full below), where he discusses the authority of the *Tolkāppiyam*. Pērācīriyar claims absolute authority for the *Tolkāppiyam* by referring to two of his predecessors:

kaṭaiccaṅkattāruḷ kaḷaviyal poruḷ kaṇṭa kaṇakkāyaṇār makaṇār nakkīrar “īṭaiccaṅkattārkkunī kaṭaiccaṅkattārkkum nūḷ āyirrut tolkāppiyam” eṇṇār ākalāṇum, piṇkālattārkkunī urai eḷutiṇōrum atu kūṇik kariṇpōkkiṇār ākalāṇum, avar pulavut tuṇanta nōṇpuṭaiyār ākalār poy kūṇār ākalāṇum eṇṇatu.

Because Nakkīrar, the son of Kaṇakkāyaṇār who saw the meaning of the *Kaḷaviyal* of those of the last *Caṅkam*, has said: “The treatise for those of the middle *Caṅkam* and for those of the last *Caṅkam* [was] *Tolkāppiyam*”, and because he who has written the commentary for those of later times has also taught [and] given testimony to that, and because he, since he had the strength to abandon meat, does not teach falsehood.

²⁹¹ It is true that the *pāyiram* is generally ascribed to Paṇampāraṇār, but this tradition may well go back to a period later than Aṭiyārkkunallār. The earliest extant reference to this effect seems to be Pērācīriyar on the same *sūtra* TP 649, quoted below.

Here Aravamathan identifies the second commentator as ḷampūraṇar, and since, just as in Aṭiyārkkunnallār, the text he has commented on for posterity is not mentioned, Aravamathan concludes that this must be another reference to ḷampūraṇar's lost commentary on the *IA*. Everything falls into place, however, when we think of another text that is actually the text under discussion, namely the *Tolkāppiyam*: both Nakkīraṇ and ḷampūraṇar testify to the authority of the *Tolkāppiyam*, the former by mentioning it as the treatise of the second and third *Caṅkam*, and the latter by writing a commentary on all three parts of the text.

The context of the discussion in *Pērācīriyar* is a sort of discourse on the principles of poetry and grammatical theory (*ilakkaṇam*). It is appended to the *Marapiyal* and, this chapter being the last of the *TP*, to the work as a whole. It enumerates the various types of treatises and commentaries, as well as the objects and means of commenting, and culminates in a list of the thirty-two maxims of argumentation, the *tantiravutti*, which is a Tamil adaptation of the Sanskrit term *tantrayukti* (Chevallard 2009b). The relevant *sūtra* is found fairly close to the beginning; it deals with the qualities of the author of the primary treatise (*mutal nūl*). This primary work is understood as the first formulation of the theoretical principles of a domain, the root text for all that is to follow. Clearly the point here is to invest the first author with the necessary authority to carry the weight of a whole tradition.²⁹² After paraphrasing the *sūtra* and elaborating on some of its morpho-syntactic and semantic properties, there follows an extensive exposition on the implications of authority.

Pērācīriyar on *Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram* 649p

*iṇi muṇaiṇaṇār ceyyappaṭuvat' ōr nūl illai y-eṇpār; avaṇ vaḷit tōṇṇiya nalluṇarvuṭaiyār
avaṇpār poruḷ kēṭṭu mutaṇūl ceytār eṇavum, ammuṇaiṇaṇ muṇṇar ākamattup pīrantat'
ōr moliyaipparri aṇaittup poruḷuṇ kaṇṭu piṇṇar avarraṇṇirku nūl ceytār avar eṇavum,*

²⁹² *TPp* 649: *viṇaiyiṇ nīṅki viḷaṅkiya aṇiṇ
muṇaiṇaṇ kaṇṭatu mutaṇūl ākum.*

“What is seen by a sage, of knowledge shining
after he had left behind [former karmic] deeds, is the primary treatise.”

As such, this aphorism seems to echo the famous description of Pāṇini, the founder of the Sanskrit grammatical tradition, from the hand of Patañjali as found in the *Paspaśāhnikā* of the *Mahābhāṣya*: *pramāṇabhūta ācāryo darbhapavitrāpāṇiḥ śucāv avakāśe prāṇmukha upaviśya mahatā yatnēna sūtrāṇi prāṇayati sma tatrāśakyam varṇenāpy anarthakena bhavitum kiṇ punar iyatā sutreṇa* “The Ācārya (= Pāṇini), who is authority incarnate, with the sacred darbha grass in his hands, sitting in a pure location facing the east, produced the rules with a great mental effort. In those rules, it is impossible that even a single sound would be meaningless, let alone an entire rule.” (translation quoted from Deshpande 1998: 15)

avvākamattiṇaiyē pīrkālattārum oḷukkam vērupaṭuṇ-tōrum vērupaṭuttu vaḷinūluṇ cārpunūlum eṇap palavuṇ ceytār eṇavuṇ kūrupa. avai evvārāṇum muṟra uṇarntōr ceyta nūl aṇmaiṇ avai tērappaṭā; allatūm, avai tamīlnūl aṇmaiṇ iṇṭu āṟycci y-ila v-eṇpatu.

Now, some say that there is not one treatise that was made by a sage; they will teach that upon hearing the meaning those who possessed good understanding who appeared on his way made the primary treatise (*mutal nūl*), and that that sage, taking the word that originated from the tradition (*ākamam*) of those before [and] thus seeing the meaning, they made the treatise on all that later on, and that, whenever the usage of those of later times is at variance with that tradition (*ākamam*), they modified [it and] made many [treatises] called “secondary treatises” (*vaḷi nūl*) and “specialised treatises” (*cāpu nūl*). In the absence of a treatise made by someone who had fully understood them in every way, these [treatises] were not obvious; or else, it means that in the absence of these treatises on Tamil, they are not examined here.

marṟu, mēlaic cūttirattu nutaliya neṟiyāṇē mutalum vaḷiyum ām eṇavē, ellārkkum mutalvaṇ āyiṇāṇ ceytatu mutaṇūlē y-ām eṇpatu perutum ākaliṇ, iṇṭu ic cūttiraṇ kūṟiyat’ eṇnai y-eṇiṇ, – tāmē talaivar āvārum attalaivarai vaḷippaṭṭut talaivar āyiṇārum palār ākaliṇ tāmē talaivar āyiṇār nūl ceyyiṇ mutaṇūl āvat’ eṇiṇ, – arṟ’ aṇṟu: tāmē talaivar āyiṇār muṟkālattut tamīlnūl ceytilār ākaliṇ talaivar vaḷiniṇru talaivaṇ ākiya akattiyaṇār ceyyappaṭṭatum mutaṇūl eṇpatu aṟivittarkum, pīrkālattup perumāṇaṭikaḷ kaḷaviyal ceytāṅkuc ceyyiṇum pīrkālattānum mutaṇūl āvat’ eṇpatu aṟivittarkum, aṇṇaṇam ‘viṇaiyi ṇiṅki viḷaṅkiya aṟivaṇāṇ mutaṇūl ceytāṇ’ eṇpatu aṟivittarkum itu kūṟiṇāṇ eṇpatu. eṇavē, akattiyaṇē muṟkālatu mutaṇūl eṇpatūm, ataṇ vaḷitt’ ākiya tolkāppiyam ataṇ vaḷinūl eṇpatūm perrām.

However, when it is said that according to the path proclaimed in the above *sūtra*, there are a primary [treatise] and a secondary [treatise], because we might conclude that the primary treatise is what was made by the one who was the first of them all, if one says “why is this *sūtra* taught here?” – if one says “because only they are authorities and many have become authorities following those authorities (i.e. of the *mutal-nūl*), if a treatise has been made by those who are authorities, it is the primary treatise” – that is not so: because those who were the authorities in former times did not make a treatise on Tamil. He (Tolkāppiyāṇ) taught this in order to make known that the primary treatise has been made by Akattiyaṇār, who was the authority following [those] authorities, and in order to make known that, even if it was made in later times, like the *Kaḷaviyal* having been made by the great lord (Śiva), it is the primary treatise even for later times, and in order to make known the dictum “he with knowledge that shines after he has left behind [former karmic] deeds made the primary treatise”. Finally, we conclude that the primary treatise of former times [is] the *Akattiyam* and that the secondary treatise of that [is] the *Tolkāppiyam*, which is its sequel.

eṇṟārkkum muntunūl eṇappaṭṭaṇa muṟkālatu viḷntaṇa v-eṇak kūṟit tolkāppiyar akattiyaṭtoṭu pīṟalavum avarṟu vaḷinūl ceytār eṇṟakkāl iḷukk’ eṇnai y-eṇiṇ, – atu vēta vaḷakkoṭu māṟukoḷvār ikkālattuc collinūm, iṟanta kālattup pīṟa pācāṇṭikaḷum mūṇṟu vakaic caṇkattu nāṇku varuṇattoṭu paṭṭa cāṇṟōrum atu kūṟār eṇpatu. eṇnai? kaṭaiccaṇkattāruṭ kaḷaviyal poruḷ kaṇṭa kaṇakkāyaṇār makaṇār nakkīr ‘iṭaiccaṇkattārkkūṇ kaṭaiccaṇkattārkkum nūl āyiṇṟut tolkāppiyam’ eṇṟār ākalāṇum, pīrkālattārkkum urai eḷutiṇṟōrum atu kūṟik karipōkkiṇār ākalāṇum, avar pulavut tuṟanta nōṇpuṭaiyār ākalār poy kūṟār ākalāṇum eṇpatu. iṇṇaṇam

eṇpataṇāl akattiyaṛ ceyta akattiyattiṇai mutāṇūl eṇavum, avar vāṇōr ēttum vāymoliṇ palpukaḷ āṇāp perumai y-uṭaiyaṛ eṇavum, avarār ceyyappaṭṭa mutāṇūl poruntak karrup puraitapa uṇarntōruḷ talaivaṛ āyiṇār tolkāppiyaṇār eṇavum, paṇṇirupaṭalattup puṇaint' urai vakaiyār pāyirac cūttirattuḷ uraikkappaṭṭatu. iṇip, paṇṇirupaṭalam mutāṇūl āka vaḷiṇūl (veṇṇpāmālai) ceyta aiyāṇāritaṇārum itu kūṇiṇār; eṇṇai?

since [this] is said, as it calls the primary treatise the *Akattiyam*, made by Akattiyar, and as it calls him the possessor of unending greatness, much praised in true words that are spoken by the celestials, and as it says Tolkāppiyaṇār has become the authority among those who have understood with great perseverance, studying suitably the primary treatise that was made by the former, it is explained in a *sūtra* of the preface by the way of a commentary, after the *Paṇṇirupaṭalam* had been made. Now, Aiyāṇāritaṇār has taught that it [is] the *Veṇṇpāmālai* that was made as the secondary treatise, while the *Paṇṇirupaṭalam* was the primary treatise; why?

*'maṇṇiya ciṛappiṇ vāṇōr vēṇṭat
teṇmalai y-irunta cīrcāl muṇivaraṇ
raṇpār raṇṭamiḷ tāviṇr' uṇarnta
tuṇṇaruṇ cīrttit tolkāppiyaṇ mutar
paṇṇiru pulavarum pāṇkuraṇ pakarnta.'*

... declared carefully by all twelve scholars
with *Tolkāppiyam* of renown that is hard to match as the first,
who understood without fail the cool Tamil from
the sage abounding in excellence who was on the southern mountain (*Akattiyar*),
loved by the celestials of permanent superiority,
eṇap pāyiraṇ ceytarḷu uṭaṇpaṭṭamaiyiṇ eṇpatu.
thus it is said unanimously for making the preface.

*ivaṛṛāṇ ellām akattiyamē muṛkāḷattu mutāṇūl eṇpatūm, tolkāppiyam ataṇ vaḷiṇūl eṇpatūm,
atu tāṇum paṇampāraṇār, “vaṭavēṇkaṭaṇ teṇkumari” (Tol. Pāy.) eṇak kumari-y-āṛṇṇai ellai
y-ākak kūṇip pāyiraṇ ceytamaiyiṇ cakaraṛ vēḷvikkutirai nāṭit toṭṭa kaṭal akattup paṭṭuk kumari-
yārum paṇaināṭṭōṭu keṭuvataṛḷu muṇṇaiyat' eṇpatūm, avvalakkunūl iṇṭu paṛṇi y-allatu
mūṇru vakaic caṇkattāruṇ ceyyūḷ ceytilar eṇpatūm, āciriyaṛum avar pōlvārum avar vaḷi
āciriyaṛuḷ ceyyūḷ ceyta cāṇrōruṇ collātaṇa collappaṭā v-eṇpatūm, avar uṭampaṭātaṇa col
uḷa v-eṇru etirṇūl eṇa oruvaṇ piṛkāḷattu nūl ceyyūm āyiṇ tamiḷ vaḷakkam ākiya marapiṇṭōṭuṇ
tamiḷnūloṭum mārupaṭa nūl ceytāṇ ākum eṇapaṭūm,*

By all this it is said that the primary treatise of former times [is] the *Akattiyam*, and that the *Tolkāppiyam* [is] its secondary treatise, and that that was prior to the destruction of the Kumari river along with the Paṇai land by sinking into the sea, that was touched upon by Cakarar in pursuing the sacrificial horse, for Paṇampāraṇār had made the preface teaching, while the river Kumari was the boundary, “in the north the Vēṇkaṭam [hills], in the south Kumari”, and that those of the threefold academy did not make poetry without referring there to that treatise of custom, that nothing is said that is not said by the teachers and those who were like them and the teachers following them and by the noble ones who made poetry, and that, if someone makes a treatise in later times as counter-treatise, which means

that there are words not in accordance with [the ones of] those [teachers], he will have made a treatise so as to deviate from the usage that has become the custom of Tamil and from the treatise on Tamil,

iṇit tamīl nūluḷḷun tamatu matattukk' ērpaṇa mutanūl uḷa v-enru ikkālattuc ceytu kātṭiṇum avai mūrkalattu ila v-enpatu mūrūrī vanta vakaiyāṇ ariyappaṭum enpatūum, pāṭṭun tokaiyum allātana cila nāṭṭikkoṇṭu marṇavaiyuṇ cāṇṇōr ceyyuḷ āyiṇa; vaḷuvil vaḷakkam enpār uḷar āyiṇ ikkālattuḷḷum orucārarkk' allatu avar cāṇṇōr enappaṭār enpatūum, iṇṇaṇam kaṭṭaḷai ceyyavē kālantōrum vērupaṭa vanta aḷi vaḷakkum iliciṇar vaḷakkum mutal āyiṇ avarrukk' ellām nūl ceyyiṇ ilakkaṇam ellām ellaip paṭātu ikantōṭum enpatūum, iṇanta kālattu nūl ellām pīranta pīranta vaḷakkupparrik kuṇrak kūral enṇuṇ kurraṇ taṇkum enpatūum, onṛākap puraṇaṭuttu oru cūttiramē ceytu pōta amaiyiṇ anṇi oḷinta cūttiraṇkaḷ ellām mikai y-ām enpatūum ellām paṭum enpatu.

and that it is known by the manner [that they] came, since it was taught formerly that those were not there in former times, even if they can be shown to have been made at this time, when saying that there were primary treatises agreeing with the opinions in the present Tamil treatises, and that, if there are those who say “establishing a few things that are not the Songs (*pāṭṭu* = *Pattuppāṭṭu*) and the Collections (*tokai* = *Eṭṭuttokai*), others too have become the verses of the noble ones, [according to] faultless custom”, those [people] are not called noble ones except by those who are not to be depended upon in these times either, and that all that, if the vulgar custom and the custom of the low-born people [was] the base, which came to differ from all the times they were thus making *Kaṭṭaḷai* [lines]²⁹⁴, [and] if a treatise was made for all that, it ran in transgression, without falling within the boundary of all grammar, and that an error remains that is called teaching in a condensed form about the customs that all originated from the treatises of former times, and that, besides being content with making one *sūtra* of a unanimously general type, there is the wealth of all *sūtra*-s left behind, all that being the case.

This complex and fascinating argument certainly deserves a detailed analysis with regard to its view of the grammarian tradition, but what is of concern at present is only the view its author takes *vis-à-vis* the literary tradition. Clear is that Pēṛācīriyar bases himself on a great many sources, some extant, some lost. Some were apparently already lost at the time of his writing, such as the *Akat-tiyam* (the preamble's original Tamil grammar), the *Palkkāppiyam* (known only through Pēṛācīriyar), and the *Pannirupaṭalam* (also mentioned in the preface of the *Veṇpāmālai*). Still extant are the *Irāiyaṇār Kaḷaviyal*, also known as *Irāiyaṇār Akapporuḷ*, with Nakkīraṇ's commentary and the preamble containing the

²⁹⁴ *Kaṭṭaḷai* is a technical term that refers to line-making; for an interpretation, see Chevillard 2013, section 8. Whatever it means exactly, it seems to be a very difficult yet desirable form of composition that already in the third *Caṇkam* was perceived to be on the decline, as is pointed out by Chevillard in reference to a discussion by Pēṛācīriyar in the *Ceyyūḷiyal* on *TPp* 363, briefly resumed by Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar on *TPn Ceyyūḷ* 51.

Caṅkam legend, and, if my interpretation above is correct, ḷampūraṇar's commentary on the *Tolkāppiyam* (which he clearly knows and often discusses), and Aiyaṇāṇṇar's *Purapporuḷ Venṇāmālai*. The preface to the *Tolkāppiyam* is quoted by him for the same reason as it was mentioned by Aṭiyārkkunnallār, namely, with respect to the boundaries of the Tamil territory. The way his argument about the *Kaḷaviyal* and the preface echo the words of the *Cilappatikāram* commentator make it clear to us that we see here a living discourse: he (as the earliest, from our perspective) mentions the name of the author of the preface, Paṇampāraṇar, twice, thus indirectly correcting Aṭiyārkkunnallār. Aṭiyārkkunnallār and Pēraciriyār were either contemporaries or at least quite close in time to each other.

Pēraciriyār is much less forthcoming with information about literary texts; in fact the only poetry he mentions directly is that from the three academies. Slightly later these are identified as *pāṭṭum tokaiyum*, which is quite clearly our *Pattuppāṭṭu* and *Eṭṭuttokai*.²⁹⁵ With regard to the later literary production, he refers to it only in passing and in a slightly derogatory way. The former he describes as *cāṇṇōr ceyyul*, the poetry of the noble ones, whereas the later poetry is seen as belonging to low-born or vulgar people.²⁹⁶ This is quite a strong state-

295 An interesting detail here is that, unlike the author of the preamble, Pēraciriyār treats the *Pattuppāṭṭu* on par with the *Eṭṭuttokai*. He does not bother with any cumbersome details about lost texts from either of the earlier academies, since they were still faithfully repeated after the preamble by, for example, Aṭiyārkkunnallār. This might well mirror a general shift in interest. As has been pointed out by Nagaswamy (2004), unlike the *Eṭṭuttokai*, the *Pattuppāṭṭu* is referred to and quoted from in at least two inscriptions (cf. Introduction, p. 15, n. 39). The point may well be that the Songs served as models for royal panegyric, showing as they undoubtedly do a number of similarities to the longer and more elaborate type of *Meykkīrtti*, starting with the Pāṇṭiya copper-plate grants in the 8th century and continued by both Pāṇṭiyas and Cōḷas well beyond our commentator's time.

296 The dichotomy between (*c*)āṇṇōr and ḷintōr already exists in poetry and is discussed in both early treatises, the *Tolkāppiyam* and the *Ḳaiyaṇār Akapporuḷ*. It is usually understood as a social categorisation and has given rise to much debate in secondary literature as to whether poetry depicts the upper classes, or is made for and by them only. The actual point, however, is the correlation, in the Indian social system, of one's status through birth and access to education. Poetry evidently means highly sophisticated poetry here, and if it is composed by *cāṇṇōr* for *cāṇṇōr*, this may imply that it is the property of the upper classes, so to speak. But what is more important is that it is created by connoisseurs for connoisseurs. To call someone ḷintōr in this context does not mean that one wants to cast aspersions on his birth, but that one regards him as an ignorant fellow. In this context it must rather be kept in mind that the commentators of the *Tolkāppiyam* belonged to the ultra-conservative circles even within the schools of Tamil grammar. By no means everybody did try to follow the tradition of the oldest grammar; there were various fresh attempts, such as the *Viṇacōḷiyam* (an attempt to mould Tamil in the scheme of Sanskrit grammar, containing the first Tamilisation of Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa*) and thereafter, the *Nannūl* (operating on a narrower scale that excluded poetics, but in a way the *Tolkāppiyam*'s

ment, and presumably it must be read as an ideological statement: Just as the *Tolkāppiyam* is proclaimed to be the absolute authority on Tamil grammar, the works of the *Caṅkam* are to be the template for Tamil poetry. This is as explicit a voice of canon formation as we can hope to hear.

That all this must be taken with a grain of salt becomes clear when we take a closer look at the commentary as a whole. Just as grammar must make allowances for linguistic change, poetics must leave room for the development of new forms. It is true that Pērācīriyar's commentary alone contains almost 600 quotations from *Caṅkam* literature, but this is rounded out by about 350 quotations from later texts, many of them of course in the *Ceyyuliyal*, where all the “new” developments of metre are discussed. In fact Pērācīriyar, with his straightforward sense of tradition and canon, stands at the pinnacle of the restoration period or renaissance of the early second millennium. To either side of him we find classical quotations by the hundreds or even thousands, as we will see in the following section. What is rather surprising, however, is that none of his predecessors or successors made an explicit declaration of their intellectual affiliation to the tradition. Should this be interpreted as an indication of the ongoing influence of the preamble to Nakkiraṇ, a foundation text so powerful and uncontested that it need not even be mentioned? Or is it rather that on the whole grammarians were sober people, much more interested in real texts than in the possibility of lost ones that were even more fabulous?

III.5.2 The Corpus Reflected in the Commentaries

The Tamil grammatical tradition is huge and by no means homogeneous. Its commentaries span a period from about the 9th to the 18th century. There are two basic kinds of grammar, those that are comprehensive and those that are specialised. The inclusive type, such as the *Tolkāppiyam*, comprises all three parts of *ilakkaṇam*, which later become five, namely, phonetics and euphonics (*eḷuttu*), morphophology, syntax and semantics (*col*), poetics (*poruḷ*), metrics (*yāppu*) and poetic embellishments (*aṇi*). The first kind of specialised text deals exclusively with grammar in the stricter sense (*eḷuttu* and *col*). Since these two categories make up the first two parts of all the comprehensive grammars, and works dealing with these on their own are also one of the most abundant types, it is possible that they make up about half of the available material, especially since some of these

successor as a standard grammar of Tamil). They too are still interested in the oldest literary heritage, but by no means with the same exclusivity and dedication.

treatises have received multiple commentaries. The second kind of specialised treatise is the poetological one. Here we can distinguish between works devoted to love poetry (*akam*), which are quite frequent, and the type devoted to heroic poetry (*puṇam*), of which there is a single example. The third type of specialised text concerns metre, with several important texts, and the fourth is of the Sanskrit *alaṅkāra* type (the two Tamil examples are called *alaṅkāram*).

There are many reasons influencing the amount of poetic material quoted in the commentaries on these treatises, such as length, period, region of origin, religious affiliation, specialisation, or simply the personal interest of the commentator. While the period of each text is at least roughly known to us, often the place is unknown, and our knowledge about both the grammarians and their commentators is, as a rule, not less hazy, fragmentary or legendary than that about the poets. Religion has obviously influenced the choice of subject matter, as we will see in several examples, but almost never has it led to exclusivity.

Another aspect we know as yet little about is school formation. Of course one might say, for example, that all the commentators on the *Tolkāppiyam* form a single school of grammar, since they share a basic text and its tradition. But alliances seem to work in a more subtle way. *Naṇṇūl* as a school of grammar is different from the *Tolkāppiyam*, but since the *Naṇṇūl* is a more limited text (*eḷuttu* and *col* only), where do *Naṇṇūl* scholars go for poetic theories?²⁹⁷ The *Viṇacōḷiyam*, highly Sanskritised and Buddhist, seems to be a peripheral text followed by no one other than the author of the *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram*, which seems to be an elaboration on the Daṇḍin adaptation already found the *poruḷ* section of the *Viṇacōḷiyam*. Yet another case are the treatises on Akam poetics up to the *Kaḷaviyaḷ Kārikai* of the 14th century, which all seem to be in an open continuum with the *Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram* and the *Iṇaiyaṇār Akapporuḷ*. This is not the case with treatises on metrics, where the *Yāpparuṅkalam* tradition seems quite separate from the *Tolkāppiyam*, and in a way much more open minded; the *Virutti* famously contains the largest number of quotes and discussions from other works, including a large range of lost grammatical treatises. Then again, there are cases like the 17th-century *Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam*, the last of the huge comprehensive grammars. It seems to be a compendium of earlier theoretical material that was handed down from various schools.

²⁹⁷ One model has it that *Naṇṇūl* could be included the five-part system by being complemented with *Nampi Akapporuḷ* and *Puṇapporuḷ Veṇpāmālai* (*poruḷ*), *Yāpparuṅkalakāraikai* (*yāppu*) and *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram* (*aṇi*). This scheme is suggested in the introduction of Beschi's Centamiḷ grammar (p. X in Babington's English translation of 1822), but it presumably goes back to traditional sources.

In short, we find two counteracting tendencies, namely, inclusivism versus compartmentalisation. This of course was probably not only active at the text level, but also at the level of transmission: there may have been *Tolkāppiyam* scholars who also read the *Naṇṇūl* and others who abhorred it. And many shorter texts that are even less well studied are even more difficult to place. At present we do not even have precise information about the transmission lines of each text. The only thing which is clear is that in the premodern period there are far more manuscripts transmitting grammatical treatises than literary texts. For example, there might still be as many as a hundred extant manuscripts of the *Tolkāppiyam* (where it must be said that transmission is most frequently book-wise and commentary-wise, that is, manuscripts contain *Eluttu-*, *Col-* or *Poruḷ-atikāram* with one of the six commentators, although composite manuscripts also occur). But even the short *Iraiyaṇār Akapporuḷ*, with its single commentary, still exists in some twenty manuscripts. No *Caṅkam* text can boast nearly as many, with the exception of the *Tirumurukārruppaṭai*, which was also part of the devotional repertoire. In other words, regardless of how exclusive the area of grammar might appear from the perspective of popular devotional and narrative literature, it must still have been quite a healthy genre with a widely branching transmission.

Quotations can be found everywhere, in some texts by the handful, in others by the hundreds. As already mentioned, most of these quotations are not identified (either by text or by poem number). Commentators often make use of the device of *pratīka* quotations, that is, they refer to a particular poem by quoting only the first one or two metrical feet. Both of these features show quite clearly that throughout this period, that is, from the 9th to the 17th century, the works and the poems in question must have been part of a general repertoire that any scholar who read these commentaries was expected to know intimately.

The first subcorpus that will be examined here for statistical purposes is that of the Akam poetological tradition. The crown witness, both in volume and temporal extension, is unequivocally the poetological section of the *Tolkāppiyam* (TP), with its three commentators, Iḷampūraṇar (Iḷ.; 11th c.), Pērācīriyar (Pēr.; 12th c.), and Naccīṇārkkīṇiyar (Nacc.; 14th c.). It is preceded by the *Yāpparuṅkala Virutti* (YV), the only substantial early work that is independent from the *Tolkāppiyam* tradition (10th c.). A period from about the 9th to the 14th century is also covered by the shorter specialised poetics treatises only on Akam, which all clearly share a discourse with the *Tolkāppiyam* tradition. They begin with the *Iraiyaṇār Akapporuḷ* and Nakkīraṇ (Nakk.; 9th c.), the *Tamiḷṇeri Viḷakkam* with an anonymous commentary (10th c.), the Nampi's *Akapporuḷ Viḷakkam* (AV) with auto-commentary (Nampi; 13th c.), and the *Kaḷaviyal Kārikai* with anonymous commentary (KK; 14th c.). The only work specialising in Akam that is later than Naccīṇārkkīṇiyar

is the *Māraṇ Akapporu!* (16th c.), which comes from within the Vaiṣṇava tradition and has a *Kōvai* on Viṣṇu as its main illustrative text. The tradition is, however, also taken up in the last huge inclusive grammar, the *Ilakkaṇam Viḷakkam* with Vaittiyanāta Tēcikar's auto-commentary (IV; 17th c.). The poetological sections of this work have also been included in the present analysis.

A statistical analysis of the distribution of quotations tells us something, although the comparisons are not always straightforward. The analysis presented here is based on citation instances, regardless of whether a poem is quoted in full, in part, or only through a *pratīka*. Repetitions are included (sometimes a particular poem, or parts of it, is used several times in different contexts). As the commentary texts are very uneven in length and scope, absolute figures cannot be directly compared. The same is true for the poetic texts; statistically speaking, one quotation from a forty-verse anthology, such as some of the shorter *Kīlkkāṇakku*, should be equivalent to ten quotations from the big four-hundred-verse *Caṇkam* anthologies. Five groups can be easily distinguished. In addition to *Caṇkam* works, we find *Kīlkkāṇakku*, epic texts, and *Pirapantam* (all later, shorter genres). Among the latter, the *Kōvai* deserves a special position, since, at least from the perspective of poeticians, the *Kōvai*'s main function seems to have been illustrative; a number of them (including the very first, the *Pāṇṭikkōvai*) have been transmitted only within poetological commentaries. The last group contains anonymous quotations. Here we are faced with several big question marks. At least the names of some of these texts have been transmitted, although this is surprising since, as already mentioned, the practice of naming the texts being cited is not widespread. A number of these verses may have been composed for the purpose of the commentary, and many are handed down from one commentary to the next, but this is never expressly stated. The percentage of unidentified verses is quite uneven; it ranges from about five per cent in *Nakkīraṇ* to more than eighty per cent in the *Tamīlneri Viḷakkam*. This should be taken as a reminder that our picture of Tamil literature is, among other things, highly influenced by the hazards of transmission.

Table 28: Quotations from the poetological commentaries

text/genre	<i>Caṇkam</i>	<i>Kīlkkāṇakku</i>	Epics	<i>Pirapantam</i>	anonymous	total
Nakkīraṇ	50	5	4	325	24	408
YV	64	103	44	3	?	214++
TNV comm.	18	/	/	3	172	193
Iḷampūraṇar	685	278	18	14	143	1138
Pēṛācīriyar	589	69	7	5	278	948
Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar	1441	300	45	81	657	2524
AV Nampi	213	52	7	437	70	779

text/genre	<i>Caṅkam</i>	<i>Kīlkkāṇakku</i>	Epics	<i>Pirapantam</i>	anonymous	total
<i>KK comm.</i>	57	8	6	359	158	588
<i>IV comm.</i>	244	91	23	504	153	1015

Here it can be clearly seen that *Caṅkam* texts continued to play a significant role in the debates within the poetological literature from the 9th to the 17th century. Nakkīraṇ, whose main illustrative text is the *Pāṇṭikkōvai*, also integrates fifty *Caṅkam* quotations into his commentary. The *Virutti* is a much longer work; it has a more theoretical focus and contains hundreds of unidentified quotations. It would be a huge project just to sort them and separate the literary ones from the theoretical ones. However, it also contains 64 *Caṅkam* quotations, as well as 103 from the *Kīlkkāṇakku*, of which the bulk is from the *Tirukkuraḷ*, thus testifying for the first time to that text's rise in popularity. Its comparatively high number of quotations from the epics is mostly due to its partiality for the Jain *Cuḷāmaṇi*; the *Virutti* is also considered a Jain text. The *Tamiḷneri Viḷakkam* is, with a mere 25 *sūtra*-s, the shortest treatise. It is especially tantalising because despite a fairly small number of *Caṅkam* quotations from only two texts (see appendix 1), there are a full 172 unidentified ones. Superlative in every respect is the *Tolkāppiyam*, where the amount of quoted material grows with each commentator. Here it must be kept in mind that Iḷampūraṇar comments on all nine sections of the *Poruḷatikāram*, while Pēraciriyar only deals with the last four, complemented by Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar on the first five, plus a third commentary on the *Ceyyūḷiyal* (= *TP* 8).²⁹⁸ Between them, these three offer more than 2700 *Caṅkam* quotations. *Nampi* later becomes the standard treatise on Akam poetics, transmitted in a large number of manuscripts. It also has a *Kōvai* for its main illustrative texts, but nonetheless the *Caṅkam* quotations (restricted to Akam) number 213. Here the intriguing complication is, as pointed out by Nachimuthu (2009: 4), that the classical quotations are in fact only found in a small number of this text's manuscripts. In the introduction to his unpublished critical edition of *Nampi*, Nachimuthu's student Rajarethinam 2006 explains that of two main branches, only one contains *Caṅkam* quotations. We will come back to this point. The *Kaḷaviyal Kārikai* is a fragmentary treatise that is perhaps slightly later. It contains a commentary on a lost *Akattiṇai* portion and *sūtra*-s 23–54 plus commentary on

²⁹⁸ Here one must remember that Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar also worked as a commentator of literary texts; his commentaries include one on the *Pattuppāṭṭu* and one on the *Kalittokai*. One of the mnemonic stanzas in the *Veṇpā* even mentions a commentary on twenty stanzas from the *Kuruntokai* (cf. p. 177, n. 143).

Kaḷavu and *Karpu*. The commentary basically consists in huge collections of quotations from a variety of poetic texts, including 57 *Caṅkam* quotations and several *Kōvais*, important among them *Pāṇṭikkōvai* and *Tirukkōvaiyār*, one of the very few examples of a text from the bhakti canon that also is discussed in poetics. After Nacciṇārkkīṇar, then, we have a gap of several centuries until in the 17th century we see a glorious revival of poetics with the composition of the *Ilakkāṇa Viḷakkam*, a huge work of several volumes. Its quotations include the literature written in the intervening period, but nonetheless even here we find no less than 244 quotations from the *Caṅkam* corpus. A series of tables giving detailed figures for the individual texts can be found in appendix 1 at the end of this chapter.

As can be seen from the tables in the appendices, not all of the texts display the same degree of popularity. In general it can be said that quotations from *Paṭirrupattu*, *Paripāṭal* and *Pattuppāṭṭu* are fairly rare. Of the others, the *Kuruntokai* is on the whole cited the most frequently; the popularity of the others shifts according to commentary. What makes our statistics slightly uneven is the fact that almost all of the intermediate texts are treatises on Akam poetics, which means they have little reason to quote Puṇam poems. An additional source for Puṇam, however, is the above-mentioned *Puṇattiraṭṭu*, a probably 15th-century anthology of didactic verses from a variety of other texts, some of them, such as the *Muttoḷḷāyiram*, lost today. Among its 1505 stanzas we find 105 poems from the *Puṇanāṇūru*, 6 from the *Paṭirrupattu*, and 6 from the *Paripāṭal*.

An important investigation that must be made is the sources of the quotations in the various commentaries. It is quite obvious that poems have been handed down from commentator to commentator, especially in the grammatical tradition strictly speaking, where lines of poems become standard examples. But also in treatises on poetics there are situations in which the same poem is cited by later commentators. This seems to suggest that during the medieval peak period up to Nacciṇārkkīṇar in the 14th century, scholars still had access to the texts themselves. Over time, however, the texts were lost and only the example poems were then copied from earlier commentaries. Indeed, this hypothesis is the only way to explain why, in the 19th century, while a number of commentaries, especially those on the *Nanṇūl*, were still taught, the names of the *Caṅkam* texts quoted in them had vanished from consciousness.

Appendix 2 gives a set of tables that show the distribution of quoted poems in the various commentaries. No distinction is made between poems quoted in full, in part or in *pratīka* form, and neither repetitions nor the particular contexts have been taken into consideration. All the poems quoted in the *Tolkāppiyam* tradition are left unmarked, which means they may have been taken from the commentaries by Ḹampūraṇar, Pēracīriyar or Nacciṇārkkīṇar. All the other poems have been colour-coded to show where new material enters the stream of transmission.

Broadly speaking, as might be expected, the *Tolkāppiyam* tradition quotes the greatest number of poems by far. However, a small number of poems cited in the commentaries that precede those of the *Tolkāppiyam* tradition, that is, that of Nakkīraṇ, the *Yāpparuṅkala Virutti*, and the *Tamilneri Viḷakkam*, are not taken up by the *Tolkāppiyam* commentators, but reappear elsewhere, i.e. in *Nampi*, the *Kaḷaviyal Kārikai* and the *Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam*. This most probably means that these later commentators had access not only to the *Tolkāppiyam* works, but to the full breadth of poetological transmission. This is instructive especially with respect to the *Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam*, whose great synthesis thus must have been based on first-hand knowledge of the grammatical tradition. This is not conclusive with respect to the *Caṅkam* texts themselves. However, there is one instance where the *IV* quotes a line from a poem not before quoted in the poetological tradition, namely *Narriṇai* 107. Since the *Narriṇai* was never a popular text, this might be seen as an indication that Vaittiyanāta Tēcikar still had a copy of this text in the 17th century and quoted directly from it.

A special position is taken by *Nampi Akapporuḷ*. Here we find 45 poems that have not been cited before and are not taken up by Naccinārkkiniyar. In this regard, we must consider Rajarethinam's observation that the manuscript tradition originally did not contain so many classical quotations. He argues that it is likely that these quotations do not go back to the 13th century, but were added at a later point in time. This would make these quotations even more intriguing, for if they are available in one part of the palm-leaf manuscripts only, this would mean that they were added before the Tamil Renaissance of the 19th century, perhaps in the 17th or 18th century. What points to the 17th century is the fact that a few of the poems in *Nampi*'s text are also cited in the *Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam*, namely *Kuṟuntokai* 202 plus *Narriṇai* 16 and 318. Thus *Nampi* might be another testimony for the latest point in time when the actual *Caṅkam* texts were still in use. Unfortunately none of the *Nampi* manuscripts examined by Rajarethinam seems to bear a date.

As far as *Puṇam* is concerned, of 105 poems from the *Puṇanānūru*, the *Puṇattiraṭṭu* contains 42 that are not part of the *Tolkāppiyam* tradition, which means that during its compilation in the 15th century the *PN* must have still been available as a text. Of these 42 poems, one is quoted in the *Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam*, which means its commentator must have had access at least to the *Puṇattiraṭṭu*, if not to the *PN* itself.²⁹⁹ The last table in the appendix records the quotations of

²⁹⁹ In fact the *PN* is not quoted much in the *IV*; most examples for the *Puṇattiraṭṭu* come from the *Puṇapporuḷ Veṇpāmālai*.

Pattuppāṭṭu, never frequent at the best of times and dwindling to almost none in the *IV*; the few that remain may have come from the *Tolkāppiyam* tradition.³⁰⁰

One more question that must be asked is whether what can be observed in the poetological tradition is equally valid for grammatical treatises in the narrow sense. The grammatical corpus has the advantage of being larger and covering a broader period of time. The *Tolkāppiyam* has five commentators for grammar, namely again Ḥampūraṇar (Ḥ.) and Nacṇārkkīṇiyar (Nacc.) on *Eḷuttu* and *Col*, plus Cēṇāvaraiyar³⁰¹ (Cēṇ., 12th c.), Teyvacilaiyār (Teyv., 15th c.) and Kallāṭaṇār (Kall., 15th c.) on *Col* only. Pavaṇanti Muṇivar's *Naṇṇūl* (*Eḷuttu* and *Col* in one volume), the *Tolkāppiyam*'s rival school in the 13th century, also boasts a row of commentators, starting with Mayilainātar (May., 14th c.), followed by Caṅkara Namaccivāyar (Caṅk., 17th c.), the *Naṇṇūl Virutti*, a reworking of Caṅkara Namaccivāyar in the hands of Civañāṇa Muṇivar, also 18th century, and Kūlaṅkai Tampiran (Kūl., 18th c.). Two voluminous volumes on *Eḷuttu* and *Col* form part of the Ḥakkaṇa *Viḷakkam* (*IV*, 17th c.). An additional valuable piece of evidence is one of the less stream-lined short treatises of the 17th century, namely Cuppiramaṇiya Tiṭcitar's *Pirayōka Vivēkam* (*PV*), a grammar that tries to prove the common origins of Sanskrit and Tamil.

A major drawback of the grammatical quotations is their brevity. Poems are rarely ever quoted in full, and about one third of the quotations contain less than one line. With half-line or even quarter-line quotations, however, it is difficult to be certain of a correct identification, all the more so since we are dealing with formulaic poetry. For this reason, quotations that are clearly formulaic have not been taken into consideration. For the others, not only the poem has been identified, but also the line and the metrical foot in question. Since even modern editions rarely identify more than the poem, more precise identifications have been made only for the *Caṅkam* corpus. However, from the lists of the other quoted texts it appears that grammatical commentators were, if anything, even more conservative in their choice of material than the poetological commentators, disregarding the fact, of course, that the former also use examples from spoken language. Their literary preferences, however, do not only lie with the *Caṅkam* corpus, but also the *Kīlkaṇakku* and the epics. It is here that we find the occasional bhakti poem, not only from the *Tirukkōvaiyār*, but also from the *Tiruvācakam* and the *Tivyappirapantam*.

³⁰⁰ Three anthologies have not been taken into account. The *Paṭirupattu* and *Paripāṭal* are not included because they are rarely quoted. And analysing the *Kalittokai* would have been very complicated. For the most part, its poems, some very long, are not quoted in their entirety, so it would have been necessary to make line-by-line comparisons.

³⁰¹ The statistical data for this commentator have been taken from Chevillard 1996: 635 ff.

Table 29: *Caṅkam* quotations in the grammatical commentaries

text	Iḷ	Cēṇ.	Nacc.	Teyv.	Kall.	May.	Caṅk.	N.Vir.	Kūḷ.	IV	PV
<i>KT</i>	23	32	66	22	12	47	27	27	22	61	3
<i>NA</i>	17	29	31	16	3	14	8	7	8	38	3
<i>AN</i>	43	59	90	42	13	31	24	18	14	81	4
<i>PN</i>	15	56	121	58	15	86	56	54	30	91	6
<i>AiN</i>	3	2	11	2	1	2	2	1	1	10	/
<i>Pati</i>	1	8	16	7	1	4	3	3	3	14	/
<i>Kali</i>	2	24	89	32	13	33	20	19	16	56	2
<i>Pari</i>	1	/	6	4	/	2	1	1	/	4	3
<i>Tirumuru.</i>	/	3	8	4	1	5	8	5	2	9	12
<i>Porun.</i>	/	/	4	/	2	6	4	4	4	3	1
<i>Ċirup.</i>	/	3	4	3	/	1	1	1	/	6	1
<i>Perump.</i>	/	/	8	1	/	1	2	2	1	8	1
<i>Mullaip.</i>	/	/	4	2	/	/	/	/	/	3	/
<i>Maturaik.</i>	4	/	6	3	/	/	/	/	/	7	/
<i>Neṭunal.</i>	2	3	4	2	/	/	/	/	/	3	1
<i>Kuṛiṇcip.</i>	2	2	4	1	/	/	/	/	/	3	/
<i>Paṭṭinap.</i>	/	1	2	/	/	1	/	/	1	1	1
<i>Malaip.</i>	4	8	18	5	1	6	7	7	3	18	/
total	124	230	493	214	62	241	161	139	101	416	38

The overall number of *Caṅkam* quotations in grammatical commentaries is with about 2,200³⁰² not much lower than those from treatises on poetics, with approximately 2,700.

Detailed tables for all eighteen *Caṅkam* works are found in appendix 3. A feature far more evident in the grammatical tradition is, unsurprisingly, the standard example. The first two tables (*KT* and *NA*) in appendix three have been colour-coded to show the distribution of such examples. Those without colour are quotations that are shared by the two great medieval traditions, that of *Tolkāppiyam* and of *Naṇṇūl*. The quotations within the tradition of the *Tolkāppiyam* are lilac; the very few new examples introduced by the two later *Tolkāppiyam* commentators (Teyv. and Kall.) are indicated with darker lilac. The *Naṇṇūl* examples are light blue, those of the *Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam* that are newly introduced are green, and the new ones in the *Pirayōka Vivēkam* are orange. One glance at these tables shows that nearly half of the examples come from common sources. What is not reflec-

³⁰² Since the search for quotes in the huge prose treatises must be done manually, and not everything is marked as a quotation, for the time being these figures remain imprecise, which is why I have preferred to round down the totals.

ted in these tables is what might be termed creative borrowing: in some cases an example is repeated, but presented in a new context. Another interesting phenomenon is the corruption of the standard examples: the later instances of such borrowed quotations tend to deviate from the earlier ones. I suggest explaining this as being caused by the interaction between an oral and a written transmission.

With regard to mere numbers of quotations, the peak is found, as in the poetological tradition, in the 14th century with Nacc. on the *Tolkāppiyam* and May. on the *Nanṇūl* side. The 17th-century *IV* clearly takes up, in addition to the common stock examples, some from the *Tolkāppiyam* and some from the *Nanṇūl*. Moreover, it introduces roughly 40 new examples, clearly too many to be explained by insufficient identifications. In other words, here the quotation tables seem to provide irrefutable evidence that in the 17th century the *Caṅkam* texts, including the *Pattuppāṭṭu* (which was not prominent in poetics), were still extant and available.³⁰³

This state of affairs is confirmed by Cuppiramaṇiya Tiṭcitar's *Pirayōka Vivēkam*. With only 50 *sūtra*-s, it is a much shorter treatise; correspondingly, its auto-commentary also contains far fewer quotations. It has, however, a few remarkable special features. Its stock provider of examples is the *Tirukkuraḷ*, with more than 260 quotations. Its author repeatedly refers to the opinions of one of the great medieval scholars, namely Parimēlaḷakar, most famous for his *Kuraḷ* commentary, but also for his commentaries on the *Paripāṭal* and *Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai*. It is quite clear that Cuppiramaṇiya Tiṭcitar still had access to the *Paripāṭal*, because he brings four new examples from this stepchild of the classical corpus, of which one is not even found in the printed edition of that very fragmentary anthology. As for the *Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai*, the short *Pirayōka Vivēkam* brings the largest number of quotations known from any commentary, namely twelve (of which eight are not found in earlier commentaries). This perhaps testifies to a new popularity of the *Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai*, possibly due in part to its status as a devotional poem. However, also the *Pattuppāṭṭu* is present in the *PV*; it contains one quotation from both the *Neṭunalvāṭai* and the *Paṭṭiṇappālai*. Moreover, the author demonstrates familiarity with the titles of a number of early works, since when discussing compounds, he chooses *Kār-nāṛpatu*, *Iniya-nāṛpatu* and *Pura-nāṇūru* (*PV* 24) as examples for compounds with a numeral as the last member.

Instructive is the glimpse into the 18th century, which is allowed by the two later *Nanṇūl* commentators. Already the 17th-century Caṅkara Namaccivāyar shows that the *Nanṇūl* tradition was less dynamic than that of the *Tolkāppiyam*,

³⁰³ One more cause for uncertainty in this regard is the degree of reliability that can be accorded the various editions. It is often difficult to judge which examples belong to the original commentary and which have been added by editors (which in the case of the *IV*, are an unnamed Kaḷakam scholar and T. V. Gopal Iyer). One would need manuscript evidence to be absolutely certain.

for he takes almost all of his examples from Mayilainātar and adds very little of his own. This trend is even more pronounced in the texts of the 18th century, where the number of examples keeps shrinking and nearly nothing is added, that is, as far as the classical corpus is concerned. This indicates that the later *Naṇṇūl* commentators did not have active knowledge of the *Caṅkam* texts themselves. One corroborative piece of evidence for this conclusion may be found in the phenomenon referred to above as corruption. Two examples will suffice to demonstrate this point. In the four successive commentaries, *KT* 300.2 reads as follows:

- May. (s. 289): *āmpa nārun tēmpoti tuvarvāy*
 Caṅk. (s. 290): *āmpa nārun tēmpoti tuvarvāy*
 N.Vir. (s. 336): *āmpa nārun tēmpoti kiḷavi*
 Kūḷ. (s. 289): *āmpa nārun tīmpoti kiḷavi*

Here, some of the attributes change in the description of a girl who has a “honey-hoarding coral mouth redolent of white water-lilies”. *tīm* for *tēm* is just a formulaic replacement of an adjective for the noun, but the word mouth is replaced by “words” (*kiḷavi*). And while it is perhaps possible to imagine a mouth bearing the fragrance of water-lilies, it is not particularly convincing to say the same thing of words. Another type of corruption can be seen in *NA* 3.6:

- May. (s. 301): *curaṇmutal vanta vuraṇmāy mālai*
 Kūḷ. (s. 301): *kāṇmutal vanta vuraṇ mālai*

Here “the strength-vanquishing evening that has come to the desert” has been transformed into a “strong evening that has come to the forest”. While *kāṇ* again can be seen as a formulaic replacement of *curaṇ*, the loss of *māy* not only does not make much sense, it moreover cripples a metrically correct line. Neither of these instances betrays much in the way of classical scholarship.

In summary it can be said that the *Caṅkam* corpus was widely read and quoted in a broad range of grammatical literature. At least in treatises on poetics, the corpus had the status of an authoritative and canonical text. In addition to mere numbers, this is also visible in the strategic choices made by the commentators, who evidently prefer *Caṅkam* quotations to illustrate their points, only resorting to later texts if an appropriate quotation cannot be found there. This also explains why in treatises on metrics the old poetry is less prominent; the development of new, complicated metres is exclusively a post-*Caṅkam* phenomenon. While the zenith of the restorative movement coincides with the major period of commentary production from the 10th to the 14th centuries, it is unmistakably possible to detect traces of fresh input – that testify to the availability of texts – up to the 17th century.

Appendix 1: Tables of Quotations from the Poetological Commentaries

1) Nakkīraṇ on *Iraiyaṇār Akapporuḷ*:

Texts	Nakkīraṇ on <i>IA</i>
<i>Kuṟuntokai</i>	19
<i>Narriṇai</i>	13
<i>Akanāṇṇūru</i>	13
<i>Aiṇkuṟunūru</i>	3
<i>Kalittokai</i>	2
<i>Kuṟaḷ</i>	5
<i>Cilappatikāram</i>	4
<i>Pāṇṭikkōvai</i>	325
anonymous	24

2) Commentary on *Tamilneriṇiḷakkam*:

Texts	Comm. on <i>Tamilneriṇiḷakkam</i>
<i>Kuṟuntokai</i>	14
<i>Aiṇkuṟunūru</i>	4
<i>Cirraṭṭakam</i> (lost)	3
anonymous	172 [a number of which known from other commentaries]

3) *Yāpparuṅkala Virutti*:

Texts	<i>Yāpparuṅkala Virutti</i>
<i>Kuṟuntokai</i>	17
<i>Akanāṇṇūru</i>	5
<i>Puṟanāṇṇūru</i>	13
<i>Aiṇkuṟunūru</i>	5
<i>Kalittokai</i>	7
<i>Mullaipāṭṭu</i>	1
<i>Maturaikkāñci</i>	2
<i>Paṭṭiṇappālai</i>	4
<i>Malaipaṭukaṭām</i>	10
<i>Kuṟaḷ</i>	74
<i>Nāḷaiyār</i>	15
<i>Nāṇmaṇi Kaṭikai</i>	4
<i>Inṇilai</i>	1
<i>Paḷamoḷi</i>	1
<i>Mutumoliḷkāñci</i>	5
<i>Muttoḷḷāyiram</i>	3

Texts	Yāpparuṅkala Virutti
<i>Cilappatikāram</i>	2
<i>Kuṇṭalakēci (lost)</i>	1
<i>Cīvakacintāmaṇi</i>	4
<i>Cuḷāmaṇi</i>	35
<i>Peruṅkatai</i>	1
<i>Nīlakēci</i>	1
<i>Cīrreṭṭakam</i>	1
<i>Tirumantiram</i>	1
<i>Iṭaikkāṭaṇār Pāṭal(?)</i>	1

4) Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram:

Texts	Iḷampūraṇar	Pērācīriyar	Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar
<i>Kuṟuntokai</i>	126	105	225
<i>Narriṇai</i>	61	12	128
<i>Akanāṇṇūru</i>	86	184	286
<i>Puṟaṇāṇṇūru</i>	120	83	183
<i>Aiṅkuṟunūru</i>	72	26	163
<i>Paṭiṟruppattu</i>	13		30
<i>Kalittokai</i>	177	103	367
<i>Paripāṭal</i>	4	6	4
<i>Tirumurukārruppaṭai</i>	7	12	13
<i>Porunarārruppaṭai</i>	1	3	6
<i>Cīrupāṇārruppaṭai</i>		4	1
<i>Perumpāṇārruppaṭai</i>	5	21	2
<i>Mullaippāṭṭu</i>	2		2
<i>Maturaikkāñci</i>	2	2	6
<i>Neṭunalvāṭai</i>		3	3
<i>Kuṟiñcippāṭṭu</i>	1		5
<i>Paṭṭiṇappālai</i>	4	14	13
<i>Malaipaṭukaṭām</i>	4	11	4
<i>Kuṟaḷ</i>	189	27	167
<i>Nālaṭiyār</i>	22	18	29
<i>TiṇaimālaiNūrraimpatu</i>	16	1	34
<i>Aintiṇai Aimpatu</i>	12	3	11
<i>Aintiṇai Eḷupatu</i>	12		15
<i>Tiṇaimolī Aimpatu</i>	8		13
<i>Kainnilai</i>	5		2
<i>Kaḷavaḷi Nārpātu</i>	1	5	5
<i>Kārnārpātu</i>	1		1
<i>Ācārakkōvai</i>			2
<i>Iṇṇānārpātu</i>			1
<i>Tirikaṭukam</i>	2		1

Texts	ḷampūraṇar	Pēraciriyar	Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar
<i>Paḷamoḷi</i>	1	1	1
<i>Nāṇmaṇikkaṭikai</i>			5
<i>Mutumolikkāñci</i>		1	
<i>Muttoḷḷāyiram</i>	9	13	13
<i>Cilappatikāram</i>	12	6	23
<i>Maṇimēkalai</i>	2		
<i>Cīvaka Cintāmaṇi</i>	1		8
<i>Cūḷāmaṇi</i>	3		3
<i>Peruṅkaṭai</i>		1	1
<i>Pāratam</i> (lost)			10
<i>Pāṇṭikkōvai</i>	1		
<i>Tirukkōvaiyār</i>			5
<i>Takaṭūr Yāttirai</i>			17
<i>Aṇaṇerīccāram</i>	1		
<i>Ācīriyamālai</i>	1		
<i>Mūttanāyaṇar tiruviraṭṭai</i>	2		
<i>maṇimālai</i>			
<i>Mārkaṇṭēyaṇārka Kāñci</i>	1		
<i>Cirreṭṭakam</i> (lost)	6	1	6
<i>Kuṇanāṇṇipatu</i> (lost)	2		2
<i>Koṇṇaivēyntaṇ. Kāppu</i>		3	
<i>(Auvaiyār?)</i>			
<i>Mūturai</i> (Auvaiyār)		1	
<i>Paracurāma Kācipaṇ Vēṭpitta</i>			1
<i>Pāṭṭu</i>			
<i>Aṇaṇerīccāram</i>			1
<i>Vaḷaiyāpati</i>			1
<i>[Puṇṇattiraṭṭu</i>			48]
anonymous	143	278	657

5) *Nampi Akapporuḷ*:

Texts	comm. on <i>Nampi Akapporuḷ</i>
<i>Kuṇuntokai</i>	60
<i>Nāṇṇiṇai</i>	43
<i>Akanāṇṇūru</i>	24
<i>Aiṅkuṇunūru</i>	61
<i>Kalittokai</i>	11
<i>Puṇanāṇṇūru</i>	11
<i>Paripāṭal</i>	1
<i>Maturaikkāñci</i>	1
<i>Kuṇiṇṇippāṭṭu</i>	1
<i>Kuṇaḷ</i>	11
<i>Nālaṭiyār</i>	3

Texts	comm. on <i>Nampi Akapporuḷ</i>
<i>Aintiṇai Eḷupatu</i>	4
<i>Aintiṇai Aimpatu</i>	8
<i>Tiṇaimālai Nūrraimpatu</i>	19
<i>Tiṇaimoli Aimpatu</i>	5
<i>Kārṇarpatu</i>	1
<i>Ācārakkōvai</i>	1
<i>Cilappaṭikāram</i>	5
<i>Cīvakacintāmaṇi</i>	2
<i>Tirukkōvaiyār</i>	3
<i>Ampikāpatikkōvai</i>	2
<i>Tiruvārūrkōvai</i>	2
<i>Taṇṇcaivāṇṇkōvai</i>	427
<i>Puṇapporuḷ VM:</i>	3
anonymous	70

6) *Kaḷaviyaṛ Kārikai*:

Texts	Kuṇṇacākarar on <i>Kaḷaviyaṛ Kārikai</i>
<i>Kuṇṇuntokai</i>	21
<i>Narriṇai</i>	16
<i>Neṭuntokai</i>	6
<i>Aiṇkuṇṇūru</i>	13
<i>Kalittokai</i>	1
<i>Tirukkuraḷ</i>	3
<i>Tiṇaimālai Nūrraimpatu</i>	3
<i>Aintiṇai Aimpatu</i>	1
<i>Aintiṇai Eḷupatu</i>	1
<i>Cilappaṭikāram</i>	6
<i>Nantik Kalampakam</i>	1
<i>Pāṇṭikkōvai</i> :	152 [corrected, but not verified]
<i>Tirukkōvaiyār</i>	145 [corrected, but not verified]
<i>Tiruviṭai Marutūr</i>	1
<i>Mummaṇikkōvai</i>	
<i>Vaṇkarkōvai</i>	3
<i>Araiyar Kōvai</i>	1
<i>Cīrreṭṭakam</i> (lost)	8
<i>Maḷavai Eḷupatu</i>	1
<i>Paḷampāṭṭu</i> (lost?)	35
<i>Paḷcantamālai</i>	8
<i>Iṇṇicai Mālai</i>	2
<i>Tillaiyantāti</i>	1
<i>Naṇaiyūrantāti</i>	1
anonymous	158

7) *Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam*:

Texts	Vaittiyanāta Tēcikaṛ on <i>Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam Poruḷatikāram</i>
<i>Kuṟuntokai</i>	59
<i>Naṟṟiṇai</i>	12
<i>Akanāṇṇūru</i>	64
<i>Puṟanāṇṇūru</i>	24 ³⁰⁴
<i>Aiṇkuṟunūru</i>	19
<i>Paṭiṟruppattu</i>	1
<i>Kalittokai</i>	52
<i>Tirumurukāṟruppaṭai</i>	2
<i>Porunarāṟruppaṭai</i>	2
<i>Perumpāṇṇāruppaṭai</i>	2
<i>Paṭṭiṇappālai</i>	5
<i>Malaiṇaṭukaṭām</i>	1+1 <i>veṇpā</i>
<i>Tirukkuraḷ</i>	58
<i>Nāḷaṭiyār</i>	16
<i>Tiṇaimālai Nūṟraimpatu</i>	4
<i>Aintiṇai Aimpatu</i>	4
<i>Tiṇaimoli Aimpatu</i>	1
<i>Ācārak Kōvai</i>	2
<i>Nāṇmaṇikkaṭikai</i>	2
<i>Mutumoḷikkāñci</i>	3
<i>Muttoḷḷāyiram</i>	1
<i>Cilappatikāram</i>	4
<i>Civakacintāmaṇi</i>	6
<i>Cuḷāmaṇi</i>	12
<i>Pāratam</i> (lost)	1
<i>Tirukkōvaiyār</i>	219 [not verified]
<i>Attīyūrkōvai</i> (lost)	1
<i>Ampikāpatik Kōvai</i>	184 [not verified]
<i>Taṇcaivāṇaṇkōvai</i>	77 [not verified]
<i>Kappaṟkōvai</i>	10 [not verified]
<i>Nellaikkōvai</i>	1
<i>Maturaik Kalampakam</i>	11 [not verified]
<i>Ācīriyamālai</i>	1
<i>Takaṭūryāttirai</i>	3
<i>Cirreṭṭakam</i> (lost)	4
<i>Kuṇanāṟpatu</i> (lost)	1
<i>Puṟattiraṭṭu</i>	3
anonymous	153

³⁰⁴ A large number of Puṟam examples are quoted from the *Puṟapporuḷ Veṇpāmālai*.

Appendix 2: The Distribution of Quoted Poems in Poetological Commentaries

1) *Kuruntokai* quoted in the poetological commentaries

Text	KT 1–100	KT 101–200	KT 201–300	KT 301–400
<i>IA Nakk.</i>	1, 2, 7, 17, 43, 58, 71, 84	115, 119, 128, 129, 149, 176	222, 242, 300	362, 397
<i>YV</i>	2, 3, 12, 18, 71	107, 119, 124, 138, 140	216, 262	
<i>TNV comm.</i>	1, 2, 7, 17, 18, 22, 40, 71, 78, 88	119, 130, 149		315
<i>TP Il.</i>	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 25, 27, 29, 30, 33, 40, 44, 45, 49, 51, 52, 53, 56, 58, 62, 66, 69, 70, 73, 75, 79, 80, 81, 84, 87, 88, 89, 91, 93, 98, 99	101, 105, 106, 107, 113, 114, 115, 117, 120, 121, 123, 129, 136, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 149, 150, 152, 157, 159, 161, 167, 176, 178, 181, 189, 196	203, 208, 210, 216, 222, 235, 236, 241, 242, 244, 270, 272, 276, 286, 295, 300	312, 337, 354, 355, 359, 362, 379
<i>TP Pēr.</i>	1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 12, 17, 18, 19, 26, 27, 29, 38, 46, 47, 54, 58, 64, 69, 71, 84, 85, 95, 97, 98	102, 106, 107, 110, 115, 119, 123, 128, 129, 139, 141, 152, 156, 158, 161, 164, 166, 167, 169, 178, 183, 187, 198	204, 208, 213, 213, 216, 222, 224, 239, 241, 242, 261, 262, 278, 280, 282	301, 312, 324, 337, 344, 361, 362
<i>TP Nacc.</i>	1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49, 51, 53, 54, 56, 57, 58, 62, 63, 66, 70, 71, 72, 73, 75, 79, 80, 81, 84, 87, 89, 90, 92, 93, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99	101, 102, 104, 106, 110, 112, 113, 114, 115, 120, 121, 128, 129, 130, 132, 137, 138, 139, 140, 143, 145, 146, 149, 150, 154, 155, 157, 159, 161, 167, 169, 176, 178, 181, 182, 184, 189, 191, 196, 198, 199	203, 204, 205, 208, 216, 221, 222, 225, 229, 233, 235, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 246, 262, 270, 272, 276, 280, 286, 290, 292, 294, 295, 300	301, 302, 312, 313, 334, 336, 346, 353, 354, 355, 361, 362, 365, 374, 379, 383, 385, 389, 390, 397, 401
<i>AV Nampi</i>	1, 2, 3, 7, 9, 12, 15, 17, 18, 25, 30, 37, 40, 43, 44, 47, 62, 73, 74, 78, 86, 88, 91	109, 123, 128, 129, 131, 138, 141, 148, 149, 150, 152, 153, 167, 171, 178, 181, 189, 191, 193, 196, 198, 199	202, 204, 241, 242, 251, 270, 272, 286, 292	310, 337, 355, 378, 388, 397

Text	KT 1–100	KT 101–200	KT 201–300	KT 301–400
<i>KK comm.</i>	2, 7, 15, 17, 58, 62, 70, 84	113, 119, 120, 128, 129, 130, 146, 149, 167	222, 242, 300	
<i>IV poruḷ, comm.</i>	1, 2, 3, 7, 9, 12, 15, 17, 18, 19, 23, 25, 27, 30, 47, 51, 58, 62, 71, 84, 98	120, 124, 128, 137, 138, 141, 152, 154, 158, 167, 169, 196	202, 216, 229, 239, 262, 280, 286, 292	301, 337, 355, 361

2) *Narriṇai* quoted in the poetological commentaries

Text	NA 1–100	NA 101–200	NA 201–300	NA 301–400
<i>IA Nakk.</i>	8, 9, 10, 12, 14, 34, 39, 45, 97, 99	113, 149	227	
<i>YV</i>	/			
<i>TNV comm.</i>	/			
<i>TP Iḷ.</i>	1, 2, 3, 7, 9, 10, 12, 19, 28, 32, 34, 35, 39, 40, 42, 45, 56, 50, 61, 62, 64, 72, 75, 90, 95, 100	110, 120, 140, 147, 149, 155, 166, 172, 182, 187, 192	213, 244, 250, 284, 284, 290	307, 340, 362, 365, 370, 379, 380, 390
<i>TP Pēr.</i>	1, 3, 9, 36, 39	121, 172, 184		394
<i>TP Nacc.</i>	1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 19, 17, 22, 24, 25, 32, 34, 35, 37, 39, 40, 42, 45, 50, 51, 55, 56, 58, 59, 61, 62, 64, 67, 68, 70, 72, 75, 82, 83, 84, 88, 90, 94, 95, 100	101, 102, 103, 110, 113, 116, 119, 120, 121, 128, 133, 140, 149, 155, 160, 169, 170, 172, 182, 184, 185, 192	204, 205, 207, 212, 213, 235, 236, 244, 250, 255, 263, 280, 284, 284, 286, 290, 300	303, 304, 305, 307, 309, 310, 315, 319, 340, 345, 349, 355, 359, 362, 365, 370, 374, 379, 380, 390, 394, 395
<i>AV Nampi</i>	1, 8, 8, 9, 13, 16, 19, 23, 28, 32, 34, 36, 39, 40, 45, 49, 58, 70, 75, 83, 97	120, 147, 149, 155, 166, 172, 184, 187, 192, 198	227, 284	304, 307, 310, 318, 319, 358, 359, 362, 376, 384
<i>KK comm.</i>	9, 12, 14, 34, 39, 45, 56, 75	149, 160, 184	213, 227	359
<i>IV poruḷ, comm.</i>	1, 9, 16, 34	107, 166	213, 284	318, 349, 362, 365

3) *Akanāñūru* quoted in the poetological commentaries

Text	AN 1–100	AN 101–200	AN 201–300	AN 301–400
<i>IA Nakk.</i>	6, 36, 66, 72	118, 122, 130, 156, 195	204, 276, 286	
<i>YV</i>	8, 46, 85		270	
<i>TNV comm.</i>	/			
<i>TP Iḷ.</i>	1, 3, 4, 5, 9, 12, 16, 17, 20, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 35, 39, 40, 41, 44, 46, 48, 51, 53, 55, 56, 58, 65, 66, 72, 79, 84, 86, 88, 93, 96	106, 110, 120, 122, 123, 125, 128, 158, 164, 165, 166, 167, 170, 176, 198, 200	230, 255, 259, 280, 286	316, 324, 332, 352, 354, 384
<i>TP Pēr.</i>	1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 29, 30, 31, 34, 36, 42, 44, 46, 48, 50, 52, 56, 58, 59, 60, 61, 64, 65, 66, 68, 71, 72, 73, 74, 82, 84, 85, 86, 88, 93, 94, 96, 97, 98, 99	101, 103, 104, 106, 108, 110, 111, 112, 119, 121, 122, 128, 129, 133, 136, 142, 144, 147, 150, 156, 158, 165, 166, 170, 176, 195, 200	206, 236, 246, 248, 260, 270, 276	313, 333, 336, 336
<i>TP Nacc.</i>	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 26, 28, 29, 30, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 44, 46, 48, 49, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63, 65, 66, 67, 68, 71, 72, 76, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 90, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99	102, 104, 106, 109, 110, 112, 115, 116, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 128, 131, 132, 133, 136, 138, 139, 144, 145, 147, 150, 156, 158, 165, 166, 167, 170, 174, 176, 188, 195, 196, 198, 199, 200	209, 211, 212, 214, 215, 218, 225, 230, 236, 240, 244, 248, 255, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 264, 266, 272, 275, 276, 280, 282, 286, 294, 300	305, 314, 316, 318, 324, 328, 330, 336, 340, 346, 384, 385, 396
<i>AV Nampi</i>	2, 6, 7, 8, 16, 20, 24, 28, 38, 63, 66, 68, 90, 92	122, 130, 148, 152, 165	259	318, 340, 380
<i>KK comm.</i>	63	118, 122, 130	286	
<i>IV poruḷ, comm.</i>	1, 4, 9, 12, 15, 16, 24, 26, 35, 37, 39, 40, 44, 46, 48, 52, 56, 58, 66, 73, 82, 86, 96	112, 121, 122, 128, 136, 142, 150, 170, 176	218, 248, 264, 294	

4) *Purāṇānūru* quoted in the poetological commentaries

Text	PN 1–100	PN 101–200	PN 201–300	PN 301–400
<i>YV</i>	2, 4, 6, 35		235, 239	345, 363
<i>TP II.</i>	8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 20, 22, 25, 26, 31, 34, 35, 36, 37, 41, 42, 44, 46, 47, 55, 56, 57, 59, 62, 63, 64, 72, 74, 76, 77, 80, 82, 84, 87, 93, 94, 95	107, 109, 127, 133, 140, 141, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 180, 182, 183, 184, 188, 195, 196	206, 226, 229, 235, 239, 245, 246, 248, 251, 252, 255, 257, 259, 262, 271, 274, 275, 276, 277, 279, 281, 284, 287, 289, 294	303, 305, 307, 327, 330, 332, 349, 356, 363, 369, 371, 373, 378, 381, 394
<i>TP Pēr.</i>	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 11, 17, 19, 26, 35, 37, 38, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 48, 52, 53, 55, 69, 72, 73, 76, 82, 84, 94, 100	107, 125, 133, 152, 164, 166, 180	201, 235, 239, 243, 249, 251, 252, 255, 266, 273, 278, 300	324, 363, 374, 395
<i>TP Nacc.</i>	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 24, 26, 35, 36, 38, 40, 41, 42, 43, 46, 47, 50, 53, 55, 56, 57, 60, 62, 64, 69, 71, 72, 73, 74, 80, 83, 84, 85, 87, 90	102, 105, 107, 109, 121, 125, 127, 133, 134, 140, 141, 142, 144, 147, 158, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 171, 180, 182, 183, 184, 188, 195, 196	203, 204, 206, 208, 221, 226, 229, 235, 243, 245, 246, 248, 249, 251, 254, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 284, 286, 287, 290, 291, 294, 297, 299	301, 303, 305, 308, 309, 312, 313, 316, 324, 327, 329, 330, 332, 338, 345, 349, 356, 358, 363, 365, 369, 371, 378, 381, 389, 392, 394, 395
<i>Puratti.</i>	1, 5, 8, 9, 10, 12, 20, 25, 26, 27, 31, 34, 36, 40, 44, 45, 49, 51, 52, 54, 55, 57, 59, 72, 73, 75, 76, 77, 78, 81, 86, 87, 91, 95, 97	101, 106, 121, 124, 127, 131, 133, 134, 140, 164, 167, 176, 180, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 197, 199	204, 214, 218, 220, 221, 223, 226, 227, 231, 234, 239, 242, 243, 246, 248, 252, 255, 266, 273, 275, 276, 279, 284, 286, 293, 295, 296, 299, 300	303, 304, 305, 312, 315, 322, 338, 341, 349, 358, 365, 367
<i>IV poru!</i>	9, 11, 13, 27, 56, 82	107, 133	235, 251, 276	363

5) *Aiñkurunūru* quoted in the poetological commentaries

Text	<i>AiN</i> 1–100	<i>AiN</i> 101–200	<i>AiN</i> 201–300	<i>AiN</i> 301–400	<i>AiN</i> 401–500
<i>IA Nakk.</i>				397, 399	
<i>YV</i>	21		232, 255	347	tir. 502
<i>TNV comm.</i>				372, 391, 393, 399	
<i>TP İl.</i>	1, 6, 11, 41, 46, 57, 59, 65	105, 110, 115, 117, 120, 122, 140, 172, 173, 174, 175, 178, 182, 196, 198, 199	201, 205, 211, 214, 216, 220, 221, 230, 236, 237, 241, 243, 244, 250, 256, 258, 260, 261, 262, 282, 287, 289, 293, 294, 295, 298	312, 322, 360, 361, 363, 364, 369, 372, 375, 384, 385, 387, 388, 389, 391, 393, 397	408, 478, 480
<i>TP Pēr.</i>	5, 21, 24, 41, 51, 55, 63, 65, 73, 92	108, 143	216, 252	318	tir. 502
<i>TP Nacc.</i>	6, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 27, 30, 41, 42, 46, 55, 56, 57, 59, 60, 65, 66, 67, 69, 72, 73, 74, 78, 91, 92, 96	101, 103, 104, 108, 109, 110, 113, 115, 120, 122, 128, 133, 140, 141, 148, 151, 155, 157, 168, 175, 176, 178, 182, 183, 184, 187, 195, 196, 197, 198, 200	201, 202, 203, 206, 214, 218, 219, 220, 223, 230, 236, 237, 240, 242, 243, 244, 247, 248, 250, 256, 258, 260, 261, 265, 280, 281, 283, 284, 287, 288, 293, 294, 295, 299	306, 309, 312, 313, 317, 322, 324, 329, 333, 334, 339, 355, 358, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 375, 376, 377, 378, 380, 384, 385, 387, 388, 391, 392, 393, 393, 394, 397, 398, 399	401, 404, 406, 424, 428, 431, 441, 443, 445, 446, 448, 449, 451, 472, 473, 474, 477, 478
<i>AV Nampi</i>	60, 65, 85, 91	122, 147, 149, 173, 174, 175, 178, 183, 186, 187, 191, 195, 196, 198, 199	211, 214, 226, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 237, 253, 254, 256, 258, 266, 280, 284, 294, 298, 299	312, 313, 363, 364, 369, 371, 374, 375, 378, 379, 380, 384, 385, 386, 391, 395, 397, 399, 400	424, 446, 486

Text	AiN 1–100	AiN 101–200	AiN 201–300	AiN 301–400	AiN 401–500
<i>KK comm.</i>		198	230, 255, 256, 258, 295	372, 374, 375, 380, 393, 397, 399	
<i>IV poruḷ, comm.</i>	11, 21, 41, 92	122, 172, 174, 178, 196, 198	237, 240, 281, 298, 299	339, 366, 370	

6) *Pattuppāṭṭu* quoted in YV, TP and IV

Text/Comm.	YV	Iḷ	Pēr.	Nacc.	IV
<i>Tirumurukāṟruppaai</i>		1–6, 2, 5, 71–73, 127, 145, 215	1, 1 f., 2, 5, 43, 73, 85, 106, 145, 215, 219	1, 5, 12–45, 31 f., 50d+51d, 63 f., 65 f., 106, 185, 222, 266, 294 f.	
<i>Porunarāṟruppaṭai</i>		54 ff.	54–57, 181, 193	1 f., 23 f., 54 f., 74 f., 119–129	
<i>Cirupāṇāṟruppaṭai</i>			19–23, 27, 72 f., 130	1	
<i>Perumpāṇāṟruppaṭai</i>		1, 7 f., 13, 134–146, 269 f.	1, 1 f., 13, 75, 83–88, 88, 89, 90, 89–97, 104, 134 ff., 138, 151 f., 165, 220, 256, 357, 455 f.	12, 455 f.	
<i>Mullaippāṭṭu.</i>	37	8d–10c, 24–28		24–28, 75 f.	
<i>Neṭunalvāṭai</i>		Veṇpā	22, 36 f., 39 f.	153 f., 176–188, 186 ff.	
<i>Maturaikkāñci</i>	1–4, 7 f.	3, 255–57	1, 1 f.	1, 5, 14 f., 149, 255 ff.	

Text/Comm.	YV	Iḷ	Pēr.	Nacc.	IV
<i>Kuṛiñcippāṭṭu.</i>		165–169		31, 130–142, 160–183c, 231–244c, 244d–245c	
<i>Paṭṭiṇappālai</i>	22, 23, 64 f.	1, 22 f., 218, 298	1 f., 1–3, 4, 14, 23 f., 44 f., 46 ff., 64 f., 218, 218 ff., 298, 300 f.	1, 2, 3, 4, 22 f., 39, 86 f., 218 ff., 271 ff., 300 f.	1 f., 22, 23, 64 f.
<i>Malaipaṭukaṭām</i>	1, 19, 44–46, 99–101, 100 f., 105 f., 145–50, 313 f., 352, Veṇṇā	1, 2, 352	1, 2, 145 f., 247, 313, 352, 510, Veṇṇā	1, 352	Veṇṇā, l. 1

Appendix 3: The Distribution of Quoted Poems in Grammatical Commentaries

1) Grammatical quotations from *Kuruntokai*

Comm.	KT 1–100	KT 101–200	KT 201–300	KT 301–401
ll.	21.5ab, 66.1, 71.4, 78.4df. 2.2, 7.1–3c, 14.2–3c+3a– c+3d–4c (2), 18.3a–c, 25.3–5, 44.2, 61.1, 69.1ab, 87.1, 91.7f.	180.1 103.1ab (2), 117.4, 138.1a, 138.1	292.2a–c, 293.7–8b	
Cēn.	2.2, 5.1, 7.1 f.+3–6, 12.5, 14.2, 14.2 f., 14.3 f., 18.3, 21.5, 51.6, 57.4, 61.1, 69.1, 71.1, 77.5 f., 84.1, 84.4 f., 87.1, 91.7f.	108.2, 138.1, 140.1, 145.2	216.1 f., 216.2, 222.7, 232.4 f., 232.4 (2), 287.7, 293.7 f.	370.4 f.
Nacc.	21.5, 43.3, 71.4, 72.5ab, 98.5 1.3cf., 2.2, 5.1, 7.1–3c, 9.6, 9.7, 12.5, 14.2, 14.2 f. (2), 18.3a–c, 21.5, 23.1, 25.3–5, 35.5, 43.3, 44.1df., 51.6, 52.1a–c, 57.4a–c, 66.5, 69.1, 71.4+1, 77.5 f., 78.1, 84.1ab, 84.4 f., 87.1, 91.7	123.5ab, 180.1 105.2, 108.2a–c, 113.1d–2, 117.3df., 132.1, 138.1ab (3), 140.1, 145.1, 145.2, 149.2, 153.1ab, 156.4, 178.4ab, 192.2	274.1 216.1 f., 216.2, 217.6, 232.4+5a, 241.3, 243.5, 261.3, 280.1, 292.2a–c 293.7	370.4 f.
Teyv.	2.2, 5.1, 14.2ab, 18.3a–c, 21.4f., 51.6, 66.5ab, 69.1, 71.4, 87.1, 91.7	105.2–3c, 108.2a–c, 138.1ab, 145.2, 156.1, 178.4, 195.2cd	221.1ab, 232.4 f., 293.7–8b	354.5
Kall.	7.1 f., 14.2–3c, 14.3d–4c, 51.6, 52.1a–c, 75.3, 91.7ab	113.1a–c, 138.1ab, 192.2	241.3, 292.2a–c	
May.	2.2 (2), 5.1 (2), 7.1–3c, 8.5 f., 14.2–3c, 14.2b–3c+3d–4c, 14.3a–c, 14.3d–4c, 17, 18.4, 20.4, 22.1, 23.1, 25.3–5, 27.4, 35.5, 43.1 f., 46.4, 51.6, 69.5 f., 78.1, 84.1ab, 84.4 f., 93.2d–4, 100.3cd	105.2, 113.1 f., 129.1, 129.1 f., 138.1a, 138.1ab, 140.1, 149.1 f., 153.1ab (3), 155.1 f., 155.1–3c, 156.1	232.4 f., 234.3, 253.2a–c, 260.8, 292.2, 293.7–8b, 300.2	
Cañk.	2.1cd, 2.2 (2), 5.1, 7.1–3c, 14.2–3c, 14.3a–c+3d–4c, 18.4, 22.1, 25, 27.4, 46.4, 51.6, 78.1, 84.1ab, 100.3 f.	105.2, 129.1–2b, 138.1a, 140.1, 153.1ab, 155.1	232.4 f., 253.2, 260.8, 293.7–8ab, 300.2	

Comm.	KT 1–100	KT 101–200	KT 201–300	KT 301–401
N.Vir.	2.1cd, 2.2 (2), 5.1, 7.1–3c, 14.2–3c+3a–c, 14.3d–4c, 18.4, 22.1, 25, 27.4, 46.4, 51.6, 78.1, 84.1ab, 100.4	105.2, 129.1, 138.1a, 140.1, 153.1ab, 155.1f	232.4, 253.2a, 260.8, 293.7– 8b, 300.2	
Kül.	2.2 (2), 14.2cd–3c+3d–4c, 17.4, 22.1, 46.4, 51.6, 78.1ab, 78.1, 84.1ab, 84.4f., 93.4, 100.3df	105.2, 138.1a, 140.1, 155.1f	232.4f., 253.2a–c, 260.8, 293.7– 8b, 300.2	
IV	5.1, 21.5, 91.7ab, 98.5 2.2, 5.1, 7.1–3c+6, 12.5, 14.2, 14.2–3c, 14.3a–c, 14.3d–4c, 18.4, 20.4, 21.5, 22.1, 23.1, 25, 27.4, 33.2ab, 44.1df, 46.4, 51.6, 52.1a–c, 57.4a–c, 66.5, 69.1, 71.4+1, 77.5f., 78.1, 84.1ab (2), 84.4f., 87.1 (2), 91.7f., 93.2d–4, 100.3f	138.1a, 140.1, 153.1ab, 180.1 105.2, 108.2a–c, 113.1f., 132.1, 138.1a, 138.1, 145.2, 155.1f., 156.4	274.1 216.2, 216.1df, 222.7, 232.4f., 232.4–5a, 253.2a–c, 260.8, 292.2, 293.7–8b	
PV	43.3	180.1	232.4–5a	

2) Grammatical quotations from *Narrīnai*

Comm.	NA 1–100	NA 101–200	NA 201–300	NA 301–400
İl.	19.1, 35.7, 61.2, 62.1 1.5, 1.9, 50.7a–c, 61.10	115.8a–c, 120.1ab, 137.6ab, 143.1a–c, 143.2ab, 170.2cd, 178.10	300.3a–c, 300.12	
Cen.	1.5, 1.9, 15.2, 34.4, 34.10f., 40.12, 50.7, 54.4, 54.8f., 55.12, 61.10, 64.12f., 70.8f., 97.1	103.4, 104.3, 108.2, 120.1, 137.6, 143.1, 165.2, 170.2, 170.6, 178.10, 184.2	203.9, 203.11, 210.4, 300.12	
Nacc.	10.4d, 19.1f., 35.7ab, 61.2, 62.1cd 1.5, 1.7, 34.11, 40.12, 50.7a–c, 54.4, 55.12, 56.4, 61.10, 64.13, 64.13cd, 70.8f., 71.1a–c, 97.1ab	120.1ab, 126.9f., 137.6ab, 165.1f., 170.2cd, 178.10	203.11, 210.3f, 280.1, 284.4ab, 300.12	360.11
Teyv.	1.5, 1.9, 34.4a–c, 34.10f., 61.9f.	108.2, 116.10ab, 120.1ab, 170.2cd, 170.6, 178.10	203.9ab, 203.11, 210.3f, 300.12	365.3–9
Kall.	1.7, 50.11, 64.13			

Comm.	NA 1–100	NA 101–200	NA 201–300	NA 301–400
May.	3.6, 10.6–8, 19.1ab+2ab, 34.11, 55.11–12c, 56.9–10ab, 65.5cd, 92.2a–c	102.9, 115.8a–c (2), 178.10	300.3ab, 300.12	
Cañk.	3.6, 10.6f, 19.1ab+2ab, 34.11, 55.12	115.8a–c, 178.10	300.12	
N.Vir.	3.6, 10.6+8, 19.1ab+2ab, 34.11, 55.12a–c	115.8a–c, 178.10		
Kūl.	3.6a–c, 10.6+8, 19.1ab+2ab, 65.1ab	115.8a–c (2), 178.10ab	300.12	
IV	19.1f., 51.6ab, 64.13ab, 64.13 1.5, 1.9, 10.6–8, 15.2a–c, 34.4, 34.10f., 34.11, 40.12, 50.7a–c, 54.8df, 55.12, 61.10, 64.12bf., 64.13, 70.8f.	102.9, 165.7, 174.10–11ab 103.4 (2), 104.3a–c, 108.2, 165.1f, 170.2cd, 174.10–11ab, 178.10, 184.2	203.9ab, 203.11, 210.3f, 280.1, 300.12	303.4ab, 360.11
PV	40.12		280.1a–c, 300.12	

3) Grammatical quotations from *Akanānūru*

Comm.	AN 1–100	AN 101–200	AN 201–300	AN 301–400
l̥.	7.5, 17.1ab, 65.14, 66.17a–c, 80.13 1.2ab, 1.2cd, 1.19 (2), 3.10, 4.6, 5.24a–c, 7.5, 10.6d–7c, 16.17a–c, 19.2d–3, 22.3, 31.12ab, 36.6, 38.16ab, 46.1ab, 46.16 (2), 48.14a–c, 52.5ab, 56.11a–c, 76.6d–7b, 80.3, 82.10	110.5ab, 110.20–21c, 130.14, 173.9ab, 190.8ab, 198.3	203.1, 212.1ab, 212.4f., 248.16cd, 260.1–3, 276.7	375.14ab
Cēṇ.	1.2, 1.8, 1.19 (2), 2.15 ff., 5.24 (2), 7.5, 7.18, 10.6f., 11.4, 14.9, 15.8, 16.16–19, 19.1f., 19.2, 19.2f., 22.3 (2), 26.14, 26.19f., 35.11f., 36.6, 36.7, 43.1, 46.1, 46.16 (2), 48.14, 56.11, 57.1, 66.8f., 66.25f., 68.5, 72.14, 76.7, 76.6f., 80.3, 80.9, 82.10, 96.12f.	110.4f., 110.20, 118.7f., 124.15, 128.7, 130.10, 130.14, (3) 170.13, 173.9, 195.2, 198.3	212.1, 212.4f., 248.16, 276.7	

Comm.	AN 1–100	AN 101–200	AN 201–300	AN 301–400
Nacc.	1.2cd, 3.2, 4.3 f., 4.8, 7.5, 16.9, 17.1ab, 28.9, 31.9, 48.14–15a, 65.14, 66.17a–c, 80.9ab, 80.13ab, 86.13, 93.4, 97.1, 98.29ab 1.2ab, 1.2 (2), 1.8, 1.19 (2), 2.16 f., 3.10, 4.3 f., 4.6, 4.8 f., 5.1ab, 5.24a–c, 6.7, 7.5, 7.6, 7.18, 9.16, 10.6d–7c, 11.4, 14.9, 15.1, 15.8, 16.1ab+16–19, 16.15d–16b, 16.16d–17c, 19.1d–2c, 19.2a–c, 19.2df., 22.3cd, 26.19d–20c, 29.2df., 31.12a–c, 32.21, 34.7, 35.11kf., 36.6, 36.7, 46.16, 48.1df., 48.14a–c, 49.17kf., 52.5, 53.1+15 f., 56.1ab, 56.11a–c, 66.12d–13c, 66.25 f., 68.5, 72.14, 76.6d– 7ab, 76.7 ff., 82.10, 86.14, 96.12cf., 96.17	110.4 f., 110.20, 118.7–8b, 120.16, 124.5, 128.7a–c, 130.10ab, 130.14, 139.17a–c, 142.21ab, 165.13ab, 170.13, 195:2, 198.3	212.1ab, 212.1, 212.4 f., 12ab 268.1–2b, 268.8 f., 276.7 (3)	318.11– 330.1
Teyv.	1.19 (2), 4.15, 5.24ab (2), 6.7cd, 7.5, 7.18, 9.16, 10.6d–7c, 11, 11.4ab, 11.1 f., 14.9, 16.13d–14b, 19.1d–2c, 19.2d–10b, 35.12k–b, 36.7, 46.1 (2), 46.16, 48.8 (2), 48.14a–c, 56.11a–c, 62.17 f., 72.14, 76.6k–7b, 80.9ab, 82.10	130.10ab, 130.14, 133.1 f., 148.10a, 170.13, 173.9ab, 198.3	212.1, 212.4, 248.16, 276.7	
Kall.	1.19, 2.17, 19.2a–c, 31.12a–c, 36.6, 48.14ab, 66.8d–9b, 80.3	170.7b–8c	212.4 f., 248.16, 276.7	330.1
May.	1.19, 3.1cv, 5.1–2b, 5.24a–c, 7.8, 8.3cd, 8.5df., 8.6, 9.9, 11.7df., 12.8cf., 16.15d–16c, 21.18–20, 36.6, 40.2ab, 46.16 (2), 48.12, 76.6d–7b, 80.3, 96.12cf.	110.20–21c, 122.1, 122.10a–c, 130.14	212.4 f., 248.16, 260.1–3, 276.7	331.9a–c, 350.1a–c

Comm.	AN 1–100	AN 101–200	AN 201–300	AN 301–400
Cañk.	1.19, 3.1cv, 4.3 f., 5.1–2b, 5.24a–c, 7.8, 8.6, 12.8 f., 16.15d–16b, 21.18–20, 46.16 (2), 48.12, 76.6d–7b, 80.3, 80.13ab, 96.12cf.	122.1	212.4 f., 248.16, 260.1–3, 276.7	331.9a–c, 384.5cd
N.Vir.	1.19, 4.3 f., 5.24a–c, 7.8, 8.6, 12.8 f., 16.15d–16b, 21.18–20, 46.16 (2), 48.12, 76.6d–7b, 80.3, 96.12cf.	122.1	248.16, 276.7	331.9a–c
Kūḷ.	1.19, 5.1–2b, 5.24a–c, 7.8, 21.18+20, 46.16 (2), 48.12, 76.6d–7b, 96.12df.	122.1b–d, 130.14b–d	212.4 f., 276.7	
IV	3.1c, 3.2, 7.5, 8.3 ^{abcd} , 32.21, 34.7, 65.14 (2), 86.13, 93.4 1.8, 1.19 (2), 2.15df., 3.10, 4.6, 5.1–2b, 5.24a–c, 7.6, 7.18, 8.5df., 9.16, 10.6d–7c, 11.4, 12.5, 14.9 (2), 15.1, 16.15d–16b, 16.15d–19, 19.1d–2c, 19.2a–c, 19.2d–3b, 21.18 ff., 22.3 (2), 34.7, 35.11df., 36.6, 36.7, 40.2ab ^{cd} , 46.16 (3), 48.12, 48.14a–c, 52.5, 56.11a–c, 66.8d–9b, 66.25 f., 68.5, 72.14, 76.6d– 7b, 80.3, 82.10, 96.12cf., 96.17	110.4 f., 110.20–21c, 118.7–8b, 124.15, 128.7a–c, 130.10ab, 130.14, 170.13, 195.2ab, 198.3	251.10a 212.1, 248.16, 260.1 ff., 268.1–2b, 268.6 f., 268.8 f., 276.7 (2)	318.4ab, 318.11– 12b, 333.11b 326.4, 330.1 (2)
PV	5.24a–c	170.7d–8c, 176.1	212.5	

4) Grammatical quotations from *Puranānūru*

Comm.	PN 1–100	PN 101–200	PN 201–300	PN 301–400
Il.	6.29ab, 29.3cd 4.15 f., 11.1, 95.3ab	124.1 130.1a–c, 158.1cd	258.6, 258.6ab 235.1	327.1ab, 365.5ab, 387.22 f. 395.11
Cēṇ.	4.17, 5.8 (2), 9.1–5, 10.11, 11.1, 14.10 f., 14.13 f., 19.18, 20.14, 20.19, 22.1, 24.1, 24.3+6+9+16, 24.18 f., 24.17, 27.3, 35.4 f., 35.29 (2), 36.9 f., 38.7 f., 44.10, 47.1, 53.12, 54.1, 55.3, 55.7–9, 72.4 f., 73.3, 99.1	130.1, 140.5 f., 143.1, 150.28, 172.7, 173.12, 183.1, 188.7	210.3 f., 218.1, 235.1, 235.20 (3), 238.1–3, 255.3 f., 291.1	320.15, 327.5, 335.7 f., 335.12, 375.20 f., 394.3, 395.11, 400.14
Nacc.	3.7–12, 29.3cd, 35.13ab, 57.8ab, 97.8 f. 1.1+3a–c, 1.5, 2.1–3, 3.7–11b, 3.7–12, 4.17, 5.9, 6.1a+2a, 6.12a–c, 6.29, 9.1 f., 9.1+5cd, 10.11, 11.1, 13.1, 14.13df., 15.1, 15.15, 19.7ab, 19.18 (2), 20.14ab, 20.16, 20.19, 22.2, 24.3b+6b, 27.3, 33.6ab, 33.12, 35.4 f., 36.9a–c, 36.9 f., 38.1, 38.4, 44.10, 53.12, 55.3, 55.7–9c, 68.8, 71.4df., 73.3, 77.7a–c+10a– c, 79.2, 83.4a–c, 94.1ab, 99.1	124.1ab, 144.3, 166.16 117.6, 124.1ab, 130.1a–c, 136.11+13 f., 140.5df., 141.7, 143.1, 144.1a–c, 144.3+6a–c, 150.28, 152.4ab, 152.22a–c, 154.5, 154.8, 158.1, 159.4d–5, 159.6, 159.6–14, 165.1, 166.13+16, 166.30– 31c, 173.12, 180.7, 189.5ab, 190.4 f., 192.1ab, 193.4	258.6, 258.6ab, 266.1ab 202.21, 203.1 f., 206.1, 209.12, 210.3, 210.15a–c, 235.1 (3), 235.20, 238.1–3, 242.4, 243.1a–c, 243.9, 249.14, 261.1, 284.1– 4b, 290.1a–c, 291.1	343.9cd, 365.5, 387.22 f. 309.5–6a, 323.5d–7, 324.7, 327.5, 335.7 f., 345.18df., 367.9, 367.10, 375.18a–c+21, 375.18df., 378.18, 379.3, 381.1a–c, 394.3, 400.14
Teyv.	2.1–5b, 4.15–16b, 5.3, 5.8, 6.23a–c, 9.1, 9.1–5, 10.11ab, 11.1, 11.16–18, 11.7ff., 11.11–18 14.13d– 15c, 15.1, 19.18, 20.19, 20.20f., 24.1 (2), 24.1–17, 24.7, 27.3, 33.12, 35.2–3b, 36.9 f., 44.2, 45.3, 47.1, 53.12, 54.1cd, 57.5, 62.17 f., 67.1, 70.11, 71.3–6+8d–9c, 73.3, 99.1	124.1, 130.1 f., 140.5d–6, 145.10, 147.8 f., 150.16, 159.19ab, 165.1, 182.1a–c, 197.1–6, 197.1–8	235.1, 235.20, 238.10+12, 238.1–2b, 239.2, 246.11–15, 278.8 f.	327.5a–c, 367.10 f., 375.21

Comm.	PN 1–100	PN 101–200	PN 201–300	PN 301–400
Kall.	4.15 f., 24.1, 34.19a–c, 55.7–9c, 71.4d–5c	117.6, 130.1a–c, 189.5, 192.1ab	203.1 f., 210.15a–c, 235.1, 335.7 f.	375.18a–c+21, 375.18df.
May.	1.5 (2), 2.13–14b, 2.13c–14b, 2.16, 2.20a–c, 2.24, 3.16, 4.5, 5.8, 6.2a+c, 6.29, 9.5, 12.5cd, 14.13d–15c, 17.1a, 17.1, 18.1, 19.1, 19.14a–c, 22.1 f., 24.1–4, 24.1–17, 24.22, 27.17df., 30.5ab, 31.16 f., 33.6, 33.12, 34.5d–7, 35.22a, 36.12, 38.7 f., 44.4, 45.3–6c, 47.6ab, 52.12, 70.7, 73.7, 93.10 f., 93.9a–c	113.6, 124.1, 124.1 f., 124.1–3c, 126.8a–c, 130.1–2a, 132.8, 137.1, 137.14 f., 147.9a (2), 152.4ab (2), 173.1, 176.11 f., 184.4, 186.2, 188.3 f., 194.5, 195.1ab (2), 195.1–4, 196.14–15b	206.1, 227.1ab (2), 227.1 (3), 235.1, 235.16, 243.9, 246.1ab, 246.4, 249.14b, 266.3ab, 278.8 f., 290.7, 300.2	321.4, 335.7 f., 346.3 f., 375.19–21, 395.11, 395.36ab
Cañk.	1.5, 2.13–14b, 2.13c–14b, 2.16, 2.24, 4.5ab, 5.8cd, 6.29, 7.5, 9.5, 12.3–5, 15.15–22c, 18.1, 19.1, 22.1 f., 24.1–3, 30.1a, 31.17, 33.6ab, 33.12, 34.5d–7b, 36.12, 38.7 f., 44.4, 52.12ab, 70.7	109.4, 113.6, 124, 124.1–3c, 126.8ab, 137.1ab, 147.9a, 184.4, 188.3, 194.5, 195.1, 195.1–3, 196.14–15b	206.1, 227.1ab, 227.1 (2), 235.1, 238.1–3, 243.9, 246.4c–5c, 278.8, 278.9 f., 290.7, 300.2	321.4, 335.7bf., 346.3 f., 375.19–21, 395.11
N.Vir.	1.5, 2.13, 2.13–14b, 2.13c–14b, 2.16, 2.24, 4.5ab, 5.8cd, 6.29, 7.5, 9.5, 12.3–5, 15.15–22c, 18.1, 19.1, 22.1 f., 24.1–3, 30.1a, 31.17, 33.6ab, 33.12, 34.5d–7b, 36.12, 38.7 f., 44.4, 52.12ab, 70.7	109.4, 113.6, 124, 124.1–3, 126.8ab, 137.1ab, 184.4a–c, 188.3, 194.5, 195.1, 195.1–3, 196.14–15b	227.1ab, 227.1 (2), 235.1, 238.1–3, 243.9, 246.4c–5c, 278.8, 290.7, 300.2	321.4, 335.7 f., 346.3 f., 375.19–21, 395.11
Kūl.	1.5a–c, 2.13cd, 2.14ab, 5.8, 9.5, 22.1 f., 24.3, 33.6ab, 33.12, 34.5d–6b+7ab, 36.12ab, 44.4, 52.12ab, 70.7, 93.9a–c	113.6, 124.1 f. (2), 126.8ab, 137.1, 195.1ab	227.1ab, 227.1, 235.1, 235.16, 243.9, 246.1ab, 278.8 f., 290.7	395.11

6) Grammatical quotations from *Patirruppattu*

Comm. <i>Pati</i> 21–90	
Il.	11.23
Cēṇ.	12.21, 13.12, 13.14, 15.11, 22.1, 24.24, 25.6, 51.37
Nacc.	11.23, 12.21, 13.12, 13.14 (2), 14.1 f., 15.11, 16.20, 18.1, 22.1, 24.24, 25.6, 52.15 f., 52.29df., 65.12, tir. 2.2
Teyv.	13.12, 13.14, 15.11ab, 16.20ab, 22.1cd, 25.6ab, 63.18ab
Kall.	12.21ab
May.	22.1, 25.6, 81.31 f., tir. 2.2
Caṅk.	22.1, 81.31 f., tir. 2.2
N.Vir.	22.1, 81, tir. 2.2
Kūḷ.	22.1, 81.31 f., tir. 2.2
IV	24.24 11.23, 12.21, 13.12, 13.14 (2), 14.19c–20b(2), 22.1, 24.24, 25.6, 52.15 f., 65.12, 81.31 f., tir. 2.2
PV	/

7) Grammatical quotations from *Kalittokai*

Comm.	<i>Kali</i> 1–50	<i>Kali</i> 51–100	<i>Kali</i> 101–150
Il.	/	/	138.18bc 109.4d–5
Cēṇ.	1.3, 3.22, 7.1, 7.8, 16.3f., 22.21f., 28.1f., 33.24f., 35.15, 37.3, 37.8, 37.15, 39.35, 40.16, 46.10, 47.1–6	51.1, 56.1, 60.19, 62.1, 96.2, 97.28, 99.9	103.40
Nacc.	7.8ab, 40.12, 41.6cd 1.1ab, 1.3, 3.2, 4.3f., 4.7ab, 5.2f., 7.1, 7.3a–c, 7.8, 10.1ab, 12.1d–2b, 12.4cd+7ab, 12.8a–c, 12.19, 13.10a–c, 15.26, 16.2ab, 16.3c–4a (2), 16.18ab, 18.2ab, 18.3d–4c, 21.6, 22.21df., 23.7k–b, 26.1ab, 27.9ab, 29.1, 31.5cd, 33.24df., 35.8, 35.15, 35.15f., 37.8, 37.15a–c, 39.35, 39.38, 40.16, 41.1a–c, 43.10d–11ab, 45.8, 46.10, 47.1–7ab, 47.8cd, 50.2	51.1ab, 55.9–12, 56.1a, 56.3, 56.9a–c, 56.17, 59.4–6a, 60.18f., 61.7, 62.1, 66.4a–c, 68.2d–3c, 77.11df., 77.21ab, 81.9, 81.24, 84.18c, 85.29b–d, 86.10, 86.22a–c, 89.2a–c, 94.22a, 96.2, 96.4bc, 97.28b–29b, 99.9	103.30df., 138.18bc 101.1f., 103.40a, 104.63a–c, 104.69a, 105.1ab, 109.4f., 127.7+9d+11+13d, 128.10k–11a, 130.20f., 140.1–2c, 144.18, 144.63b–d, 145.26cd

Comm.	<i>Kali 1–50</i>	<i>Kali 51–100</i>	<i>Kali 101–150</i>
Teyv.	1.3, 5.10, 7.1, 7.3d–4, 7.5af., 7.8, 9.4, 9.4–8, 16.2, 22.19, 25.14, 27.9, 27.15–16ab, 32.6–13c, 33.24d–25, 34.5, 37.3ab, 39.4, 41.35cd–38, 46.10ab	51.6, 55.9f., 56.11d–12, 56.30f., 62.1ab (2), 96.2, 99.9	109.4cd–5, 109.7f., 121.11–14, 129.14d–15
Kall.	12.1d–2b, 12.8a–c, 15.26, 22.21df., 29.1, 31.5cd, 34.19a–c, 35.15, 39.35a–c, 40.16d	60.18+19	103.40a, 130.18–21
May.	1.3, 1.4c, 2.26cd, 3.4, 4.7–8a, 5.10, 7.5f., 11.5d, 15.1a–c, 23.6, 23.9a, 30.5ab, 30.16, 33.24f., 35.8cd, 39.35, 40.10, 42.10a–c	54.20, 56.1a–c, 56.30–34, 59.1d–2, 61.1ab, 72.18, 84.1, 86.25f., 99.8f.	101.18–20, 103.23, 108.11–13, 113.4–5a, 142.3–5c, 148.7
Cañk.	1.3, 3.4, 4.7–8a, 7.5, 11.4–5b, 33.24df., 35.8cd, 37.10, 40.10, 42.10a–c	54.20, 56.1a–c, 56.30–34, 84.1, 86.25–26b, 99.8f.	101.19ab, 103.23, 108.11–12c, 148.7
N.Vir.	1.3, 3.4, 4.7–8a, 7.5, 11.4–5b, 33.24df., 35.8cd, 37.10, 40.10, 42.10a–c	54.20, 56.30–34, 56.1a–c, 84.1, 86.25–26b, 99.8f.	101.19ab, 103.23, 108.11–12c
Kül.	4.7–8a, 7.5, 30.5ab, 30.16c–d, 37.10, 42.10a–c	56.1a–c, 84.1, 86.25–27, 99.9cd	101.19ab, 103.23, 108.12a–c, 119.16, 142.5a–c, 148.7a–c
IV	7.3a–c, 37.15a–c, 41.1a–c 2.10, 4.7–8a, 5.2f., 6.7–8c, 7.1, 7.5f., 7.8, 11.4–5b, 12.1d–2b, 16.2ab, 18.2ab, 22.21df., 33.24df., 35.15, 35.15f., 37.3ab, 37.8, 37.10, 37.15a–c, 39.35, 40.10, 42.10a–c, 42.20df., 43.10d–11ab, 46.10, 47.1–7b	51.1ab, 65.13c, 86.22a–c, 94.13b 51.1ab, 54.20, 56.1a–c, 56.3, 56.17, 60.18+19a–c, 62.1, 77.10kf., 81.9f., 81.24, 86.9kf., 86.22a–c, 96.2ab, 97.28b–29b	101.1f., 101.19f., 103.23, 130.20f., 140.1–2c, 142.3–5c, 144.18, 144.63bc, 145.26cd
PV		56.1a–c, 72.18	

8) Grammatical quotations from *Paripāṭal*

Comm. <i>Pari</i>	
Iḷ.	3.39a–c /
Cēṇ.	/
Nacc.	10.54 f. 3.1, 5.44 f., 8.57, 21.3bc, tir. 1.82
Teyv.	3.18, 3.33 f., 3.77, 8.57 f.
Kall.	/
May.	3.77d–79, 10.54 f.
Caṅk.	10.55
N.Vir.	10.55
Kūḷ.	/
IV	11.92a 3.1ab, 19.44c, 21.3bc
PV	3.17f, 14.4, tir. 1.63ab, puṇṇam puḷari (39: not found)

9) Grammatical quotations from *Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai*

Comm. <i>Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai</i>	
Iḷ.	/
Cēṇ.	118, 217, 315
Nacc.	7, 95, 118, 199, 208–217, 217, 292d-95+317cd, 315a–c
Teyv.	1ab+6cd, 217, 313cd, 315a–c
Kall.	199
May.	182, 185, 217, 250, 317cd
Caṅk.	73ab, 182, 185, 199, 250a–c, 257, 317
N.Vir.	73ab, 182, 185, 250a–c, 257
Kūḷ.	185, 317cd
IV	155a 7, 18a–c, 95–96b, 118, 185, 199, 217, 315a–c
PV	18a–c, 29c, 58ab, 68ab (2), 95cd, 131bc, 153ab, 155ab, 179ab, 185a–c, 205, 317

10) Grammatical quotations from *Porunarārruppaṭai*

Comm.	<i>Porun.</i>
Iḷ.	/
Cēṇ.	/
Nacc.	47, 86d–88a, 163, 246df.
Teyv.	/
Kall.	134, 246df.
May.	61, 66–67b, 68, 141df., 163, 248cd
Caṅk.	61, 66–67b, 163, 248
N.Vir.	61, 66–67b, 163, 248
Kūḷ.	66 f., 68, 163, 248
IV	36a, 246dff. 86d–88b
PV	248cd

11) Grammatical quotations from *Ćirupāṇārruppaṭai*

Comm.	<i>Ćiru</i>
Iḷ.	/
Cēṇ.	21, 39, 246
Nacc.	21a–c, 38–39ab, 142–143c, 197
Teyv.	21a–c, 39ab, 142ab
Kall.	/
May.	172
Caṅk.	172
N.Vir.	172
Kūḷ.	/
IV	25a–c, 101c, 142–143c 21a–c, 38–39b, 246c
PV	142–143c

12) Grammatical quotations from *Perumpāṇāruppaṭai*

Comm.	<i>Perump.</i>
Iḷ.	
Cēṇ.	/
Nacc.	132, 465ab 1–2ab, 2, 17–18ab, 226, 447ab, 454c–457+458ab
Teyv.	226
Kall.	/
May.	392
Caṅk.	1cf., 392
N.Vir.	1cf., 392
Kūḷ.	392
IV	132 2, 17–18b, 143c, 145, 226, 392, 447ab
PV	1cf.

13) Grammatical quotations from *Mullaippāṭṭu*

Comm.	<i>Mullaip.</i>
Iḷ.	/
Cēṇ.	/
Nacc.	89 1a–c, 15–16c, 73
Teyv.	15–16c, 73ab
Kall.	/
May.	/
Caṅk.	/
N.Vir.	/
Kūḷ.	/
IV	1a–c, 15–16c, 73
PV	/

14) Grammatical quotations from *Maturaikkāñci***Comm. *Maturaik.***

Iḷ. || 89, 303, 493cd, 694cd

Cēṇ.

Nacc. 234, 560 || 89, 264ab, 263 f., 303, 493

Teyv. 4, 89, 303

Kall. /

May. /

Cañk. /

N.Vir. /

Kūḷ. /

IV 560 (2) || 89, 263 f., 264, 303, 493

PV /

15) Grammatical quotations from *Neṭunalvāṭai***Comm. *Neṭunal.***

Iḷ. || 18, 115

Cēṇ. 18, 90, 115

Nacc. 14 || 18, 90, 115

Teyv. 90, 115a

Kall. /

May. /

Cañk. /

N.Vir. /

Kūḷ. /

IV || 18 (2), 115

PV 184

16) Grammatical quotations from *Kuṛiñcippāṭṭu***Comm. *Kuṛiñcip.***

Iḷ. || 8ab, 239ab

Cēṇ. 8, 239

Nacc. || 8, 152, 172, 239a–c

Teyv. 8

Kall. /

May. /

Caṇk. /

N.Vir. /

Kūḷ. /

IV || 8, 172, 239a–c

PV /

17) Grammatical quotations from *Paṭṭiṇappālai***Comm. *Paṭṭiṇap.***

Iḷ.

Cēṇ. 301

Nacc. 85, 4 ||

Teyv. /

Kall. /

May. 131 ff.

Caṇk. /

N.Vir. /

Kūḷ. 131+133

IV || 301

PV 283–184a

18) Grammatical quotations from *Malaipaṭukaṭām*

Comm. <i>Malaip.</i>	
Iḷ.	503ab, 177ab, 574, 576 49ab, 50, 82, 218, 268, 275, 374, 576ab
Cēṇ.	15, 50, 82f., 157, 275, 374, 561, 576
Nacc.	3, 33, 50, 145, 176f., 503ab, 574, 576 28, 82–83c, 112, 145, 169a–c, 249, 268, 402cd, 561, 576
Teyv.	23f., 82, 268, 374, 576
Kall.	28
May.	41, 50+65df.+157cd+218, 66, 275a–c (2), 352
Cañk.	7, 41ab, 218, 275a–c
N.Vir.	7, 41ab, 218, 275a–c
Kūḷ.	141ab, 218, 275a–c
IV	50, 176f., 267c, 352, 374, 576 7, 15f., 41ab, 50, 82–83b, 112, 157, 268, 275, 374 (2), 561
PV	/

III.5.3 Glimpses from Discussions of Literature

The statistics of quotations of poems has shown that the curve of development in grammar and poetics was similar, namely an inset coincidental with the first commentaries of about the 10th century, a steady rise in number up to the 14th century, peaking with Naccinārkkīṇiyar, and then a thinner but steady trickle in treatises on grammar, until, in the 17th century, the *Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam* presents a synthesis of the earlier schools, which is also a testimony to a fresh interest in the old literature. Access to the original sources then seems to have been cut off quite suddenly in the 18th century, when grammatical commentators continue to use classical examples handed down over generations of texts, but no longer particularly accurately and without adding anything new. Why this is so is not immediately apparent, all the more so because the scholars writing the new treatises – *Ilakkaṇa Ilakkam*, *Pirayōka Vivēkam* and *Ilakkaṇakkottu* (see below) – share a milieu and discourse horizon with the *Naṇṇūl* scholars continuing to produce commentaries. The *Naṇṇūl* scholars were part of the learned Śaiva circles, writing and teaching at the *mutts* of Tiruvāṇṭuṭurai and Tarumapuram. Thus, this might point to a conscious decision on the part of the *Naṇṇūl* com-

mentators rather than to a mysterious loss of texts. It might be mentioned in this regard that Tiruvāṇṭuṭurai is the place where Cāminātaiyar, at the end of the 19th century, found manuscripts of almost the complete *Caṅkam* corpus. Some of them are still available there today.

Thus, the discussions of classical literature in the commentaries are another feature that should be examined. Here, however, the material is not particularly plentiful. In this regard, one might examine another line of commentaries that extended over several generations, again within the domain of poetics, though not, so to speak, based on Tamil-Tamil poetics. These are the Sanskritised versions that were initiated by the *Viṛacōḷiyam* (VC) in the 11th century. While quotations are also found in its commentary, they are rare and brief. More interesting is a list of text titles used as examples for *tokai*, “anthology”, one of the literary genres described in VC 178. The commentator lists six criteria for arranging an anthology and adds an example for each. An arrangement based on subject is exemplified by the *Puraṇāṇūru* (= Puṛam poetry), location by the *Kaḷavaḷi Nārpatu* (= the battle field), period by the *Kārnārpātu* (= the rainy season), occupation by the *Aintiṇai* (= *tiṇai*?)³⁰⁵, type of song by the *Kalittokai* (= in Kali metre), and finally length by the *Kuṛuntokai* (= 4–8 lines).

The Tamil *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram* (TA), the only text to follow the *Viṛacōḷiyam* tradition, dating perhaps to the 12th century, elaborates with a full *sūtra* on *tokai* (= TA 5), and adds two more categories, namely anthologies composed by one author and by many authors. Accordingly, the commentary repeats the list of the previous examples and adds two new ones, namely, Tiruvalluvar’s *Tirukkuraḷ* for a work with one author, and the *Neṭuntokai* (= *Akanāṇūru*) for a work with many authors. This discussion of genres has repercussions in the Sanskrit tradition itself, as has already been noted by Marr (1985 [1958]: 13). In the corresponding context, the Daṇḍin commentator Taruṇavācaspati (13th c.) writes on *Kāvyādarśa* 1.13:

saṅghātaḥ ekārthaviśayaḥ, ekakartṛkaḥ, padyasaṅghātaḥ, śaratsaṅghāt[o] dramaḍa-saṅghād iva.

An anthology [is] specific for one subject matter, by one author, a line-wise anthology, like the autumnal anthology from the Dravidian academy.

The autumnal anthology being referred to here is clearly the *Kārnārpātu*, which entered the discussion with the *Viṛacōḷiyam* commentary. While the example is not particularly accurate – this anthology, which belongs to the later *Kīlkkanaḱku*,

³⁰⁵ Several anthologies among the *Kīlkkanaḱku* are sorted according to the five settings. Two of them have *aintiṇai* in their titles, the *Aintiṇai Aimpātu* and *Aintiṇai Elupātu*.

is attributed to the *Caṅkam* itself, the “Dramaḍa Sangha” – nevertheless this example shows that questions of Tamil poetics found some entry into the trans-regional discourse.

Another example of this is found, slightly later, in the *Lilātilakam*, the foundational text of the Kerala grammatical tradition. This anonymous text is generally dated to the late 14th century (Gopala Pillai 1985). It is a treatise on grammar in the extended sense, that is, including poetics, and is written in Sanskrit *sūtra*-s with a Sanskrit commentary. It provides numerous examples that allow a glimpse at the variety of Kerala local dialect called Maṇipravāḷam. The first chapter (*śilpa*) discusses the properties of the Maṇipravāḷam language (*bhāṣā*). In the context of distinguishing literary from worldly usage, the commentary contains a first reference to the *Caṅkam* corpus:³⁰⁶

te khalu cōla-pāṇḍyānāṃ viśeṣa-vyavahāre eva pattuppāṭṭu-eṭṭuttokai-ityādi-prabandhātmake bhavanti. na tu teṣāṃ sāmānya-vyavahāre. (śilpa 1, comm., p. 284)

Those [words] that have the nature of compositions such as *Pattuppāṭṭu* [and] *Eṭṭuttokai* are in the special usage of the Cōlas and Pāṇḍyas only. But not in their common usage.

Pattuppāṭṭu and *Eṭṭuttokai* are mentioned here as sources for words found in special (= literary) usage. What is interesting is that here, the two hyper-anthologies are further characterised as belonging to the Cōlas (= Cōlas) and Pāṇḍiyas, that is, not to the Cēras. This means that at this point in time, the author, who is describing the language(s) of Kerala, implicitly rejects any Kerala share in the classical heritage. The *Caṅkam* corpus is still known, at least by the titles of the hyper-anthologies, but unlike in the case of Tamil grammatical treatises, where for all differences of opinion our corpus remains a point of reference for everybody, the Kerala grammar proceeds from a completely new model. A second passage answers the question, again implicitly, of what status should be accorded to Tamil classical literature. The point under discussion here is the designation Maṇipravāḷam – a literary language that mixes Sanskrit with elements of a local dialect – which is reserved for the literature of Kerala:

tannibandhanam ca tatra tatra deśe bhāṣā-kāvyaṃ muktakam prabandho vā samasti. kintu teṣāṃ pattuppāṭṭu-ityādiḥ padam ityādiś ca saṃjñā; na tu kathaṅcid api maṇipravāḷam iti saṃjñā. (śilpa 1, comm., p. 286)

³⁰⁶ This and the following passage were kindly brought to my attention by Rich Freeman. For further reflections of the language policy of the *Lilātilakam* with respect to Tamil, see Freeman 2013: 210f.

And anywhere in the land there exists poetry in [regional] languages, stanza or composition. And the designation of any of them is “*Pattuppāṭṭu*” and so forth, “*Padam*” and so forth; but there not anything like the designation “*Maṇipravāḷam*”.

Here the *Pattuppāṭṭu* has become an example of a genre of regional folk poetry, mentioned along with the *Padam* genre of Telugu. Again this does not look as if the text itself was still being read, although the *Līlātilakam* displays considerable knowledge of the Tamil grammatical tradition, including the *Tolkāppiyam* (Gopala Pillai 1985: 200 ff.). This state of affairs seems to foreshadow the one in which the Tamil tradition begins to see itself in the course of the 18th century. One text that has been blamed by more than one generation of Tamil scholars for playing a part in this process is the *Ilakkaṇakottu* (*IK*), a treatise on what is closest, in traditional terms, to a partial treatment of *Col*, written by Cāmināta Tēcikar around the turn of the 17th to 18th century.

Zvelebil’s verdict on this author comes out forcefully, while at the same time he calls in A. K. Ramanujan as a second witness (Zvelebil 1993: 147 f.):

A decisive factor for the ancient literature being hidden in the limbo of oblivion was the strong and lasting influence of militant Brahmanical Hinduism. Later medieval Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava scholars “apparently tabooed as irreligious all secular texts; they disallowed from study all Jain and Buddhist texts.” [quote from Ramanujan 1985: xiii] Thus Cāmināta Tēcikar (17th–18th cent.), in the commentary on *Ilakkaṇakottu*, (7th aphorism; cf. also the *Pāyiram*), condemns the following books as unnecessary, indeed inferior writings which one should not read wasting one’s time: “*Cintāmaṇi*, *Cilappatikāram*, *Maṇimēkalai*, *Caṅkappāṭṭu*, *Koṅkuvēḷ mākkatai*, *Pattuppāṭṭu*, *Eṭṭuttokai*, *Paṭiṇṇēṇkīlkaṇakku*, *Irāmaṅkatai*, *Naḷaṅkatai*, *Ariccantiraṅ katai*, etc.” This list virtually contains almost all the best literary achievements of Tamil literature! On the other hand, the names of the quoted books show that, even at the beginning of the 18th century, the great classics were known at least to some scholars even if they were prohibited by influential fanatics such as Cāmināta Tēcikar.

This statement seems to be based solely on the period of auto-commentary on *sūtra* 7 of the preface (*pāyiram*), or rather the prolegomena, for those take up the full first section of the *IK*. And indeed, the critical passage is found there. However, it reads quite differently if viewed in its proper context. *Sūtra* 7 is a nearly fifty-line long explanation of the views found in the treatise concerning the relationship between Tamil and Sanskrit within the Tamil language. The main texts upon which the discussion concerning semantic usage is founded are stated to be the *Tolkāppiyam* as a grammar (*ilakkaṇam*) and the *Kuraḷ* as a literary work (*ilakkiyam*).³⁰⁷ To this pair

307 *IK* 1.745–48: *palkāl paḷakiṇum teriyā uḷavēl*
tolkāp piyamtiru vaḷḷuvar kōvaiyār
mūṇriṇum muḷaṅkum. āṇṇiṇum ilaiyēl
vaṭamoḷi veḷipeṇa vaḷaṅkum eṇka.

a third work is added, the “*Kōvai*”. It is in the extended commentary on this third category that the discussion turns to more general views on literature:

IK 1.7, comm. 10 (= edition T. V. Gopal Iyer, p. 102f.)

tiruvaik kōvaikkum kūṭṭuka. māṇikkavācakar aṟivāl civaṇē enpatu tiṇṇam. aṇṇiyum alaḱiya tiruccir̥rampalamuṭaiyār avar vākkil kalantu irantu arumait tirukkaiyāl eḷutiṇār. apperumaiyai nōkkātu cintāmaṇi, cilappatikāram, maṇimēkalai, caṇkappāṭṭu, koṇkuvēḷmākkatai mutaliyavar̥roṭu cērttuc ceyyūṭkaḷōṭu oṇṟākkumar. aṇṇaṇamum amaiyātu, ilakkaṇamāvatu tolkāppiyam oṇṟumē, ceyyūḷavatu tiruvaḷḷuvar oṇṟumē, taṇicciraṇṇuṭaiya ivviraṇṇum nīṇkalāṇa ilakkaṇa ilakkiyam ellām oṇṟar̥ku oṇṟu perumai ciṟumai iṇai eṇṟu koḷvār enpatu tōṇṟa immuṟai vaittu aṭaiyaip potuvākkiṇām.

Let us join “*tiru*” to *kōvai*. By the knowledge of Māṇikkavācakar, Śiva is called a certainty. Besides, the one possessing beautiful Tiruccir̥rampalam (= Śiva), mixing [his] words [with the words of] him (= Māṇikkavācakar), has written it with his rare holy hand. Without looking at that greatness, joining it to those beginning with *Cintāmaṇi*, *Cilappatikāram*, *Maṇimēkalai*, the *Caṇkam* songs, and the *Koṇkuvēḷ Mākkatai*, they make it one with [those] verses. As some take it, not being content [to do] so (that is, not accepting the special role of the *Tirukkōvaiyar*), that only the *Tolkāppiyam* is a grammar, that only the [work of] *Tiruvaḷḷuvar* is a poetic work, [and] that the pair of greatness and smallness is one [and the same] for uniting all grammatical and poetic works that do not leave these two possessing singular excellence, putting it in this manner we have made the linking (of *tiru* with *kōvai*) explicit.

avar atumaṭṭō, iraiyaṇār akapporuḷ mutalāṇa ilakkaṇaṇkaḷaiyum, tēvāram, tiruvācakam, tiruvicaippā, tiruppallāṇṭu, periyapurāṇam, civaṇṇapōtam, civaṇṇa cittiyār, civappirakācam, paṭṭinattuppiḷaiyārpāṭal mutaliya ilakkiyaṇkaḷaiyum oru poruḷāka eṇṇātu, naṇṇūḷ, ciṇṇūḷ, akapporuḷ, kārikai, alaṇkāram mutaliya ilakkaṇaṇkaḷaiyum, pattuppāṭṭu, eṭṭuttokai, paṭiṇeṇkīlkkāṇakku, irāmaṇ katai, naḷaṇ katai, ariccantiraṇ katai mutaliya ilakkiyaṇkaḷaiyum oruporuḷāka eṇṇi vāṇāl viṇāl kaḷippar. avar ivaikaḷ irukkavē avaikaḷai virumputal eṇ eṇiṇ, pāṛkaṭaluḷ piṇantataṇuḷ vāḷum mīṇkaḷ appālai virumpātu vēru palavar̥rai virumputal pōla, avaratu iyaṛkai eṇka.

As for the extent of that, without counting the grammars beginning with *Iraiyaṇār Akapporuḷ* and the poetic works beginning with *Tēvāram*, *Tiruvācakam*, *Tiruvicaippā*, *Tiruppallāṇṭu*, *Periyapurāṇam*, *Civaṇṇapōtam*, *Civaṇṇacittiyār*, *Civappirakācam*, *Paṭṭinattuppiḷaiyārpāṭal* as a unique wealth, counting the grammars *Naṇṇūḷ*, *Ciṇṇūḷ*, [*Nampi*] *Akapporuḷ*, [*Yāpparuṇkala*] *Kārikai*, [*Taṇṭi*] *Alaṇkāram* and the poetic works *Pattuppāṭṭu*, *Eṭṭuttokai*, *Paṭiṇeṇkīlkkāṇakku*, *Irāmaṇkatai*, *Naḷaṇkatai*, *Ariccantiraṇkatai* as

“If they (= Sanskrit words) are not understood even if they are repeated many times, they resound within the trio of *Tolkāppiyam*, *Tiruvaḷḷuvar* [and] *Kōvaiyār*. Even if they are not in those places, Sanskrit will be used so as to be obvious, let us say.”

a unique wealth, they will spend [their] life days as waste days. If one says “what is it to desire those while these exist?”, like fish that are born [and] live in the milk ocean not desiring that milk, desiring something else, [is] their nature, let us say.

Kōvai of course refers, in the first place, to the *Tirukkōvaiyār*, that part of the Śaiva devotional corpus that is also most in accordance with the requirements of “secular” literature, being at the same time a poem to Śiva and an Akam poem. This is why it was exempt to some degree from the general reluctance, on the part of grammarians, to integrate devotional material into their discussions. The attribute *tiru*, as the commentary explains, is added for a good reason. Śiva himself had a hand in writing down Māṇikkavācakar’s famous poem, and for that reason it is “holy”. The same status should be accorded all works that either deal with Śiva, like the mentioned works from the bhakti canon and the *Śaivasiddhānta* texts, or that Śiva himself created, such as the *Irāiyaṇār Akapporuḷ*, the only grammatical text falling into this category. Some people, not explicitly named but clearly to be identified as common grammarians, do not see a difference in status between such holy works and the literary works customarily referred to in matters of good language. These people miss an important point and look in the wrong place for something essential, though probably no longer in the linguistic sense: “milk” is not referring to grammatical or rhetorical refinement, but spiritual sustenance.

So what started out as a discussion for possible authorities concerning the use of Sanskrit words in Tamil texts digresses into a discussion of the relative spiritual merit to be attained from various types of literature. Not surprisingly, the scholar from Tiruvāvaṭuturai decides in favour of the *Tirukkōvaiyar* (and further texts sacred to the Śaivites). But he is not speaking from the position of an ideologist who has the authority to recommend or condemn texts. Rather he is speaking as a religious man who desires to extend the sphere of traditional grammar, which had always ignored or excluded devotional literature from its discussions. He wants to have examples not only from the *Kuṛaḷ*³⁰⁸ (the epitome of literature that still includes, if in a more marginal position, the *Caṅkam* texts, other *Kīlkaṇakku* and the epics), but also from the devotional works.

This more charitable interpretation is well in accordance with the general attitude of the work, which seems quite broadminded and learned. The laudatory preface (*ciṛappuppāyiram*) establishes as its intellectual lineage the *Akattiyam*, the *Tolkāppiyam* with the three commentaries by Iḷampūraṇar, Cēṇāvaraiyar, and

308 Here he shares the preferences of the author of *Pirayōka Vivēkam*. The bulk of his quotations come from this one text, which interestingly also shares the prefix *tiru*, even though it can hardly be claimed to be a Śaivite text.

Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar, and the *Naṇṇūl* (whose commentator Caṅkara Namaccivāyar was an older contemporary). In addition, the grammatical texts referred to or quoted from include Nampi's *Akapporuḷ Viḷakkam*, the *Yāpparuṇkalakkārikai*, the *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram*, and the (lost) *Avinayam*. The author's contemporary affiliation with the *Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam* and *Pirayōka Vivēkam* are repeatedly mentioned. The range of literary texts that are quoted include several Śaivite works (*Tirukkōvaiyār*, *Tiruvācakam*, and *Tēvāram*), but also the familiar classics, including, of the *Caṅkam* anthologies,³⁰⁹ the *Kuṟuntokai* and *Akanāṇūru*, the *Paripāṭal*, and the *Tirumurukāṟruppaṭai*, as well as several *Kīlkkāṇakku* and epics, and even the Vaiṣṇava *Tivyappirapantam*. The most frequently cited text, however, is the *Kuṟaḷ*. In short, Cāmināta Tēcikar seems to have been a modern man who tried to mediate between the conservative views of his great predecessor Vaittiyanāta Tēcikar and the more radical Sanskrit-oriented tendencies of Cuppiramaṇiya Tiṭcitar. He may have been a staunch Śaivite who wished to reconcile, on a scholarly level, the two traditions that made up his religion. And if he was a religious fanatic, the one place where this does not show is the *Ilakkaṇakkottu*.

Still, the trend away from *Caṅkam* literature is unmistakable. In the area of non-religious literature, the *Kuṟaḷ* has clearly supplanted the earlier corpus in importance, as was already observable with the *Pirayōka Vivēkam* and, to some extent, with the *Naṇṇūl* commentaries.

Coda: The Maturaic Cokkanātar Aruḷiya Tamil Viṭutūtu

Another piece of evidence, related to the legends in several ways, but also confirming the evidence from the grammatical commentaries, is a short text probably dating to the 17th century called the *Maturaic Cokkanātar Aruḷiya Tamil Viṭutūtu* ("Tamil sent as a messenger by the grace of Cokkanātar (= Śiva) of Maturai"³¹⁰), of unknown authorship and provenance. The *Tūtu* (from Skt. *dūta*-, "messenger") was a productive *Pirapantam* genre, with precursors in the classical corpus itself and a counterpart in the Sanskrit literary tradition (the most famous example being Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*). It is a poem where an entity (sentient or non-sentient) is sent to take a message from one lovelorn partner in a separated couple to the other. The absent lover here in Maturai is none other than Śiva, and the mes-

³⁰⁹ *Caṅkam* texts mentioned by name are the *Tirumurukāṟruppaṭai* (IK 1.6, comm. 15), as well as *Kalittokai* and *Paripāṭal* (IK 129 comm.).

³¹⁰ This title is slightly problematic. The *peyareccam aruḷiya* suggests that Maturaic Cokkanātar is the author of the poem. Of course there is no lack of works attributed to divine authorship, but it sounds less likely in this case, since Śiva is the addressee of the poem. Another possibility is that the human poet is named after the deity. In any case, nothing further is known about him.

senger being sent to him is Tamil itself. The text bears witness to a continuation of Tamil veneration that has its roots in the classical tradition itself (Wilden 2009c), but it is new in its outlook insofar as Tamil is personified as an entity to be worshipped. Here Tamil is rather a king than a god, but is nevertheless a precursor to the goddess figure of *Tamiḷ-tāy*, “mother Tamil”, who has a place in modern Tamil language devotion and the nationalist movement (Ramaswamy 1997 and 1998).

The role of this royal messenger Tamil has been beautifully summarised by Ramaswamy (1998: 75):

At another level, it is also clear that Tamil is far superior to any earthly sovereign. Indeed, the three “crowned kings,” the *mūvēntar*, those paradigmatic lords of the Cōḷa, Cēra, and Pāṇṭiya territories celebrated in ancient “Caṅkam” poems, served as the “vehicle” in which Tamil toured the three worlds (the earth, the heavens and the nether world) over which it wielded authority [41]. Not surprisingly, it was declared to be “the king who bows to no one” [35–36]. And what is the source of the power of this supermonarch? The poet’s response is to list the vast array of literary treasures that Tamil has at its command. Indeed, only a lover of literature, and one convinced – and seeking to convince others – of the power of language, could have generated such an imaginary royal court. Various Sanskrit texts are enrolled into royal service in important but subordinate capacities: the *Vedas* and *Āgamas* officiated as its high priests; the great *kāppiyam* [Skt. *kāvya*-, “poems”], dramas, and texts on *alaṅkāras* [treatises on poetry] were its courtiers; the *cāttiram* [Skt. *śāstra*-, “learned treatises”] were its commanders-in-chief, and its army was constituted by the eighteen *Purāṇas* and the *Pāratam* [*Mahābhārata*]. Sanskrit was thus incorporated into the vast realm over which Tamil ruled, and even contributed to the maintenance of the latter’s sovereignty [42–45]. For the author of the *Tamiḷ Viṭutūtu*, Tamil was the master of that master language of the Hindu-Indic world, Sanskrit.

Although these Sanskritic texts were important members of Tamil’s inner circle, the crucial task of guarding the monarch’s body (*meykāppa*) is assigned to literary works in Tamil [50–60]. They served as the intimate “bodyguards” entrusted with protecting the language from harm. In what appears to be an attempt to canonize the literary productions of the Tamil-speaking world, the large majority of these bodyguards were various works from the Śaiva devotional corpus, although a few non-sectarian literary pieces make it to the list of elect as well.⁸ It is thus clear from the enumeration of the monarch’s court that while Sanskrit works were undoubtedly assigned places of dignity and prestige, the spaces closest to the royal body of Tamil were reserved for literary works written in the Tamil language and celebrating the Śaiva word.

Note 8 lists the Tamil works that function as body guards:

This is the order in which the poem identifies these various “bodyguards”: the poems of “the Three” (Appar, Campantar, and Cuntarar); the words similarly spoken by Vātavūrār [Māṇikkavācakar], and especially the *Kōvai* [*Tirukkōvaiyār*], for which Śiva himself was the scribe; the *Iraṭṭaimaṇimālai* of the faultless lady [Kārakkāḷ Ammai]; the various grammatical texts [which are not specifically named]; the five long poems (*pañcakāppiyam*) [which are not individually named]; those great long poems (*peruṅkāppiyam*) which deal with royal

deeds and achievements; the *Porṇvaṇṇatu Antāti*, the poem composed by the king-turned-devotee, Cēramāṇ Perumā, as well as the other poem he wrote, the *Mummaṇi Mālai*; the *Mummaṇi Kōvai*, of Paṭṭiṇattār; the *Pattuppāṭṭu* and the *Eṭṭuttokai*, which were sung by the ancients {51.2d–52.1: *mūttōrkaḷ || pāṭi aruḷ pattuppāṭṭum eṭṭuttokaiyum*}; the faultless *Patineṭṭuk Kīlkaṇakku*; the *Kalampakam* sung by the “twins” [Iraṭṭaiyār]; the [Kalingattu] *Paraṇi*, which celebrates the fierce victory in Kalingam; the [Irācarāca Cōlāṇ] *Ulā* for each verse of which its poet [Oṭṭakūttar] was rewarded with a thousand gold coins; and the [Kulottunga] *Piḷḷaittamīl* [50–60].

We see here a picture that is reminiscent of the situation reflected in the *Ilakkaṇakkottu*. The older literature is still mentioned, and with respect, but it has become part of a larger corpus that is dominated by devotional literature. The trend noted above seems to have advanced a step, in that the *Caṇkam* classics are only included through a reference to their hyper-anthologies, while the single texts are no longer listed, and their old age is explicitly alluded to. If the traditional dating is correct, the *Viṭutūtu* would precede the *IK* in time. This is not impossible, because the issue at stake is perhaps more a matter of milieu. Grammarians had more reason to be familiar with older literature than devotional poets, and this author certainly did not come from scholarly circles, as can be seen by his sweeping reference to grammar as *ilakkaṇam*, without naming a single text, not even the *Akattiyam* or *Tolkāppiyam*.

Incidentally there is also a short retelling of the Tarumi legend in the *Viṭutūtu*, integrated into the address made by the messenger to the lover, in which he recalls his former deeds. The academy itself, as a renowned feature of Maturai (the place where the addressee is to be found by the messenger), is referred to several times.³¹¹ And verses 114.2d–116 summarise the main story as known from the *Purāṇas*, although nearly as briefly as in the *Tēvāram*, where it was encountered for the first time:³¹²

tarumikkē
ōr vāḷkkai vēṇṭi uyar kīḷi koḷvāṇ koṇku
tēr vāḷkkai eṇṇu eṭutta ceytiyum. – kīraṇ
icaiyā vakaiyiṇ iyampināṇ eṇṇē
vacai āṇit tarkkitta vākkum.

³¹¹ The first mention is nearly at the beginning in verse 13, where the “poets who are not servants to falsehood” (*poy aṭimai illāp pulavar*) of the Śaivite tradition are evoked (cf. p. 238 ff.); it is then mentioned again in verses 81 and 91.

³¹² The verses are linked in a kind of enjambment, in which the final metrical foot of each stanza is generally syntactically part of the one that follows. The two quoted here are part of a longer list of the lord’s deeds that continues for several stanzas.

The deed in which you raised [your voice to] “*kōñku tēr vāḷkkai*” (= *KT 2*)
 in order to seize the high purse, needing a living for Tarumi,
 and the words in which you playfully debated the fault
 as Kīraṇ spoke up in a disagreeable manner ...

Here are the bare bones of the main story line, which suggests that the puranic story was still expected to be familiar to the audience. The academy is not mentioned in this context, but probably it was self-evident. None of the literary works listed in the previous section are set into relation with either the *Caṅkam* or the legend; the quotation from *KT 2* can safely be considered part of the puranic heritage. To summarise, the academy is nothing other than a local feature and part of Śiva’s mythological scenery. It is not mentioned as an asset among the treasures that adorn and protect Tamil, the personified language. The narrative logic in this is obvious; it is not possible to subject Tamil, the monarch, to an institution of worldly judges, be they inspired by the divinity or even divine themselves, as was the dumb child incarnation of Murukaṇ. But this arrangement also shows that the old paradigm was no longer valid. While the *Tirukkuraḷ* still had to be presented in front of the academy, Tamil itself stands independent and absolute.

III.6 Summary: The Rise and Fall of a Canon

Chapter II has shown us that the external information available for the surviving manuscripts of our corpus does not reveal much about their history. For one thing, the manuscripts are simply not old enough, covering at best the period of the last three hundred and fifty years in a process of transmission that must have lasted about two millennia. Compared to the lists of manuscripts contained in the early editions, the total number has dwindled by half in just the last century, and very few of the surviving manuscripts can be traced back to these lists with confidence. Colophons are rare, and it is almost never possible to retrace the history of a manuscript beyond the library where it is found today. As a consequence, it is not even possible to be certain about the provenance of these manuscripts, or only very roughly.

If we nevertheless want to reconstruct the long-term transmission history we must depend on a variety of text-external sources. First, our corpus is surrounded by a satellite system of para-texts: invocation stanzas, traditional colophons, and mnemonic stanzas, all of which provide valuable clues about the text in question. The invocation stanzas tell us about the period of anthologisation, the colophons about geographic and political affiliations, and the mnemonic stanzas about the lowest common level of poetic understanding. The latecomers in the corpus indicate, first of all, that they emulated the style of the older poems, thus testify-

ing not only to these being available as texts, but also to their having gained an authority status.

The legends show that the academy led a double life, one within the fold of grammar – the most prominent and fertile intellectual field in the Tamil language – the other at the edges of the sacred Śaiva landscapes. The original grammarian legend of the three successive academies at the Pāṇṭiya court in Maturai represents, despite already having Śaivite leanings, the overture to the reception of the corpus in the grammatical tradition, where it becomes a body of reference in matters of poetics and refined language. Hyper-anthologisation and canonisation are testified not only by the status of these works, but also by the form of the references to and quotations from these works in the commentaries. The main era of commentaries, both literary and theoretical, is found in the early centuries of the second millennium, reaching its zenith in the 14th century.

The more explicit Śaiva versions of the legend go back to the end of the first millennium. At first they probably reflected a change in the social paradigm and balance of power in favour of Śaivism, forcing the supporters of the literary tradition, at least the poets, to adjust their production to the preferences of their new rulers. True poetry is now addressed to the lord alone, and the academy turns into a seat of devotional literature. Parallel to this, the first Tamil Renaissance of the grammarians seems to be in full swing.

In the period when interest in the classics begins to wane, around the 15th century, the legends gain a new life as narrative material connected to the exploits of lord Śiva in Maturai. It is perhaps not mere chance that this is a period of political unrest, during which Pāṇṭiya power breaks down and the old capital of Maturai is subjugated to Vijayanagara rule. It is the cultural recovery under the Nayaks of the 17th century that witnesses a late double-blossoming of the two branches, grammatical learning and the legends. Later, without any clear break or manifest testimony other than the general upheaval of older structures in the wake of the British colonial regime, references to the corpus and academy slowly fade away. Only the Tiruvaḷḷuvar appendix of the legend acquires fresh energy, which incidentally attests to the academy being less associated with devotion than with (unjust) Brahmin power.

Several texts clearly reflect this near-oblivion, either by completely omitting the academies and the texts they are supposed to have produced, or by very scanty or even faulty information concerning them. We have reached the threshold of the contested “rediscovery” of the late 19th century.

The *locus classicus* for this is the point described in Cāminātaiyar’s autobiography when, in 1883, he is preparing an edition of the Jain epic *Civakacintāmaṇi*. While reading the commentary, he realises that he has no understanding of many of the quotations from other earlier works. He spends a weekend going through

the manuscripts in the library of Tiruvāṇṭuṭurai *mutt*, and then the magical moment arrives (chapter 92, *vēru paḷaiya tamīl nūlkaḷ* = vol. 2, p. 385 f. in Zvebil's translation of 1994):

I began to search among the bundles of old palm leaf texts which were there. Some of the palm leaves were very old; when one touched them, they felt sticky and fragile. On one bundle was written “Eṭṭut tokai”, and “seems to be *Caṇkam* books”; it was Kumārācāmit Tampirāṇ [one of the *mutt*'s scholars] who had tied up the bundle separately and inscribed it. When I took it and looked at it I found it to be *Narriṇai* and other *Caṇkam* books – the plain texts. I had guessed that *Eṭṭuttokai* (“Eight Anthologies”) had become *Ēṭṭuttokai* (“Collections of palmleaves”). The eight texts of *Narriṇai*, *Kuṇṭokai*, *Aiṇkuṇūru*, *Paṭirruppattu*, *Paripāṭal*, *Kalittokai*, *Akanāṇūru* and *Puṇāṇūru* make up the *Eṭṭuttokai* Anthology. I knew the name of the anthology from an old verse. In that bundle I found palm leaf manuscripts of the basic texts of all the collections. *Kalittokai* and *Paripāṭal* were not in it.³¹³

This was the rediscovery of the Tiruvāṇṭuṭurai *Eṭṭuttokai* manuscript. Of what is still extant today, it is one of the desperately few that can be identified. And of the six texts found by Cāminātaiyar, what remains are two complete texts (the *Aiṇkuṇūru* and the *Paṭirruppattu*) and a quarter of another (the last hundred verses of the *Akanāṇūru*). The passage goes on to describe the *Pattuppāṭṭu* manuscript that was also in the *mutt* library: It was an incomplete copy, beginning with the *Porunarārruppaṭai*. It had formerly belonged to Cāminātaiyar's late teacher Mīnāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai, who, when asked by his student what it was, had explained that it was a collection of *Ārruppaṭai*, a minor *Pirapantam* genre. The following are the key elements of the situation in which Cāminātaiyar and his colleagues found themselves:

- The stories about the academy had dwindled to a mere fable of a glorious past. And even if people were still acquainted with texts like Paraṇcōti's *Tiruḷaiyāṭarpurāṇam*, as we have seen, there was no reason at all to connect these stories to any of the ancient texts. The academy was meant to produce devotional poetry, with the single exception of *Kuṇṭokai* 2, which was transmitted not as a *Caṇkam* poem, but as the verse the lord had composed for Tarumi.

313 “*nān aṇkirunta paḷaṇ cuvaṭik kaṭṭukkaḷaip puraṭṭik pārkkalāṇēn. ēṭukaḷellām mikap paḷamaiyāṇavai; eṭuttāl kaiyil oṭṭik koḷḷak kūṭiyavai. oru kaṭṭil “ēṭut tokai” eṇṇum ‘caṇkanūlpōl tōrrukiratu’ eṇṇum eḷutik kumārācāmit tampirāṇ kaṭṭi vaittiruntār. atai eṭuttup pārkkaiyil narriṇai mutaliya caṇkanūlkaḷiṇ mūlam eṇṇu terintatu. eṭṭut tokaiyenṇpatu tān ēṭuttokai āyirreṇṇu uṇarntēn. narriṇai, kuṇṭokai, aiṇkuṇūru, paṭirruppattu, paripāṭal, kalittokai, akanāṇūru, puṇāṇūru eṇṇa eṭṭu nūlkaḷum eṭṭut tokaiyākum. oru paḷaiya pāṭṭililuntu anta eṭṭiṇ peyarkaḷum eṇakkut teriyavantaṇa. ellāvārriṇ mūlattaiyūm cērttelutiya eṭṭuc cuvaṭi onṇu akkaṭṭil akappaṭṭatu. atil kalittokaiyūm, paripāṭalum illai.”*

- Commentaries, both grammatical and, as the *Cintāmaṇi* example shows, literary, were still copied (and also presumably read). They contained thousands of quotations, but more than ninety per cent of them were not identified. Moreover, many of these quotations were incomplete, giving only a phrase, a line or a few lines, or only the beginning of poems, the *pāda* quotations that only identified a poem that the audience supposedly knew by heart.
- the names of older texts were preserved in two ways. First, although they rarely identified quotations, commentators occasionally discussed texts by name. Secondly, there were still mnemonic stanzas of the type discussed in chapter III.3; for instance, we can be confident that the verse Cāminātaiyar refers to is the Veṇṇpā, which lists the eight texts that make up the *Eṭṭuttokai* (cf. p. 180).

These points seem to summarise fairly accurately the general state of knowledge at that time, and I do not see any valid reason to dismiss Cāminātaiyar's account as tendentious. Indeed, he then describes in detail the painstaking work of finding, deciphering and understanding these manuscripts.³¹⁴ Of course it cannot be expected that the general state of knowledge is coextensive with “all available knowledge”. Evidently there were sources that Cāminātaiyar had not read, as for example the *Tamiḻ Nāvalar Caritai*, but then again, apparently not many other people had read it. And, as we have seen, even that work contains precious little information: a re-telling of the legend of the three consecutive academies together with a list of supposed *Caṅkam* works and quotations of unidentified Puṛaṁ poems mixed with later-day Veṇṇpā and others. This clearly shows the degree of ignorance that was prevalent at the time.

Another source of information may have been the *Iraiyāṇār Akapporu!* and its commentary, which must have been widely transmitted, since even today we find some twenty manuscripts. But even here, we do not encounter much more than the earliest surviving version of the *Caṅkam* legend; the main illustrative text of the commentary is the *Pāṇṭikkōvai* and the few dozen *Caṅkam* quotations are not identified. Taken together, the entire grammatical tradition certainly contained many more clues, but it is very probable that scholars with a truly comprehensive

³¹⁴ In recent years, a number of voices have suggested that Cāminātaiyar deliberately underestimated the degree of information and scholarship still alive in Tamilnadu at the end of the 19th century; see for example Venkatachalapathy 2006: 92 and Rajesh 2013: 20 ff. However, as far as the *Caṅkam* corpus proper is concerned, neither scholar offers sources that support such a claim convincingly. See also Monius 2011 on *eṇ caritram* as a “construction of Tamil Literary ‘Tradition’”.

overview of Tamil grammar no longer existed.³¹⁵ Like a jigsaw puzzle, there were many little pieces here and there in the various transmissions, and they had to be collected and painstakingly fit together.

That this process did not always take the form of collaborative harmony is aptly illustrated by Cāminātaiyar, who reports on the jealousies and distrust between the various scholars (such as between himself and Tāmōtaram Piḷḷai). One should also not forget that Tamilnadu was a huge region, communication was difficult, and many scholars lived in poverty.

The editing process, however, may have had a broader basis than the editions lead us to believe. This is shown by the existence of paper manuscripts – only available for certain texts – that may have begun to be produced in the second half of the 19th century. Many of these evidently predate the printed texts. One clearly dated example is the *Kuruntokai* manuscript kept today in London that was copied in Maturai for Burnell in 1874. Sadly we know nothing about why it was copied, but an educated guess might be that an older palm-leaf manuscript was found, and since its title was vaguely familiar, either from the *Eṭṭuttokai* stanza or from a reference in the grammatical tradition, it was thought to be important. The first copyist must have been a man of erudition who had an understanding of the old metre, because he basically produced a comprehensible text, although it is not free of mistakes. This copyist did not finish the manuscript, however, and those who took over were evidently not as well informed (cf. p. 53 + p. 380f.). Thus, the text Burnell received was legible only until about poem 71. What can be reconstructed about the editing process of these texts will occupy most of chapter IV.

315 To give just one example, already in the later synthetic grammatical treatises of the 17th and 18th centuries we see gaps. Neither *Pirayōka Vivēkam* nor *Ilakkaṇakkottu* refer to the *Yāpparuṅkala Virutti*. Cāmināta Tēcikar is very explicit with respect to the texts he examined, and he mentions the *Yāpparuṅkala Kārikai*. It is highly likely that he would have named the *Virutti* had it still been part of his library.

IV The Editing Process

Producing a Tamil text in book form was something quite unlike writing a manuscript. Scholars quickly realized the revolutionary potential that the printed book had for producing a corrected, standardized, and thus potentially error-free, authentic text that could be reproduced without losing its accuracy. As far as we can tell at present, the watershed event in the history of Tamil textual editing was the 1812 edition of the *Tirukkuraḷ* prepared by an entire committee of scholars. As we learn from the book's title page, "A clean text has been established by scholars of grammar and literature who have expunged typographical errors and studied [the text]", and the book "was printed in Madras of the *Toṇṭaimaṇḍalam* region by *Ñāṇappirakācam*, son of *Malaiyappa Piḷḷai* of *Thanjavur*. *Mācatinacaritai* [Monthly News] Press, E[nglish] year 1812". As far as we can say today, this is the first time that Tamil scholars expressed their concern to establish in print a "clean text" (*cutta pāṭam*) free from mistakes. In the preface of the book we learn about the philological mission at work here: "Since, due to the absence of printing in this country, all the outstanding Tamil texts composed with the expertise of learned authors have been written by hand, causing letters to be left out, added or altered, words reversed, meanings shift and errors increase with every new copy, ... [The *Tirukkuraḷ*] has] now been printed so as to establish a clean text without such errors". To guarantee such a "clean text", an elaborate editorial procedure was set up that involved an entire group of scholars in different places who studied manuscripts belonging to monastery libraries and old scholarly families and then sent the text back and forth, correcting and revising, until they agreed on a final version.

(Ebeling 2009a: 239)

Another aspect in understanding the transmission of today's *Caṅkam* corpus is clearly the history of its being edited. Printed editions only go back to the end of the 19th century³¹⁶ and we can distinguish three basic phases: decipherment or transcription, standardisation, and popularisation. Obviously the first is the most interesting from the point of view of manuscript studies, but the other two help explain why so little is known today, with any degree of certainty, about the early phase of decipherment. The notion of a critical edition entered *Caṅkam* philology

316 The first *Caṅkam* edition was *Ci.Vai. Tāmōtaram Piḷḷai's Kalittokai*, published in Madras 1887 (Scottish Press), followed two years later by *U.Vē. Cāminātaiyar's Pattuppāṭṭu*, also Madras (Tiravitaratnakara Accukkutam). The one exception was the *Tirumurukāṇṇuppaṭai*, which was not perceived primarily as a *Caṅkam* text; it was one of the first books printed in Tamil (cf. p. 368).

for the first time in 1985, with Caṇmukam Piḷḷai's edition of the *Kuruntokai*, which is based on the editions available to date and several additional manuscripts. However, for a number of reasons this edition must be considered an unsuccessful attempt.³¹⁷ The first set of critical editions in the philological sense of the word is only now being prepared within the *Caṇkam* project of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient in Pondicherry (organised by the present author).³¹⁸ Up to now two texts have been published (NA and KT) and several more are under preparation, but whether or when the entire task will be completed is a difficult question to answer. The main problem is not the accessibility of the material (since most of the manuscripts in question have already been digitised by the EFEO), but the scarcity of scholars qualified and willing to do the job.

What was at stake for the early editors is clearly summarised by Ebeling, as quoted above. The process of editing, as described by him for the *Tirukkuraḷ*, can be reconstructed in the case of the *Caṇkam* corpus, for which, as we have seen, many of the primary sources are still available. How were these first editions made? A preliminary question we must ask ourselves is the following: On the basis of the available material, what can an edition achieve? The first task of an editor is to decide precisely which materials can be discarded when establishing the text. It can be frankly said that the sources of textual data in the field of Classical Tamil were and are less than ideal, and that for two main reasons.

The first reason is the writing material used, namely, palm-leaf. When exposed to the South Indian climate, even with the utmost care of a trained librarian (which has not been the condition under which most of our manuscripts have been stored), to prevent information being lost, a palm-leaf manuscript must be copied at least once a century, and even better, twice. After a period of fifty to a hundred years, the first holes from insects appear, the first margins break off, or the threads that tie the bundle begin to disintegrate. Then leaves get lost or put in the wrong order when the bundle is put back together. This fragility of the medium is not without consequence for the entire process of transmission. We surmise that the texts were gathered into anthologies no later than the 7th century C. E. This is the latest possible date for their having been written down. Editing started in the late 19th century. The manuscripts available to the early editors were presumably still quite legible (since all the texts were printed, and while corrup-

317 One of the greatest weaknesses of this edition, apart from the general problem of ubiquitous misprints, lies in the fact that the author did not go back to the still extant sources of his predecessors. This seriously distorts his evaluation of the manuscript evidence (for a more detailed discussion of this work, see Wilden 2010: 7 f.).

318 For details on this project, see <http://www.efeo.fr/base.php?code=576>.

tions and lacunae exist, they are limited).³¹⁹ It stands to reason that the few palm-leaves they used which are still extant today (and while damaged, are for the most part legible) cannot have been older than the late 17th to early 19th century (if we accept the earliest date in a colophon, that is, 1675, as a lower limit). Some of the 19th-century paper copies might be based on palm-leaves that were even older, possibly the 17th century. In any case there is no way to prove this, since these palm-leaves have vanished. Most probably they were so damaged that they were simply thrown away after copying.

This means that between the 7th and the 17th century, our texts were copied at least ten times, and possibly up to twenty times. That provides ample latitude for textual changes, whether one wants to call them corruptions or not.³²⁰ The situation is reminiscent of a popular game played at children's birthday parties. Imagine ten children sitting in a circle on the floor; the first whispers a sentence into the ear of his or her neighbour, who whispers it to his neighbour, and so forth around the circle. The tenth child repeats aloud the phrase that has finally reached him. Then the first child repeats what he or she originally said, the laughter is great at the difference between the two sentences. Whether the outcome of this game is different when played by philologists has not been tested.

What I would like to express with this image is the following: Just as there is no way to retrace the steps from the tenth sentence to the first unless the eight intermediate children repeat what they have passed on, there is also no way to retrace the path from a 17th century manuscript to one of the 7th century. We cannot hope to reconstruct an original *Caṅkam* text, although with the methods of higher textual criticism it may be possible to explain the discrepancies between the manuscripts we have and thus reach back hypothetically to the one or two generations of manuscripts that directly preceded them.

This is directly related to the second reason why a philologist might have some reservations about the available data. It is because of the changes in the Tamil script during the period in question. Despite the importance of this massive change, in the editorial history of the *Caṅkam* it has not been considered at all because no direct testimonies are available. Judging from the ample epigraphic evidence, Tamil has been written in three different script systems, partly overlap-

319 With the exception of the traditional losses in the *Paripāṭal* (46 poems) and the *Paṭiṟruppattu* (first and last decade), only a few poems are missing from today's *Narriṇai* (134, 385.7df.), *Puraṇāṇūru* (267, 268, as well as probably the former final one) and *Aiṅkuṟunūru* (129, 130).

320 Another aspect that must be kept in mind is the formulaic nature of the textual material. It is possible that many adjectives or attributive phrases were not stable from the very beginning. Today's manuscripts, at least, contain quite a lot of formulaic variants. One example is *taṇṇiṟ*/*teṇṇiṟ*, "cool water" or "clear water", where it seems rather absurd to choose one over the other.

ping and partly consecutive, namely, Tamil Brahmi, Vaṭṭeḷuttu and Tamil.³²¹ Even if we exclude Tamil Brahmi on chronological grounds, there is reason to believe that at some point in time, Tamil literary texts were written in Vaṭṭeḷuttu, which is epigraphically attested well into the 8th century and in Kerala (Cēra Nāṭu) much longer. If so, the shift from Vaṭṭeḷuttu to Tamil must have been a decisive moment in the fate of the texts, comparable to the one undergone by European manuscripts at the time of the switch from majuscule to minuscule. However, before a typological study of variants – which is impossible without collating all the available sources in the whole corpus – has substantiated this suspicion, there is no need for further speculation, since no evidence for *Caṅkam* manuscripts written in Vaṭṭeḷuttu has come down to us. For the time being, our attention must be directed to the Tamil script.

IV.1 Notes on the Development of the Tamil Script

One of the biggest problems when dealing with Tamil manuscripts is dating them. As seen in the chapter on colophons, just 22 contain dates, amounting to a little more than 15 per cent of the 126 physical objects (which contain 183 manuscripts = codicological units). We see four different types of dates. Two are traditional: one based on the Tamil sixty-year cycle, the other the Kollam system (which can be transformed by adding 825 years to the cipher given in the manuscript). For the most part, these two dating types are restricted to palm-leaf manuscripts, accounting for ten (5/5) of the available dated manuscripts.³²² The third type of date is of Western style and is usually found on paper manuscripts; often the first two digits are omitted. Eleven examples of this type of dating have been found. The fourth type is the occasional mention of a date in a catalogue without further explanation. One of the Paris manuscripts bears this type of date.

This means that the vast majority of witnesses are not dated. In addition, Tamil scholars as a rule are very reticent to commit themselves in any way. Unfortunately the outer appearance of a manuscript cannot be used as valid evidence because the quality (thickness, smoothness, flexibility) of palm-leaves is extremely variable, dependant probably not only on the individual leaf that was used, but also on the skill in its preparation as a writing surface. Moreover,

³²¹ See Mahadevan 2003.

³²² To be sure, dates from the Tamil sixty-year cycle have also been used in early prints right into the early decades of the 20th century, but this does not seem to be the case with paper manuscripts, at least not the ones from the *Caṅkam* corpus, with the exception of one *AN* ms. that has a printed title page (cf. p. 130).

the chances of survival depend highly on how the manuscript has been stored. Even old manuscripts are comparatively intact if they have been kept in proper climatic conditions (as is the case in Paris or Kolkatta), or at least have been regularly oiled. Manuscripts that are less fortunate deteriorate very quickly. A good example can be seen in the *Akanāṇūru* manuscripts held respectively in Kolkatta, the UVSL [1075], and Tiruvāvaṭuturai. Judging by the script and their makeup, these are three sister manuscripts of the same generation. But while the Kolkatta manuscript is virtually unscathed, the one in the UVSL is still legible but quite worm-holed, and the *mutt* copy is brittle, eaten by insects, and its margins are crumbling.

An obvious way towards a solution of the dating problem is a double strategy that advances from two sides: examining the evolution of the script and analysing large numbers of colophons that give a date.

The first approach starts by creating a model of the script's development, beginning with the old palm-leaf notation. But this does not give us a time span much longer than three hundred years to work with, even if we accept the earliest date transmitted by a colophon, 1675, as being realistic. One unexplored possibility is to augment our manuscript material with epigraphic sources. Inscriptions in Tamil script span a far longer period, from about the 7th to the 20th century. Although they seem to testify more to distinct regional and/or stylistic differences rather than any straightforward scriptural evolution, they might at least serve as a pool for comparing rarer forms of certain letters that occur on palm-leaves.

The second approach to the problem of dating has become available only recently, with the new digital resources that allow access to entire collections. We are now able to expand on the group of dated manuscripts by using such digitalized material to find colophons in such larger corpora. Nonetheless, my impression from browsing the Vaiṣṇava collection of the EFEO, for one, is that probably no more than every tenth manuscript has such a colophon.³²³

For the time being I can offer only a very modest contribution to the question of the evolution of the Tamil script by describing the script in the *Caṅkam* manuscript corpus and the patterns it reveals.

The transition from palm-leaf to paper, which involved new forms being introduced into the script, is relatively easy to describe and will be dealt with in detail in the next section. Here I will focus on the script that is found on palm-leaves. The most obvious and oft-noted characteristics of this script are the absence of

323 In this context, an obvious question is whether there is anything specific about Tamil scribal colophons, or whether we find here a more general type of colophon that also includes those from Sanskrit manuscripts in Grantha script, of which there are many more (the proportion in many collections seems to be about 60 % Sanskrit to 40 % Tamil).

puḷḷi (the dot above a consonant that denotes the deletion of the inherent *a* vowel, thereby creating a consonant cluster), the absence of the lower closing stroke for the *kāl* π (which distinguishes a long *ā* from an intervocalic *ra*), and the exclusive use of the simple *kompū* @ (to represent both long and short *e/ē* as well as, in combination with *kāl*, long and short *o/ō*). In addition to this, a small number of letters and their combinations have a special form in the palm-leaf transmission. Three of these vanish when palm-leaf stops being used as a writing medium, while two continue to be found on paper manuscripts and in printed texts until the 1980s, after which they gradually fell victim to the Tamilnadu script reform of 1978, becoming rarer and rarer in books printed after that year. As a result, modern Tamil fonts rarely contain characters to represent them.

- 1) *ra* series:  NA C1 [UVSL 1076]

A regular feature in the old notation is a special series of graphemes with one single bow connected with *r*. There seems to have been a transitional phase, well before the *puḷḷi* and vowel diacritics, during which the modern double-bow *r* (ṛ) appears in palm-leaf manuscripts. So far I have not seen this grapheme used in Tamil paper manuscripts.³²⁴

- 2) open *ka*:  NA C1 [UVSL 1076]

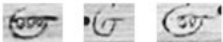
Less systematic and also less conspicuous is the *k* grapheme that, in contradistinction to the modern one, does not close its lower right loop. This leads to easy confusion between *k* (ḵ) and *t* (ṭ), all the more since the latter often does not have a very pronounced downward stroke. This feature is mainly found on palm-leaves, but it has also survived, perhaps as a personal stylistic element, in some early paper manuscripts.

- 3) elongated *ṭa*:  AN C2 [UVSL 28]

Less current is the elongated *ṭa* (sometimes extended to three or four times the breadth of the normal consonant), seen only on palm-leaves. It is not clear at present whether it should be seen as a temporal peculiarity or as a regional/sty-

³²⁴ The only exceptions I know are found in the very early paper manuscripts of Portuguese missionaries, dating back as early as the 17th century. They were written on high-quality paper and can still be in excellent condition. They follow palm-leaf notation absolutely, as can be seen in the Hamburg exemplar of Baldeus' 1659 outline of the Tamil language and grammar (STAB Cod. orient. 283).

listic tendency. My impression is that it is mostly found on later palm-leaves. Nevertheless, it is also found on the *Kalittokai* UVSL [511] manuscript, which is dated Kollam 850 (= 1675 C. E.). This is the earliest dated manuscript we currently have available. Indeed, it seems prudent to admit that the group of manuscripts that we have analysed is not large enough to make any conclusions.

4) *ā* series: 

NA C1 [UVSL 1076]

he series of special graphemes for certain consonants followed by long *ā* is, as already mentioned, found in palm-leaf and paper manuscripts, as well as in printed material up to the script reform of 1978, when these forms were standardised as னாஈ, றாஈ and னாஈ. This is important when trying to understand manuscript variants including such forms. For many of them the genesis is difficult to retrace in today's representation (which is why the Pondicherry critical editions make use of one of the rare modern fonts that is based on the older script models).

One of these series of letters seems to have undergone a longer and more complex evolution and exhibits far greater variety than any other. This is the prepositioned *ai* vowel in combination with *ṇ*, *ṇ*, *l*, *l*. From early printed texts onwards one of its forms became standardised, and this is another victim of modernisation in today's publications (where it is simplified as னை, னை, னை, னை). Just as in the case of *ā*-ligatures, in modern publications the genesis of the text is obscured and many variants look random.

Here we can distinguish an evolution through four major types with various sub-types:

5a) *ai* series, first type: vowel sign on top



AN C4 [UVSL 297]



AN NLK [3141//S. V.P. 91]

The first type appears as an upper miniature *kompū* (often reduced to a hook or circle) with several sub-varieties. The first ends in a stroke downwards to the left, which means it was probably written as a separate sign. The others seem to begin with the upper loop from right to left, which is continued in a single stroke into the first loop of the consonant. Note that the vowel mark looks nearly identical for all four consonants. This type seems to be found exclusively on older palm-leaves.

5b) *ai* series, second type: vowel sign attached at the left



AN C3 [UVSL 107]



PN C7 [UVSL 576]

This second type contains a separate vowel sign in the form of an open figure-eight attached to the upper left side of the consonant's first loop. There is a slight asymmetry between the upper and lower loops of the vowel sign. This type also seems to belong to the palm-leaf era.

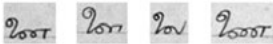
5c) *ai* series, third type: vowel sign left vertical



Ciru C2 [UVSL 184]



AN C9 [UVSL 11/73] paper



AN C7 [UVSL 5/67] paper

The third type extends the vowel to the writing line, in some cases even below it, so that we have a vertical and independent, albeit attached sign. This is clearly the prototype of the premodern print forms (னை, னை, னை, னை). It occurs almost exclusively in paper manuscripts. One exception is the palm-leaf *Pattuppāṭṭu* manuscript UVSL 184, where it is also found.

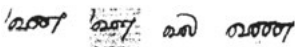
5d) *ai* series, fourth type: vowel sign left horizontal



Ciru C6 [UVSL 285]



AN C2 [UVSL 28]



AN G2 [GOML R 5735/TR 1051] paper

The first specimen looks like a variation of the third type, with the vowel sign level with the consonant. The others, however, seem to follow a different form, beginning the loop at the lower left. This form might be inspired by the Grantha script (cf. Burnell 1874, Plate XIII). It occurs in both palm-leaf and paper manuscripts and might go back to institutions or individuals who were working with both the Tamil and Grantha scripts.

IV.2 The Path from Palm-Leaves to Paper to Printed Editions

A precise knowledge of the Tamil script is not only useful for the possibilities it lends for relative dating, but it also helps one understand the genesis of variants as they occur in process of copying.³²⁵ A number of inherently problematic forms are found in the palm-leaf period. The similarity between *k* and *t* (க/த) has already been mentioned. In palm-leaf manuscripts, the two different types of *r* (ர/ற) also look alike. The first, the “little” (*ciṇṇa*) *r*, lacks the lower closing stroke, and, since the latter is without the second bow, its only distinguishing feature is the upper horizontal stroke to the right. This however is often not particularly pronounced. Similar problems arise with regard to a number of other letters. The forms for *v* and *l* (வ/ல) are very similar, as are *ṇ* and *ḷ* (ண/ள). Other similar letters are *ku*, *ṭu* and *ru* (கு/டு/ரு). The prepositioned *ai* diacritic for most letters (ஐ) can be easily confused with an alveolar *ṇ* (ண). Also whether an *n* has two loops, the alveolar, or three loops, the retroflex (ṇṇ), is often a matter of guessing. *n* and *t* can be close, especially when doubled (ந/த). This leads to a common variant in the *vinaiyeccam* or *peyareccam* in certain conjugation classes in which intransitive and transitive are complementary (*uṇarntu/uṇarttu*).

Another set of common variants is probably not based on letter form but on pronunciation. This might be the reason for much of the free variations between *ḷ* and *ḷ* (ள/ழ). Also the distinction between dental and alveolar *n* may not always have been clear; when morphology demands an alveolar we often find the dental instead.

In short, with all these possibilities for confusion combined with the absence of *puḷḷi*, closed *kāl* (க) and double *kompū* (கூ), matters are quite complicated. On top of this comes another complication in the use of *scriptio continua*, which can be divided into comprehensible units only by rigorously applying *sandhi* rules and metre.³²⁶ Unfortunately, many *sandhi* rules leave several options, and thus a

³²⁵ For a general presentation of the types of variants one can expect in Classical Tamil poetry, see the introduction to the Wilden (2008) *Narīṇai* edition.

³²⁶ For a comprehensive presentation of the Classical Tamil *sandhi* rules, see Andronov 1969, §§ 15–23. One of the major problems is that in manuscripts it is not entirely predictable how those rules have been implemented. Variants abound, especially with respect to gemination. Note that the split into metrical feet by no means implies perfect word splits, although metrical theory makes claims of respecting word boundaries. However, metrical feet can be composed of several (mostly two) short words or, quite the opposite, long words can take up more than one *cīr*. A foot starting with a vowel is allowed only at the beginning of the poem, which means that many final consonants must be transferred to the next foot. On the more complex metrical rules, see Wilden (forthcoming b): “Ācīriyappā – The Unwritten Rules of Classical Tamil Metre.” We will come back

number of letter combinations can be seen as the result of several different operations. Moreover classical metre is flexible and often allows for several interpretations. All this means that for an uninitiated person, even if competent in the Tamil script and language, a text as written on a palm-leaf does not make immediate sense. Even for an expert it is very difficult to read an unfamiliar text. Thus, in the traditional system of education a new text was not learned by reading, but by being heard.³²⁷ Manuscripts seem to have been regarded less as an independent medium but as data storage devices to be consulted in cases of doubt.

The print history from the middle of the 19th century shows us quite clearly the differences between familiar texts and unfamiliar ones. As is well known, the *Caṅkam* texts were by no means among the first works of literature to be printed – with a single exception, the *Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai*, the first song of the *Pattuppāṭṭu*, which was integrated into the Śaiva canon as part of the miscellaneous book of the 11th *Tirumurai*, and which was moreover a popular Murukan hymn (and has remained so up to this very day). This text was printed a number of times before the *Pattuppāṭṭu* edition of Cāminātaiyar in 1889,³²⁸ but still more than half of its numerous manuscripts go back to the 19th and early 20th century. Two very early prints are still available in the Roja Muthiah Library in Ceṇṇai, both as yet without a commentary. The older of the two (RML 8452), edited by a Ti. Caṇmuka Aiyar, is not dated. It contains line breaks and modern letter marks such as the *puḷḷi*, but the text is not yet split into metrical feet (*cīr*).³²⁹ The second, by Caravaṇapperumāl Aiyar, is dated to 1834/35 and presents a metrical text.

No paper manuscripts have been transmitted. The numerous later palm-leaf manuscripts have weathered the watershed of print by having introduced all the features of modern script into the palm-leaf. The most likely explanation for this situation is that a) the text was still so familiar that it was not necessary to experiment with transcribing it on paper, and b) print remained for quite some time either too expensive or questionable as a medium for a religious work that was meant to be used in daily worship.

to the problem of simplification in *sandhi* and metre as one the main distinguishing features of later *Caṅkam* editions.

327 The vestiges of traditional learning in the early 19th century are documented in Ebeling 2010: 33 ff.

328 Murdoch (1968 [1865]: 93) records two editions without dates, and the supplement (Murdoch 1968 [1865]: 259 f.) lists another five published between 1889 and 1896. There is also one by Ārumukanāvalar in Pīramāṭica v^o = 1853/54 C. E., which also contains a first abbreviated reproduction of Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar's commentary.

329 The former might be identical with the first one mentioned by Murdoch (1968 [1865]: 93), likewise without date; for the latter, see also the list of books printed by Kalvivilakka Accukkūṭam before 1939, given in Rajesh 2013: 103.

For most other texts, we have several generations of paper manuscripts; they reveal several stages in the evolution of deciphering and comprehending texts.³³⁰ We have altogether 37 paper manuscripts of the *Kuṛuntokai*, *Narṛinai*, *Akanānūru*, *Aiṅkuṛunūru*, *Paṭiṛuppattu* and *Kalittokai*. For some texts, most notably the *Kuṛuntokai* and the *Narṛinai*, the palm-leaf transmission is almost completely lost; only one palm-leaf manuscript remains for each of these texts, which are part of the oldest stock. For all the others, paper also outnumbers palm-leaf, though to a less dramatic proportion. The next sub-chapter will focus on what can be reconstructed of the textual history of certain texts. Here several general principles shall be outlined.

We do not know when paper first appeared as a writing material in the South Indian tradition; missionaries, such as the Portuguese, already used it in the 16th century and a number of their manuscripts survive (cf. n. 324). The earliest dated paper manuscript we have for the *Caṅkam* is the London *Kuṛuntokai*, mentioned above several times. Its scribal colophon states that it was copied in Maturai in 1873 for Burnell (cf. p. 128); it is definitely not a paper manuscript of the first generation.³³¹ It is quite possible, even probable, that the Europeans' desire for large-scale copying was what brought paper to certain Indian libraries in the early 19th century, since writing on paper was faster and easier. Nonetheless, palm-leaf copies certainly continued to be made at this time. The Mackenzie collection contains a number of paper copies, and the catalogues contain records of

330 For a small number of texts there are very few paper manuscripts, but why this should be so is not completely clear. One factor might simply be the hazards of transmission; we know that much material has been lost. In fact, as in the case of the *Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai*, for the *Paripāṭal* not a single paper manuscript has survived or even been recorded. This text has the thinnest trickle of transmission; no one other than Cāminātaiyar, its first editor, has dealt with its primary sources. The *Paripāṭal* is, for several reasons, one of the most difficult texts in the corpus, and it is highly improbable that Cāminātaiyar edited it directly from palm-leaf. Thus in this case I would venture to conclude that the paper copies he used either rest undetected among his handwritten papers which are not accessible to the general public, or they have been lost. Similar but less grave are the cases of *Puṛanānūru* and *Pattuppāṭṭu*, both among the editions published by Cāminātaiyar before the turn of the 19th century. Here we have only comparatively new paper copies from the GOML, quite evidently made in order to preserve the information from older, disintegrating palm-leaves. No paper records of Cāminātaiyar's working procedures remain; again they might be either locked away or lost. The latter is not unlikely in the case of this early work, for which the great man had few resources or facilities at his command.

331 None of the surviving *Caṅkam* paper manuscripts has been copied on the earlier, beautiful handmade paper still to be found in the Mackenzie collection. They are rather copied on cheap industrial paper, for the most part pre-lined, often soft-bound. This explains their generally sorry state today, when compared to manuscripts older by up to three centuries, which are often still perfectly intact.

parallel palm-leaf and paper copies of the same text. For these early collectors, paper seems to have had two functions: a convenient material for copying the palm-leaf manuscripts of the texts they desired to have, and for noting down oral accounts.

Slightly later, when collecting the Tamil classics (in a wider sense) had become important and large-scale editing activity had started, we can discern four functions held by paper, two related to copying and two to editing.

- For copying manuscripts that could not be bought or borrowed. Here paper became an alternative and then a replacement, both for libraries and for collectors who were prospective editors.
- For preserving information by copying. This seems to be a slightly later phenomenon, predominantly in the early 20th century. In this period, collecting had begun to be done on a massive scale, and older manuscripts had to be copied quickly before they became unreadable.
- For recording variants found between the lines or in the margins of manuscripts. There are four main types of variants: cases in which the palm-leaf source was difficult to decipher (due to damage or letter similarity), in which it was ambiguous (as inherent in its notation), in which scribes consulted several manuscripts, and in which they considered corrections.
- For breaking down the *scriptio continua* into metrical units. This was one of the largest hurdles when preparing an edition, as is attested by innumerable attempts and corrections.

An additional benefit of paper as a material was that it provided space for annotations such as glosses, parallels, additional information like royal names, etc. The layout of Tamil palm-leaves was simply too minimalistic and dense to allow much space for additions. Paper manuscripts were much more flexible in this respect. Notes appear inter-linearly and marginally, as well as on the verso side that had not been used for copying (the paper being thin, allowing the script to shine through from the other side). This brings us to one more characteristic, namely that of paper manuscripts being used by several people. While the traces later users (mostly copyists or editors) left on palm-leaves were basically restricted to a second set of (European) page numbers in addition to the original (Tamil) folio numbers, or an occasional colour mark for the end of one poem and the beginning of the next, paper manuscripts bear traces of multiple reception and improvements from sometimes two, three, and even up to five different hands. At least in the bigger libraries there was, in addition to the copyist, at least one corrector and sometimes up to three, as is attested in the colophons. These were followed by the users of the manuscript in question, in some cases probably the editing scholar for whom the copy had been made.

If we want to place the whole process into a temporal scheme, we can distinguish roughly three generations of paper manuscripts. The first generation treats paper merely as another kind of palm-leaf, with the original *scriptio continua* copied in the original notation.³³² If there are attempts at using the unambiguous modern spelling possibilities like the *pulli*, they are inconsistent, sometimes sporadic, and often incorrect. Poems are usually separated, either by a blank line or an indentation of the first line of the new poem. A number of the earliest paper manuscripts belong to this type, but the picture is obscured by a number of evidently later (dated) paper manuscripts, most of them today in the GOML, which are recorded as copies of palm-leaves still catalogued in the GOML D. series. This means that at least some copies were made after editions were available. Scribes must either have been in a hurry (because, alas, as so often, manuscripts were many and hands were few), or they were not specialists in this kind of literature and had to stick to their source text.

The second generation could be termed the generation of experiment, which sometimes seems to border on trial and error. Modern script is gradually taking over, if not always with perfect accuracy. Poems begin to be broken first into lines, and then also into metrical feet (*cīr*). As mentioned above, this was done by applying *sandhi* rules. However, another important aspect seems to be the use of formulae, which in this context must be seen as prefabricated metrical units around which the rest was arranged,³³³ in much the same way as the *etukai*, the beginning rhyme, is used in later-day poetry.³³⁴ Multiple corrections, often by several hands, show how difficult this process must have been. It is reasonable to suppose that such manuscripts were usually one step in an editing process, but there are counterexamples, such the London manuscript of the *Kuruntokai*, which can be seen as an attempt at cultural mediation: making a classical text legible for a foreigner (Burnell).³³⁵

332 As mentioned above, however, they never make use of the old *r* with the single bow.

333 These formulae were in fact both a blessing and a curse for editors in cases where syllables in the source palm-leaf had become illegible (erased, broken, left blank, etc.). Often they allowed for a reasonable restoration of a corrupt passage, but they also led to the temptation of fabricating longer units: in extreme cases entire lost lines were reinvented in this manner.

334 Anyone examining *etukai* verses in palm-leaf manuscripts looks first for the rhyming units, putting these at the beginning of the four standard lines. They then try to fit in the rest of the text.

335 The year this copy was made, 1873, seems too early for this to have been a copy made in the process of editing. In any case, no records have been kept of a Maturai attempt to prepare the classical corpus for printing at such an early date. Moreover, in several aspects the result is of doubtful success: While the first scribe demonstrates that in 1873 there were indeed people at least moderately capable of making sense of a classical Akam text such as the *KT*, the second

The third generation, then, is the pre-edition stage, with fully modernised script, line and *cīr* split, and usually only one poem per page. At times one even finds footnotes. Some of these manuscripts are what a Lachmanian editor would call conflated versions: composed of several palm-leaf strands. Nonetheless, many follow a particular strand and note other readings as interlinear variants. One problem with this sort of manuscript is that it is almost never possible to determine whether a variant represents a genuine reading or whether it is an attempt at correction or emendation on the part of the editor – unless of course one has access to several palm-leaf predecessor exemplars. Some of these manuscripts look like models upon which the printed editions were directly based, while others give the impression of having been copied from an edition.³³⁶

In the following, this process will be illustrated by a series of facsimile images. They are mainly from the *Caṅkam* manuscript material of *Kuṟuntokai*, *Narṇṇai* and *Akanānūru*, the three texts the present author has edited or is currently editing.



Illustration 3: UVSL 107, p. 3: *Akanānūru* – line 9, beginning of AN 2

Illustration 3 is from an *Akanānūru* manuscript. It is the second-oldest exemplar we have available, dating according to the colophon to Kollam 902 (= 1726 C. E.). It shows a beautiful example of early craftsmanship, and it has very little insect damage. The script is tiny, absolutely regular and evenly spaced, and demonstrates quite clearly the traditional layout: very little margin above and below the text, and some space around the hole, since this area is naturally vulnerable. Line 9 starts with the number 1 bracketed by a *Piḷḷaiyārcuḷi* on either side, the Tamil version of a full stop. This marks the end of AN 1. What follows up to the end of the line are the first two lines of AN 2. With regard to the layout, the transition from one poem to the next is nearly imperceptible. Only when reading the

scribe testifies to the opposite by attempting to split the Akaval lines into a sort of 5-*cīr* Viruttam. And the last scribe resorts back to the old *scriptio continua* (cf. catalogue, p. 53).

³³⁶ This is explicitly stated in the colophon of one palm-leaf manuscript, namely, the *Tirumurukāruppaṭai* I2 from the IFP [RE-25365], said to have been copied from Ārumukanāvalar's edition.

text does one notice the number. The first metrical foot contains one of the rare examples in which a palm-leaf notes a variant. It also makes it clear why this is not done more often: there simply is no space for additional letters.

Incidentally, this is a case in which the regional variation between the two letters *ḷ* and *ḷ̣* mentioned above gives rise to two alternative readings. Both are semantically meaningful, *kōḷ* being the *sandhi* form before a vowel of *koḷu*, an adjective meaning “fat”, and *kōḷ̣* being a noun with one possible meaning being “bunch”. Thus the first line of the poem reads: “*kōḷ̣/ḷ̣-ilai – vāḷaik-kōḷ̣* [illegible letter which according to *sandhi* rules should be *ṇ*, but at best can be read as *ḷ̣*]-miku – *peruṇ-kulai | pūḷ-uru – tiṇ-kaṇi – y.uṇṇuṇart – taṭutta*”,³³⁷ with italics for all the letters that must be inferred, either by adding a *puḷḷi*, by deciding whether an open *kāl* is an *ā* or a *ra*, or by determining the length of the *ō* vowel. A dot separates mere gliding consonants, single hyphens mark a word split, and double hyphens, the split of metrical feet. At the end of the next line 10, a gap is visible, a blank space left by the copyist to indicate that his source was defective. This sample should be sufficient to give an idea of the task at hand.



Illustration 4: Tīruvāṭuturai [no number], p. 10: *Akanānūru* – insect damage

Just to illustrate the challenges editors are sometimes faced with, Illustration 4 shows a detail of one of the less well-preserved leaves of the Tīruvāṭuturai *Akanānūru*. This case is slightly worse than usual, but nonetheless, virtually no palm-leaf manuscript can be transcribed without blanks.

In general, paper manuscripts do not pose the same degree of difficulty, except in cases in which they have been ruined by being laminated (which gradu-

³³⁷ “A slope (= line 3a) || that wards off the eaters of hole-riddled sweet ripe fruit (line 2)|| from big bunches growing in clusters of banana with fat/clustered leaves (line 1)” – a reading deviating in three places from the vulgate version that found entry into today’s printed editions (where the text reads unequivocally *kōḷ-ilai*, *kōṇ-mutir*, “ripening in clusters”, and *y.ūḷ-uru*, “over-ripe”). Details about the various strands of transmission of this text will be given in the next subchapter.

ally reduces the contrast between script and paper, making the deciphering of letters more and more difficult), or by careless handling (so that the brittle paper simply crumbles).³³⁸

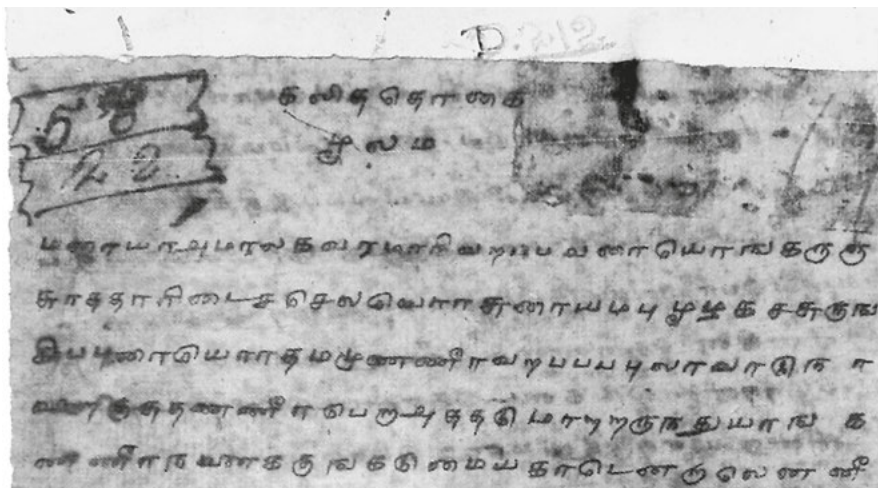


Illustration 5: GOML D.212, p. 1, *Kalittokai*, beginning

Illustration 5 shows the first page of an undated early paper manuscript of the *Kalittokai*. Crumbling pages have been restored with a white paper frame. The script is still completely traditional, with the exception of the modern sign for *r* (*ṛ*). The text is not yet structured in any way, nor have any annotations been made.

³³⁸ A number of paper manuscripts of the *Patiruppattu* (GOML D.114–116) were still perfectly intact when digitised by the EFEO team in 2007. Now (2012) many pages have come loose and the writing on their crumbling inner margin is gradually vanishing.

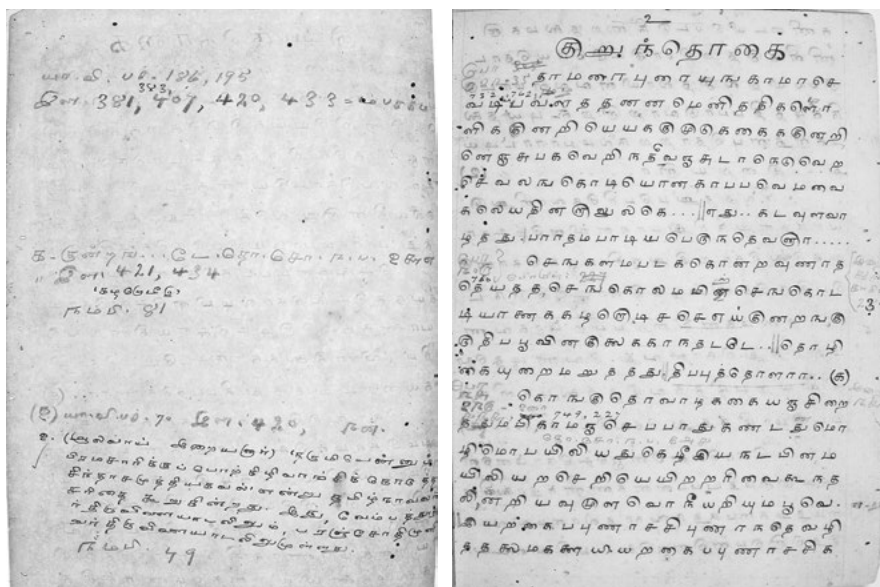


Illustration 6: UVSL 184, p. 1: *Kuruntokai*, beginning – multiple annotations

Illustration 6 shows an undated *Kuruntokai* paper manuscript, perhaps slightly later and definitely much more used than that of the *Kali*. The script is of a transitional type, still as clear and regular as the palm-leaf script of a professional. While it uses the modern *r*, there are infrequent *pulli*-s and no *komp*- or *kāl* distinctions. One *pulli* is used in the title. The manuscript is heavily annotated. The beginning of the new poem is marked by indentation, and additional blue strokes and double strokes show the beginning of the *kilavi* and the poet's name. There are corrections, numbers noting parallels, references, such as to a particular *Tolkāppiyam sūtra* on the page itself, and more notes and references on the empty opposite page. Altogether we find notes in five colours (pencil, blue, pale lilac, violet and red), probably from several different hands. At least one of them is the hand of U.Vē. Cāminātaiyar, the scholar who produced the *Kuruntokai* standard edition.

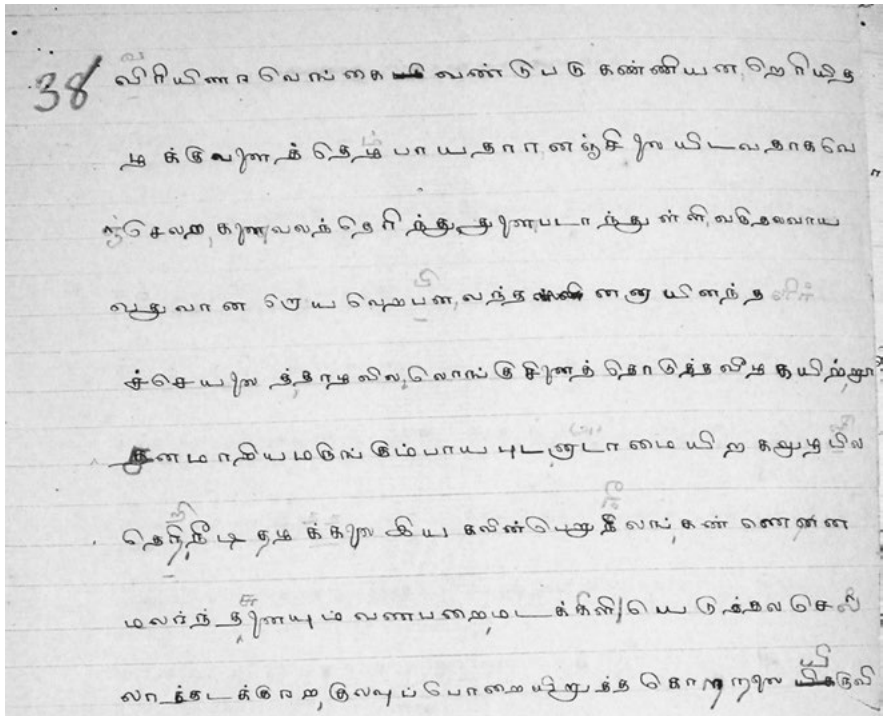


Illustration 7: UVSL 11, p. 39: *Akanāṇūru* 38 – notation of variants

In contrast, the paper manuscript of the *Akanāṇūru* (Illustration 7) seems quite advanced. *Scriptio continua* is still employed, and the script is still not fully modernised, but *pulli*-s begin to appear fairly regularly and there is at least one case on this page where the *kāl* is closed (for *malarnta* at the beginning of the penultimate line), although no double *kompū* can be seen here. The annotation in pencil serves multiple purposes. To begin with, the line splits are marked by commas, while the metre is left untouched. Interlinear variants represent readings from other sources: this manuscript is based on the Śaiva vulgate and to some extent incorporates readings from the Vaiṣṇava strand (such as *verpiṇ* for *verpan* in line 4 of the manuscript) and some readings from unidentified sources (as for instance in the very first word, *vari* for *viri*). Interesting is the end of line 4 (in the poem line 6c), where a blank is reported, as is confirmed by both surviving palm-leaf manuscripts from the Śaiva strand (NL and C1; TT contains only the last 100 poems). The pencil complement “*li*” for *talir* again stems from the Vaiṣṇava strand of transmission. Variants and corrections can presumably be distinguished from one another; it seems that in the latter case the main-line reading is crossed out (seen in the lower right corner).

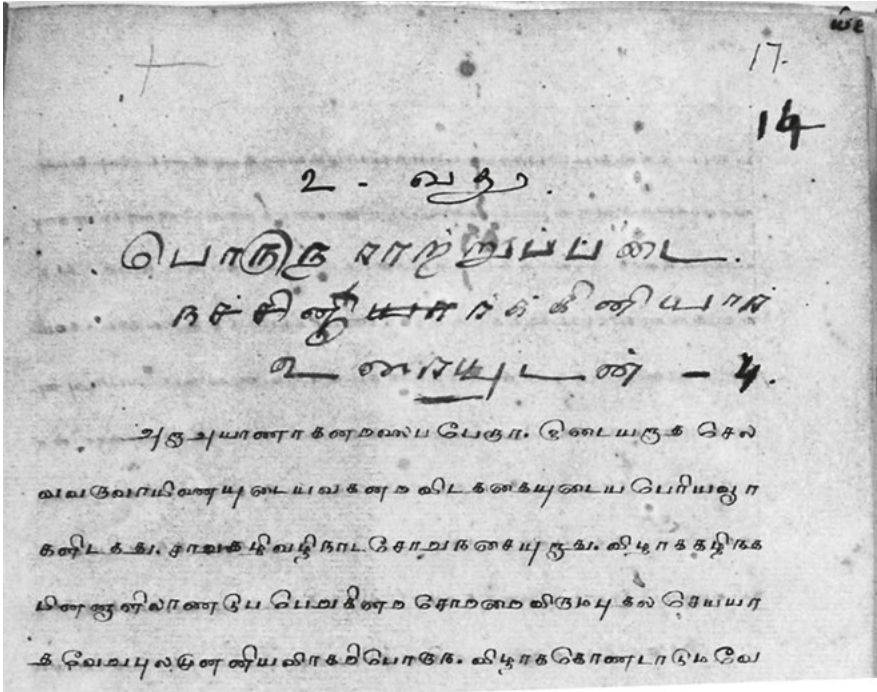


Illustration 8: GOML D.120, p. 17: *Pattuppāṭṭu* + *Kīlkkāṇakku*

The paper manuscript shown in Illustration 8 from the GOML is dated 175.[19]29. At first glance it looks like a relapse to completely unmarked palm-leaf *scriptio continua*. But why this is so is explained by a table of contents that is pasted in before the texts begin. This manuscript is in fact a composite paper copy of older palm-leaves (still reported under their original D. numbers in the first volume of the GOML catalogue that was printed in 1912). In the early years of the 20th century, there seems to have been a concerted effort at preventing the loss of information at the GOML: many of the older palm-leaves in their catalogue survive today only as paper copies like this one. These copies usually do nothing other than transfer what was (presumably) on the source palm-leaf.

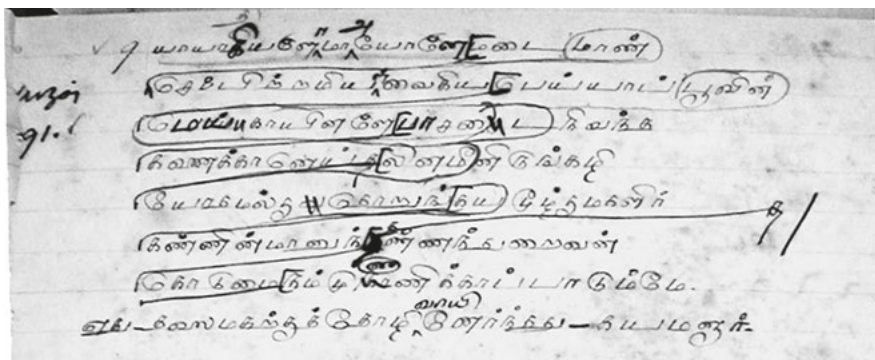


Illustration 9: GOML D.224, p. (= f.)³³⁹ 2: *Kuruntokai* 9 – attempts at line split

With the undated manuscript of the *Kuruntokai* from the GOML (Illustration 9) we enter into the second generation of paper copies. The script is now fully modernised, although not always perfectly reliable. However, breaking lines is still quite an adventure. The long curved strokes are a first attempt at correcting the way the text had been copied, and additional brackets indicate the beginnings of lines according to the insight of a second corrector (or perhaps of the first upon renewed reflection). These correspond to the line breaks in the printed editions. Metrical feet have not yet been touched.

³³⁹ In fact this manuscript still follows the palm-leaf custom of counting only every second page, corresponding to numbering only the recto side of each folio.

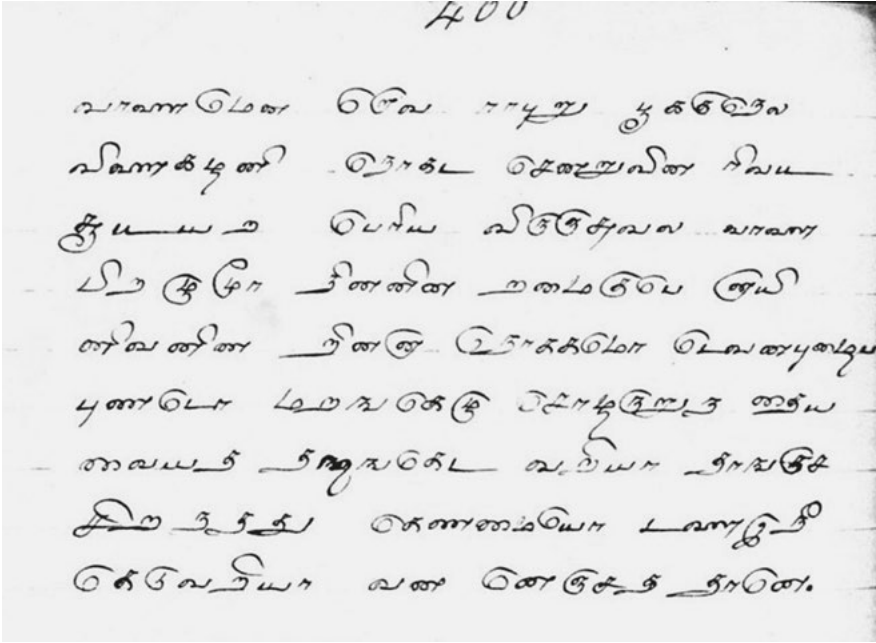


Illustration 10: GOML R.5745, last page: *Narriṇai* 400, with metrical split

An early *cīr* split is found in the paper copy of the *Narriṇai* from the GOML (Illustration 10).³⁴⁰ The manuscript is quite capricious with respect to script modernisation. On many pages *pulli*-s can be found, but not here, which makes one wonder whether they were possibly added at a later time. Double *kompū* and closed *kāl* occur sporadically but not consistently. The metrical split consists in partitioning each line into four units (= four metrical feet), but the metre is clearly not perfectly understood, since already the first unit (*vāḷai-men* instead of *vāḷai*) represents a *cīr* that would be hyper-metrical in *Ācīriyappā* (*nēr-nēr-nēr*). This of course preordains trouble for the rest of the poem. Also the line split is imperfect, resulting in nine instead of ten lines.

³⁴⁰ This image is based on the scan of a photocopy, since at that time (in 2003, when I was working on the collation of this text) I did not yet have permission to photograph the manuscript.

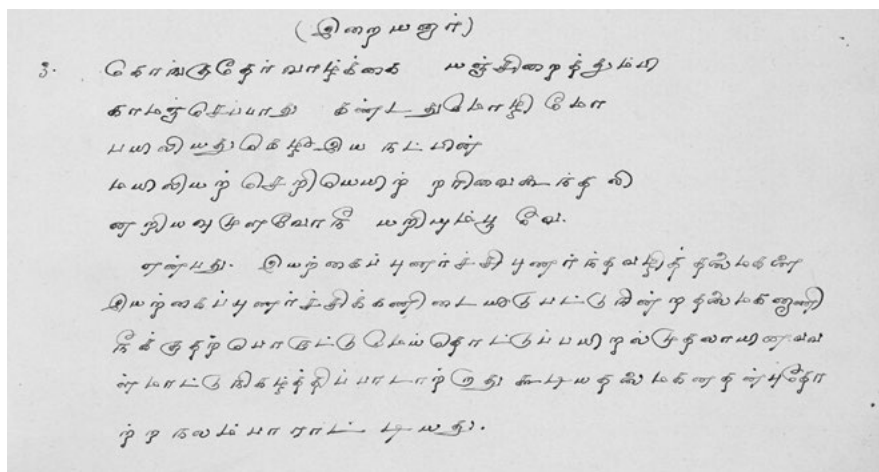


Illustration 11: BL Or.2726, p. 1: Kuruntokai 2

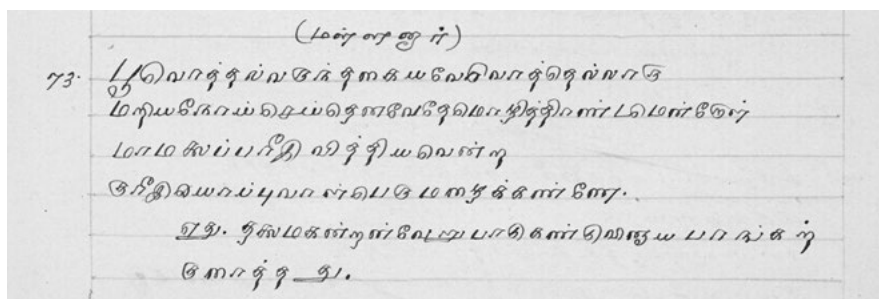


Illustration 12: BL Or.2726, p. 25: Kuruntokai 73

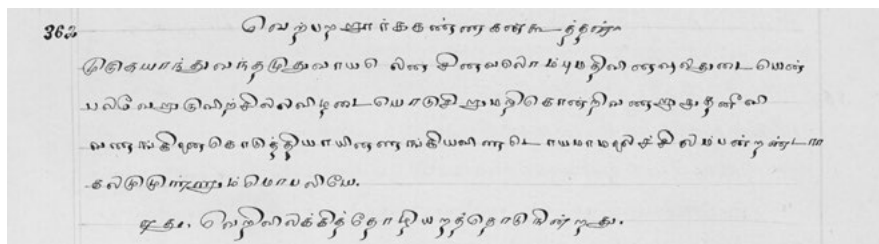


Illustration 13: BL Or.2726, p. 107: *Kuruntokai* 362

Illustrations 11 to 13 show three pages from the London manuscript of the *Kuruntokai* as an example of n. 335: the first scribe did a credible job at transcribing and splitting lines and half-lines, although not the metrical feet, the second scribe learned by doing that the metre was not based on five-foot lines, and the third simply went back to the *scriptio continua* of his source text.

The examples given in Illustrations 11–13 show us that caution must be taken when trying to transfer the three typological generations of manuscripts onto a temporal axis. It reveals that it was possible to have copyists of quite varying skills at a single place. In the various the regions, it may have been a matter of pure chance whether paper copies being requested were undertaken by competent hands. Still, it seems reasonable to assume that on the whole the *scriptio continua* paper copies are older than those with line- and cīr-splits, while the third generation brings us directly to the brink of editing for printed versions.

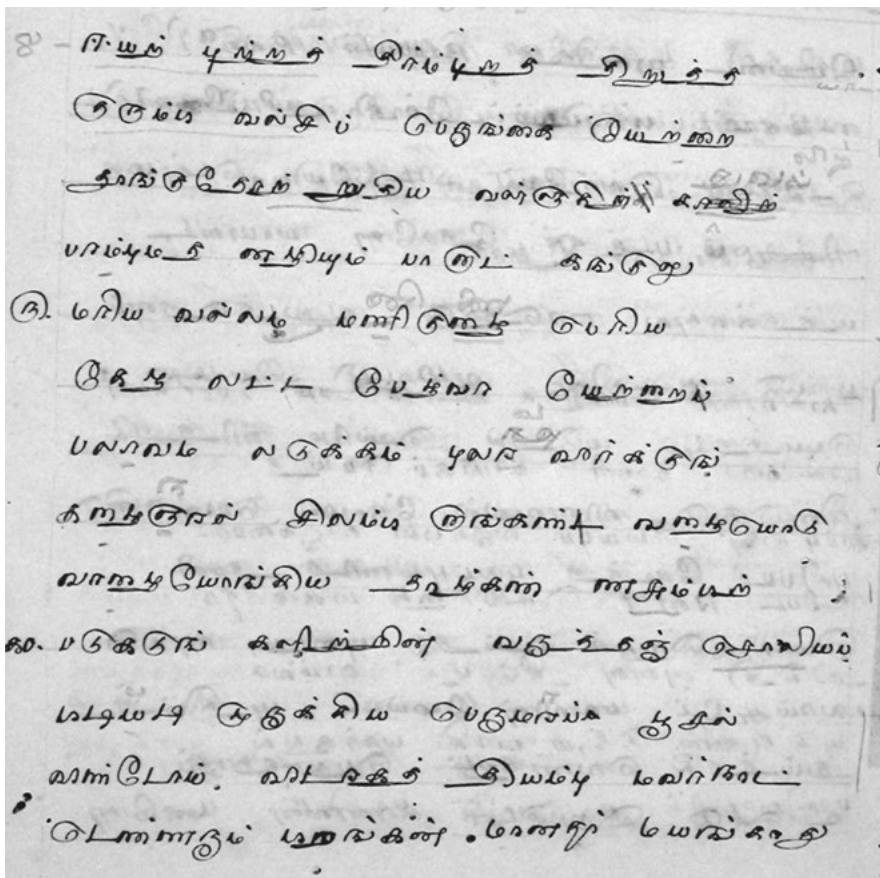


Illustration 14: UVSL 5, p. 13: *Akanāṇūru* 8

In the manuscript of the *Akanāṇūru* shown in Illustration 14 the transformation into a printable text is almost complete. Information from both transmission strands has been integrated and the interlinear notes mostly concern corrections or variants that have been either entered into the main text or reported in the *editio princeps* of Rā. Irākavaiyaṅkār. We do not know anything about the origin or age of this manuscript, but it is quite likely that it was the editor's nearly clean final copy or the one before last.

The example given in Illustration 15, an incomplete and undated paper copy of the *Kuruntokai* from the UVSL, goes one step further, having a nearly print-like layout. The text of the poem is indented, the *kiḷavi* is on the line, and the author's name is separated by a space. Again separated by a space is the commentary (*urai*). This commentary is not identical with any of the *KT*'s printed commen-

92. தூயிலு பட்ட வகில்லாய் வானத்
 தனிய தோடே கொடுத்ததுகப் பகவை
 யினையு கொங்கிய தெய்யுண் மறந்த
 பான்னை யுள்வய்ச் செந்தைய
 லானை கொண்டு மையின் லானையுமாற் செலவே.
 ௧-ஆ, தோ மின்ன கிழைபர் இளவையாற் பொழுதுகண்டு
 லொல்லையு தோ டேவாழ்நன்.

உரை. - தந்தந்த துக்கனையுடைய பகவை வயல்வாழ்
 தாம் தங் கியுத்க்கும் படியாக உயர்ந்த தெய்யின்
 பத்தத்தி ன்நின்றுள்ள மரங்கனிலிருந்து வாகிய தந்த
 ம்பான்னை கொண்டு வாயுதுள்ளோபெய்யும் பொருட்டு
 தான் துக்கினை கொண்டு கொண்டு மையால் தந்தந்த மன்
 டுபின் தோகித்தகையல் மறைந்த மரகல்ப பொருதி
 தருகை திடத்தையுடைய துக்கைய தந்தினை கொண்டு
 த்து செல்லாநிற்கும்; துக்கால் துக்கையால்
 திரங்குத் துக்கையால் திரங்கிநின்றான்; துக்கையால்
 தம்மை துக்கினை யுடைய துக்கையால் தம் கொல்லு வந்த
 தினை யெய்; (௧-ஆ)

தினையு முன்-தந்தந்த, தின்னை- துக்கையால்.
 "பாற்பய்யும்பு அய்யும்பு பவற் துக்கையால்" (தொல்-பொ-௧௩௦)

Illustration 15: UVLS 185, im. 60: *Kuruntokai* 92, with unidentified commentary

taries, nor is there a commentary for all of the poems in this incomplete manuscript. Since it contains many strike-outs and corrections, it gives the impression of having either been copied from somewhere else and improved upon or having been composed on the spot in this very manuscript.

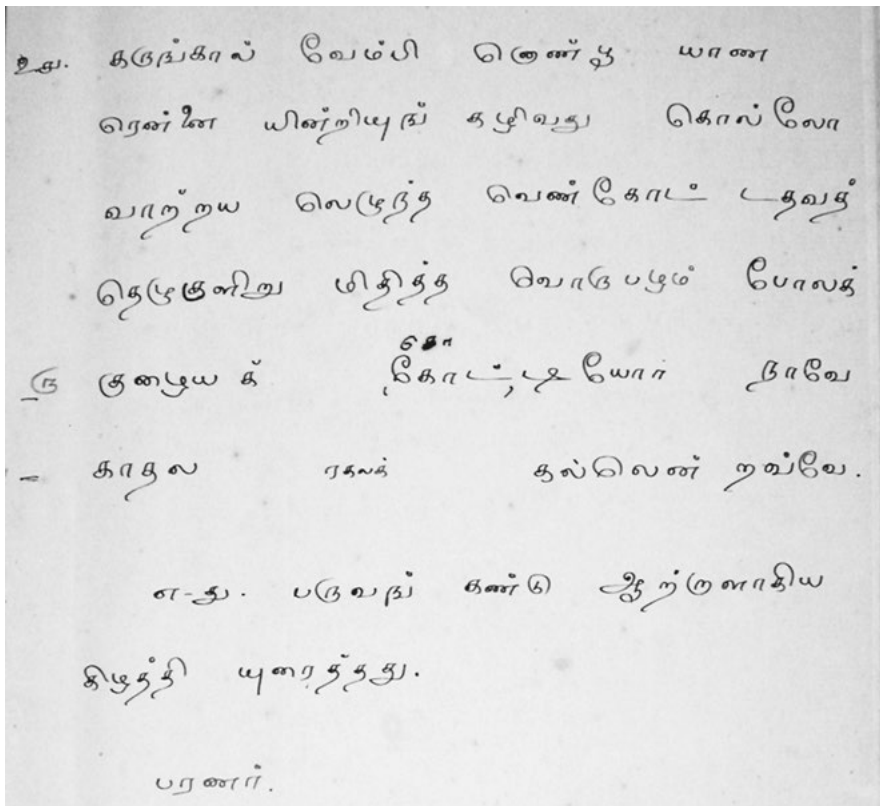


Illustration 16: UVSL 183, p. 25: *Kuruntokai* 24

Another purpose for this type of manuscript becomes visible in yet another UVSL copy of the *Kuruntokai* (Illustration 16). This one is the sole surviving testimony for the strand of witnesses upon which Cāminātaiyar’s standard text is based. To begin with, it includes corrections, such as the one here in line 4 where *kaḷṛu* has been corrected with *kuḷṛu*. These corrections are the reading that was finally printed by Cāminātaiyar. Many of the interlinear variants are not attested elsewhere, which might best be explained by considering them notes from yet another manuscript to which the scribe had access, but could not borrow or buy.

The last example for this section (Illustration 17) is from a manuscript that definitely stands on the threshold of an edition. This can be seen by its printed title page, which states that it was put together “after studying [the text] from many manuscripts” (*paḷpala ēṭṭukaḷaik koṇṭu āraṇṭu*). It is the work of Piṇṇattūr Nārāyaṇacāmi Aiyar, the first editor of the *Narṇṇai*, dated to Cōpakirutu 0v

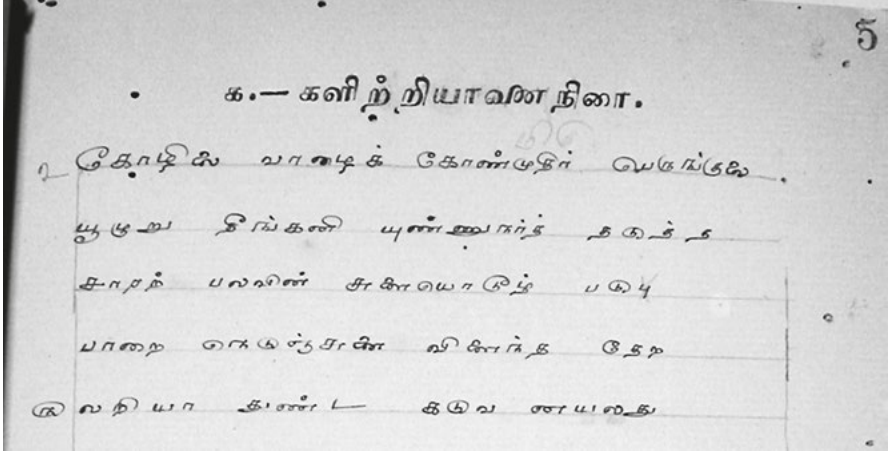


Illustration 17: UVSL 7, p. 5: *Akanāṇūru* 2, with printed headline

(= 1903/04 C.E.), and it presumably never reached the stage of being printed because of its author's untimely death. Even the *Narriṇai* was published only posthumously, in 1915. The editorial value of this unique manuscript will be taken up in the next sub-chapter.

What is remarkable here is less the print layout of the text, although it still contains interlinear variants, but the printed headline (1. – *Kalirriyāvanai*, the title of the first of three sections within the AN) and page number (5 in the upper right corner).

While the general trends in the movement from palm-leaf to paper and their role in the editing process of the classical corpus are clear enough, many questions remain. Among the foremost functions of a paper manuscript, other than serving as a medium for the process of deciphering and transcribing, was to document variances. These arose for various reasons: ambiguous notation resulted in several possible transcriptions, information from several manuscripts was united, and copyists and editors gradually started a process of supplementation and correction. What, however, was the prospective editors' reaction when faced with such a wealth of material? How did they deal with multiple readings? What did they do with lacunae? How did they come to decisions? How did they present the material at their disposal?

IV.3 The Early *Caṅkam* Editions

When one leaves out the special case of the *Tirumurukārruppaṭai*, the period in which first editions of the entire corpus were produced lasted less than forty years, namely from 1887 with the *Kalittokai* to 1923/24 with the *Akanāṇūru*.³⁴¹ Then followed a short period of improvement and corrections, which culminated in 1940 with the first complete edition of the corpus from the hand of Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai. After this we have two additional editions that add fresh manuscript material to two of the texts. The first person to reopen the books, so to speak, and start again from scratch was Turaicāmi Piḷḷai, who between 1947 and 1968 produced a series of new editions. His sources are no longer traceable today. One profess- edly critical edition was published in 1985, and the Pondicherry *Caṅkam* project started printing critical editions in 2008. But many of the *Caṅkam* editions that have been printed until today were not completed on the basis of primary material, that is, manuscripts (although some claim to have done so in their introduc- tions). The list of editions based on manuscript analysis is the following:

Table 30: List of *Caṅkam* editions based on manuscript material

Ci.Vai. Tāmōtaram Piḷḷai	1887, <i>Kalittokai</i>	
U.Vē. Cāminātaiyar	1889, <i>Pattuppāṭṭu</i>	
U.Vē. Cāminātaiyar	1894+1923, <i>Puṛaṇāṇūru</i>	
U.Vē. Cāminātaiyar	1903, <i>Aiṅkuṛunūru</i>	
U.Vē. Cāminātaiyar	1904, <i>Paṭiṛruppattu</i>	first editions
Pi. A. Nārāyaṇacāmi Aiyar	1915, <i>Narriṇai</i>	
Cauripperumāḷ Araṅkaṇ	1915, <i>Kuṛuntokai</i>	
U.Vē. Cāminātaiyar	1918, <i>Paripāṭal</i>	
Rā. Irākavaiyaṅkāṛ	1918, 1923/24, <i>Akanāṇūru</i>	
Āṇantarāmaiyaṛ	1925+1931, <i>Kalittokai</i>	
Irāmarattiṇa Aiyar	1930, <i>Kuṛuntokai</i>	
Cō. Aruṇācala Tēcikar	1933, <i>Kuṛuntokai</i>	
U.Vē. Cāminātaiyar	1937, <i>Kuṛuntokai</i>	improved editions
C. Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai	1940, complete corpus	
Catāciva Aiyar	1943, <i>Aiṅkuṛunūru</i>	
Rā. Irākavaiyaṅkāṛ	1946, <i>Kuṛuntokai</i>	
Au.Cu. Turaicāmi Piḷḷai	1947, <i>Puṛaṇāṇūru</i>	
Au.Cu. Turaicāmi Piḷḷai	1950, <i>Paṭiṛruppattu</i>	
Au.Cu. Turaicāmi Piḷḷai	1957, <i>Aiṅkuṛunūru</i>	back to the sources
Au.Cu. Turaicāmi Piḷḷai	1966+68, <i>Narriṇai</i>	
Mū. Caṇmukam Piḷḷai	1985, <i>Kuṛuntokai</i>	

³⁴¹ My work on the *Caṅkam* editions was made easier by a preliminary list (complete up to the year 2003) of the editions that was collated but not yet published by Thomas Lehmann, who kindly shared with me the fruits of his labour.

The editing task at hand must have appeared similar for all the first editions, although the extent of their manuscript basis varied considerably. To choose only two examples, in the case of the *Puṛaṇānūru*, Cāminātaiyar decided after less than thirty years that with the new material that had been found, he could make substantial improvements on the text he had printed earlier. In contrast, in the case of the *Paripāṭal*, no additional manuscripts turned up, only a few quotations and stray verses, and thus Cāminātaiyar's first edition remains almost unchanged until today.³⁴² No critical editions in the modern sense were attempted. This is hardly surprising given the fact that in the process of their work, these editors had to relearn not only a forgotten language, but also the literary conventions of an ancient time.³⁴³ All of them, with the exception of Cauripperumāḷ Araṅkaṇ, included a rudimentary description of the manuscripts at their disposal. However, these descriptions, while tantalising, usually do not amount to much more than a list (cf. chapter II.2.2). Nowhere is discussed in any detail the interrelation of the edition's sources or the basic strategies used when dealing with variants. Emendation and correction were not seen as fundamentally different from each other, and as a rule neither was marked or discussed.

A basic objective was to produce a legible text, which for these editors was probably coextensive with the *cutta pāṭam* mentioned by Ebeling.³⁴⁴ This meant

342 In 1935 Cāminātaiyar published a second edition that contained his own commentary along with the medieval one by Parimēlaḷakar.

343 This fact is vividly put into words by Cāminātaiyar, who in his autobiography (chapter 92, quoted in Zvelebil's translation) writes: "When I tried to read them [the *Caṅkam* anthologies from the manuscripts he had just brought home from Tiruvāṇaṭṭurai], these works did not appear to me easy to understand. It was as if they would have been written in an altogether different language of their own ... Slowly the scenes of a new world of *Caṅkam* literature arose before my eyes, like a mountain enveloped in mists. In spite of the misty film spreading over it and the fact that I could only form an idea of the summit and girth of that mountain without really seeing it clearly, the wealth of content of those poems in the *Caṅkam* texts appeared to me 'vaster than the earth, higher than the skies, and deeper than the waters of the ocean' [= *KT* 3.1–2c]." (*paṭittāl eḷitil viḷaṅkakkūṭiya nūlkaḷāka avai tōṟṟavillai. avāṟṟil uḷlatu vēru oru taṇippāṣai pōlavē iruntatu. ... caṅka nūlkaḷākiya putiya ulakattiṇ kāṭcikaḷ paṇimūṭiya malaipōla eṇ kaṇṇukkut tōṟṟalāyina. paṇippaṭalam paṭarntiruntāḷum malaiyiṇuṭaiya uyaramum parumaiyum kaṇṇukkup pulappaṭutal pōlat teḷivāka viḷaṅkāviṭṭāḷum antac caṅkanūr ceyyūṭkaḷ poruḷamaiṭiyāl, 'nīlattiṇum periyaṇavākavum, vāṇiḷum uyarṇaṇavākavum, kaṭal nīriṇum āḷamuṭaiyaṇavākavum' tōṟṟina.*")

344 Their common, yet separate objectives, one should probably say. As Ebeling casually remarks (2009a: 239 f.): "Judging on the basis of the available accounts of late-eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century *pulavar* culture as given, for instance, in the writings of the famous scholar U.Vē. Cāminātaiyar (1855–1942), the interaction between *pulavars*, or to be more precise, between members of different scholarly lineages (*paramparai*), was characterized less by teamwork than by competition, one-upmanship, and safeguarding knowledge with suspicion."

on the one hand reducing the inherited variability to a manageable amount.³⁴⁵ In cases in which the root text was protected by a commentary, this task was easier. Innumerable mistakes had to be eliminated, ranging from simple misspellings to contextual impossibilities and nonsensical expressions. The decision as to what was a mistake often amounted to deciding what was a Tamil word (or a Tamil word form) and what was not, in other words, parallel to the textual edition a (virtual) dictionary and grammar had to be created. This led to what, under other circumstances, might have been termed normalisation (of morphology and syntax) and standardisation (of lexicon).³⁴⁶ However neither norm nor standard were as yet explicit. On the one hand, the measuring sticks to be used were older works on Tamil grammar that were only published in part, such as the *Tolkāppiyam* with its commentaries. On the other hand, older commentaries on the literary works themselves were used, but these too were based on sources not much older than 300 years. In other words, scholars had to decide, on the basis of a series of graphemes found in a relatively modern manuscript, what might have been an acceptable form in the Tamil of some 1300 to 1800 years ago. Some scholars decided on presenting a select number of variants together with the main text (Cāminātaiyar, Irākavaiyaṅkāṛ), while others did not (Tāmōtaram Piḷḷai, Nārāyaṇacāmi Aiyar,³⁴⁷ Cauripperumāl Araṅkaṇ). In any case, that this was done at all arguably indicates that these editors were conscious of the fact that the process of establishing the text could not be considered finished. However, no one named their sources, be it for the main text entry or for the variants.

In the years that followed the goal of scholars was to correct the first printed texts, although the extent to which this was done varied. Some editors added a number of variants from isolated new manuscripts to their second editions, as did Catāciva Aiyar for the *Aiṅkuṟunūru*. And some second editions became the new standard editions, such as Aṇantarāmaiyaṛ's *Kalittokai*. The situation for the *Kuṟuntokai* was unusual: it was the one text that was not even set to rest with the monumental Cāminātaiyar edition of 1937. For some works, such as the *Akanānūru*, the primary textual work ended with the first edition. In this case

345 In one respect a counterexample here is Tāmōtaram Piḷḷai, who added a few variants of his own on the basis of moral grounds. The word *alkul*, supposed to refer to the female sexual organ, was consistently replaced by less offensive words, such as *ākam*, “breast”.

346 Some cases of normalisation and standardisation in the *Kuṟuntokai* edition of Cāminātaiyar have been discussed in Kuṟuntokai, Wilden 2010, vol. 1: 22 ff.; more details have been added in Wilden 2012.

347 The variants found in the footnotes of the later Kaḷakam reprints are not based on the *editio princeps*. It is unclear whether they go back to a posthumous perusal of the earlier editor's notes, or whether they come from an altogether different source.

this was not because no fresh material was available. The contributions of later generations were restricted to shuffling the variants found in Irākavaiyaṅkāṛ's edition and writing a first complete commentary.³⁴⁸

The man who stands out in these years is Vaiyāpurip Pillai, the great systematiser and editor of the Tamil Lexicon. He was the first to re-edit the whole corpus under the title of *caṅka ilakkiyam* ("Caṅkam works"). His work does not follow the form of the separate anthologies, but is organised based on the names of the poets in alphabetical order. In many places he altered the texts based on the stock of fresh manuscripts he had gathered (cf. chapter II.2.2, p. 102 + p. 114 ff.) and on quotations from the commentaries. He does not note any variants, however, and his policy with respect to *sandhi* seems to indicate that in some sense he was the first to head towards popularising the corpus. This was certainly done in a very learned sense, but still with the aim of making the corpus more easily accessible to a wider public.

Sandhi is a feature that distinguishes the editions that began to appear from the 1940s. In the early editions, the strict classical variety of *sandhi* that makes it difficult to split words had been rigorously followed. This is certainly because it was one of the guidelines for reading palm-leaves. The first simplifications concern the *sandhi* between the lines, which is already disregarded in some of Cāminātaiyar's editions. The later development of this will be discussed in section 5.

But here, two more editors must be briefly discussed because they are rare exceptions. Both attempted to go back to the sources, altering the earlier editions substantially. Between 1947 and 1968 Turaicāmiṇ Pillai worked on no less than four of the *Eṭṭutokai* anthologies – the *Puraṇānūru*, *Patirruppattu*, *Aiṅkuṇūru* and *Narriṇai* – re-editing them and writing a new commentary for each of them. Some of his results are startling. In the case of the *Narriṇai*, his text often deviates considerably from the standard edition, so much so that, when working on the critical edition of this anthology, I had to accord him the status of a separate strand of transmission. What makes one feel slightly uneasy about his enormous work is the fact that, on the one hand, only one of the manuscripts he rather casually describes can be found today, after a mere thirty to sixty years, and on the other hand, that he had the bad fortune to publish this work during the worst period of book production in Tamilnadu. His editions abound in so many misprints that the text and, still more, the variants are often corrupted beyond recognition.

³⁴⁸ This is found in the first Kaḷakam edition by Veṅkaṭṭacāmi Nāṭṭār/Kaviyaracu Veṅkaṭṭacalam 1943–44.

This is sadly still the case in the 1985 so-called critical edition of Caṇmukam Piḷḷai. This work, based on all of the earlier scholarly *KT* editions plus four additional manuscripts, also has the drawback that the underlying principle seems to be rather additive than critical: collect the largest possible number of variants and then choose one, instead of trying to understand the interrelation of the sources. This brings us to the next section. Looking at the manuscripts and at the early editions may be sufficient for understanding their strategies concerning lower textual criticism. In order to grasp their decisions at the level of higher textual criticism, however, it is necessary to take a closer look the global transmission situation of the individual texts.

IV.4 Case Studies: The *Kuruntokai*, the *Narriṇai* and the *Akanāṇūru*

Obviously chance plays a role in the transmission of a text. To produce an edition, the first important aspect is whether a text had the good fortune of being regularly copied. The second aspect is whether the scholars interested in editing it are fortunate enough to find a sufficient number of manuscripts preserved in good condition. One would be inclined to think that the texts within the *Caṇkam* corpus shared a common fate as far as the first point is concerned. Since they are contained in two hyper-anthologies that were often copied as serial manuscripts, it would seem reasonable to expect that the various texts had roughly the same amount of attention from scribes.³⁴⁹ A closer look at individual texts, however, reveals that the state of affairs of the various texts is sometimes very different, at least when seen from today's perspective. In the following we shall examine the remaining witnesses of the three oldest Akam anthologies, the *Kuruntokai*, *Narriṇai* and *Akanāṇūru*.

³⁴⁹ However, this is by no means certain. Judging by the number of quotations that can be found in various commentaries, especially of the *Ilakkaṇam* tradition, certain texts in the anthologies were less popular than others. The *Paripāṭal* is a case in point: it is quoted very rarely, not transmitted in a single serial manuscript, and is today represented by very few manuscripts, of which none are on paper. Was it simply a less popular text and accordingly badly transmitted?

IV.4.1 *Narriṇai* (NA): Almost No Witnesses (Of Three Strands, Only One Attested by a Mss.)

Table 31: *Narriṇai* – interrelationship of the manuscripts

<i>Narriṇai</i> : 5 manuscripts (1 palm-leaf/4 paper)	
C1 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [1076/2234]	1st transmission strand
G1 paper ms. GOML [D.231/PS. 67]	
G2 paper ms. GOML [R.5743/TR.1064]	
G3 paper ms. GOML [R.5745/TR.1066]	2nd transmission strand
C2 paper ms. UVSL [509]	
? [4 mss. enumerated in his introduction]	3rd transmission strand
	~ Turaicāmp Piḷḷai (1966+68)

As far as the *NA* is concerned, the situation is simple and sad. Both today's standard version and the popular versions go back to the *editio princeps* produced by A. Nārāyaṇacāmi Aiyar that was published posthumously in 1915. All manuscript testimonies for this text have vanished, except for a single late paper copy from the GOML (plus one other paper copy of 100 poems from the UVSL); this paper copy, however, might represent a text that was produced in preparation for a print copy and is not actually manuscript transmission of the text. In 1966/68 Au.Cu. Turaicāmp Piḷḷai then published a new edition in two volumes based, according to the introduction, on four additional manuscripts. These too can no longer be traced today, with the exception perhaps of one. Turaicāmp Piḷḷai's edition differs greatly from the earlier printed edition, containing different feet, half-lines, and even often whole lines. The critical edition Wilden 2008 brought to light a single surviving palm-leaf manuscript (from the UVSL); it is closer to Nārāyaṇacāmi Aiyar than to Turaicāmp Piḷḷai, but nonetheless clearly represents an independent line. It is often confirmed in its deviating readings by two other closely related paper copies (from the GOML).

Interesting about this beautifully written palm-leaf manuscript, which is unarguably the oldest surviving source and still quite legible, is the fact that it is part of a serial manuscript of the *Eṭṭuttokai* preserved in the UVSL. Other texts transmitted in this manuscript are *Kuruntokai*, *Akanāṇūru*, *Puraṇāṇūru* and *Patirruppattu* (plus a fragment of the *Aiṅkurunūru*), in fairly even quality. This serial manuscript's version of the *AN*, a text that has a rich legacy of no less than 19 manuscripts, can be shown to be a vulgate version transmitted in a Śaivaite context. It is puzzling that both Nārāyaṇacāmi Aiyar and Cāminātaiyar, in their respective editions of *NA* and *KT*, chose to ignore this particular transmission strand.

IV.4.2 *Kuruntokai*: Of Three Strands, Only One Attested on Palm-Leaf

Table 32: *Kuruntokai* – interrelationship of the manuscripts

<i>Kuruntokai</i> : 9 mss. (2 p.l./7 p.)	
C1a+b palm-leaf ms. UVSL [= 1075/2233+1076]	1st transmission strand
C3 paper ms. UVSL [184]	
L1 paper ms. BL London [Or. 2726]	
G1 paper ms. GOML [D.224]	
C4 paper ms. UVSL [185]	2nd transmission strand ~ Cauripperumāl Araṅkaṇ (1915)
C5 paper ms. UVSL [186]	
G2 paper ms. GOML [R.5751/TR.1072]	
C2 paper ms. UVSL [183]	3rd transmission strand ~ Cāminātaiyar (1937)

The *KT* has a more complicated textual history due to the fact that before the text stabilised, it was edited, between 1915 and 1946, not merely once, but five times. For the sake of clarity I will summarise this briefly. Today's standard edition is based on the fourth of these early editions, Cāminātaiyar 1937. Basically we can distinguish three transmission strands here; one is again the single surviving palm-leaf manuscript (UVSL, supported by three paper copies from UVSL, GOML and London) that has not found direct entry into any of the editions. The second strand is that of the *editio princeps*, Cauripperumāl Araṅkaṇ 1915, which is supported by one complete paper copy (from the GOML) and two incomplete paper copies (from the UVSL). The third transmission strand is represented by Cāminātaiyar, today's standard text, which is mainly based on a single paper manuscript preserved in the UVSL plus various additions and corrections found in that copy. To repeat the crucial bit of information, neither Cauripperumāl Araṅkaṇ's text nor that of Cāminātaiyar is backed by a palm-leaf manuscript; the one surviving palm-leaf is followed by neither. Caṇmukam Piḷḷai's many deviations from the standard text in his 1985 edition are partly based on Cauripperumāl Araṅkaṇ 1915³⁵⁰ and partly on the readings of the palm-leaf strand as found in the London manuscript (which is distorted by a number of misprints).

³⁵⁰ As already shown by Kōpalaiyar 1986.

The recent critical edition *Kuruntokai*, Wilden 2010 is conservative in that, after describing the situation presented above in more detail, it follows Cāminātaiyar's text as the accepted standard, unless an overwhelming majority of witnesses are against him. Needless to say, the apparatus preserves all the attested readings so that an informed reader can choose for himself.

IV.4.3 *Akanāṇṇūru*: Two Strands Attested on Palm-Leaf – Contaminated Paper Copies

Table 33: *Akanāṇṇūru* – interrelationship of the manuscripts

<i>Akanāṇṇūru</i> : 17 mss. (7 p.l./10 p.)	
C4c palm-leaf ms. UVSL 297	old commentary on AN KV + 1–90
TT palm-leaf ms. Tiruvāṇṇūrai [no number]	Śaivaite vulgate
NL palm-leaf ms. NLK [3141/S. V.P. 91]	
C1a+b palm-leaf ms. UVSL [1075/2232 + 237]	
C6 paper ms. UVSL [4/66]	
G1 paper ms. GOML [R.5734/TR.1050]	
G2 paper ms. GOML [R.5735/TR.1051]	
[C8 paper ms. UVSL [6/68] illegible]	
C2 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [28] 1–350	Vaiṣṇava strand
C3 palm-leaf ms. UVSL [107] 1–350	
C9 paper ms. UVSL [11/73]	late contaminated copies ~ model for Irākavaiyaṅkāṛ (1918+1923/24)?
C7a paper ms. UVSL [5/67]	
C7b paper ms. UVSL [10/71]	
C5a paper ms. UVSL [7/69]	corrected collation following the vulgate ~ P. A. Nārāyaṇacāmi Aiyar (1904/05)
C5b paper ms. UVSL [8/70]	
C5c paper ms. UVSL [9/72]	

Given that the Pondicherry critical edition of this text has not yet been published, the discussion here will be slightly more extensive. Since the transmitted material is so much richer for the *AN* – as mentioned above there are no less than 19 manuscripts – one would expect the situation to be more complicated, but in fact this is not the case. The manuscripts belong either to one of two unevenly represented strands or they are contaminated. After the composite first edition by U.Vē.Rā. Irākavaiyaṅkāṛ that was completed in 1923/24, textual work on the *AN* has mostly been restricted to shuffling around the variants found in that edition. By far the dominant strand is the first, represented by three of the oldest palm-

leaf manuscripts,³⁵¹ today preserved in Tiruvāṇṭūṭurai, the UVSL, and the NLK, respectively. Four of the paper manuscripts follow this strand fairly faithfully. The version of Tiruvāṇṭūṭurai and that of the UVSL are clearly sister manuscripts and both contain Śaiva invocations and blessings in their colophons.³⁵² In the case of Tiruvāṇṭūṭurai, of course, the Śaiva connection is obvious.

The first idiosyncrasy of this strand is an early error in numbering that has been handed down through all the manuscripts belonging to this tradition: AN 107 includes the last 8 lines of 108, and the first 10 lines of 108 are missing. The result is that from this point onward (i.e., No. 109), the number given for each poem is one less than its original number. This is kept up until No. 387. Then the No. 388 is skipped, so that for the final 11 poems we are back to the traditional numbering. The second idiosyncrasy of this strand is a gap in the fourth group of one hundred poems: the poems between AN 336.19d and 343.15c are missing.

This is where the second strand comes in. Today it is represented by only two palm-leaf manuscripts, both from the UVSL and both ending with AN 350. One begins with a long series of Vaiṣṇava invocations and an individual head colophon giving the date as Kollam 902 (= 1726 C. E.) and the name of the text as *Neṭuntokai*.³⁵³ It is only in this manuscript that we find the correct numbering for the *Maṇimīṭai Pavaḷam*, along with the beginning of AN 108. As well, only here do we find AN 336.19d to 343.15c. The early paper copies combine these two transmitted versions as is confirmed by various findings: While C9 from the UVSL is still clearly based on a manuscript of the first strand, it has been corrected and completed by one from the second; for part of the text it is the other way round. The still later copy C7³⁵⁴ (also UVSL) fuses these efforts and is in fact already very close to the text printed by Irākavaiyaṅkāṛ. A special case is the paper copy C5 from the UVSL. Its printed cover page claims that it is a text that was established by Piṇṇatūr A. Nārāyaṇacāmi Aiyar, the editor of the NA, collating several manuscripts. This excellent manuscript has not found entry into any edition. It is clearly based on the first strand; instead of freely choosing between the variants in the two strands, it tries to make sense of strand 1 and only resorts to strand 2 where parts of the text are missing.

Matters are slightly complicated by incidental evidence from what may have been a third strand of transmission, today surviving only in C4c, that is, the man-

³⁵¹ The one that seems oldest is a fragment, not considered here, of the text beginning with AN 4 and ending with AN 170 as well as an old commentary. The affiliation of this witness is not yet clear.

³⁵² Sadly my digital photo of the last page of the Kolkatta ms. is out of focus so that only part of the colophon is legible. The blessings to be expected at the end are also undecipherable.

³⁵³ See Wilden 2010.

³⁵⁴ A number of readings noted between the lines of that ms. are not attested in either strand and might either come from quotations or from other manuscripts no longer extant today.

uscript with old commentary from the invocation stanza up to AN 90. The root text is not written as a whole there but quoted in bits and pieces between select glosses. The colophon shows that the manuscript is complete and that at the time of its completion the commentary was not thought to continue beyond AN 90. A couple of singular readings found in the AN text of Irākavaiyaṅkāṛ are confirmed by this manuscript.

Thus, from a text-historical perspective the situation of the AN is altogether different from that of either the NA or KT. In the case of the AN we have palm-leaf representatives for both strands of the textual transmission, and we have a sufficient number of surviving witnesses to judge majorities. The highly corrupt vulgate text is clearly Śaiva in affiliation. One can argue that the second witness, which preserves the correct order and the full text, although sadly only up to AN 350, seems to have originated in Vaiṣṇava surroundings. It is quite imaginable that with their sectarian backgrounds, the two lines of transmission ran independently of one another for a relatively long period. However, that both go back to a single tradition is clear from the fact that there are similar lacunae and incomprehensible passages in both versions. At times one can see quite clearly that copyists must have grappled with the same defective source text.

The critical edition of the AN will have the interesting task of disentangling these two strands and establishing the text that belongs to each of them. Before an intelligible text can be reconstructed, it will be necessary to examine all the sections where our oldest sources no longer make sense.

IV.4.4 Discussion on the Basis of a *Stemma Codicum*

Three quite different situations of textual transmission have been presented in the section above, and no doubt many more are conceivable, perhaps as many as there are individual texts. The *Puṛanānūru*, for example, will present a challenge, because no less than fourteen palm-leaf manuscripts survive, although very few of them go up to the end of the text. Of these, probably at least four were not at the disposal of U.Vē. Cāminātaiyar. Regarding the texts presented here, from the point of view of an editor interested in establishing a critical edition, the situation of the NA is simple, if not particularly satisfactory. For two of three transmission strands, the older sources have vanished. Two strategies are possible. Either one tries to establish a text on the basis of the single surviving palm-leaf as the oldest testimony and as the possible vulgate version of the text, if one judges it based on the evidence of the AN. Or one treats the existing editions as witnesses equal in weight to the palm-leaf line and tries to establish a majority text.

The *KT* is slightly trickier. Here, too, of three transmission strands only one is preserved on palm-leaf, but at least for the other two there are substantial numbers of paper copies. It stands to reason that these copies were based on older palm-leaves that are now lost or destroyed. This opens up several possibilities. One is to follow rigorously the oldest surviving witness, the palm-leaf, which is, as mentioned above, possibly the vulgate version. The second possibility is to trust the judgement of the editor who had the broadest material basis and is responsible for today's standard edition, Cāminātaiyar. The third possibility is to try to recover a possible source text for the various transmitted readings. Such a text, however, would have to remain very hypothetical.

Only with the *AN* do the sources we dispose of today allow a reasonably well-substantiated hypothesis about how the text may have read before today's two manuscript strands, Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava, parted ways. Both versions are preserved on palm-leaf and both are equally corrupt, partly because whole poems or groups of poems are missing, partly because the manuscripts contain gaps and incomprehensible feet and lines. These factors betray on the one hand that the line of transmission must have been a thin trickle. And on the other hand, they show quite clearly how much of today's text is due to the work of the early editors, to their diligence in finding and using quotations, but also to their freeness with unmarked conjecture and emendation.

From the point of view of a historian we can illustrate each of these three strands in the form of a *stemma codicum* (see below Figures 3–5). This will reveal, on the one hand, the amount of conjecture that would be necessary to arrive at a cohesive text, not in the sense of a philological *ur-text*, but, more modestly, at a reconstruction of a common predecessor for the versions that are attested. On the other hand it can be used to demonstrate how our early editors dealt with the multiplicity they themselves had produced, not only by collating from various sources, but also by transcribing ambiguous notation, or having it transcribed, to arrive at an unequivocal text.

Of course such an undertaking will in many respects remain an experiment, hypothetical at least as far as the temporal scheme is concerned, because we do not have enough dated manuscripts, and those dates we do have are often ambiguous. Nevertheless, if we proceed from the ideal case, that is, a duration of about fifty years for a generation of manuscripts, and if we place the watershed between palm-leaf and paper at about 1850, our model, which covers about 350 years from the middle of the 17th to the second half of the 20th century, is at least plausible. A capital *X*, then, is the traditional letter chosen to represent the hypothetical ancestor; the generations that follow it up to the actually preserved manuscripts are designated as *x*, *y*, *z*, with numbers for their respective descendants. Since all of these are hypothetical sources, they are printed in red. The manuscripts

themselves, in black, are represented by the editorial sigla based on their library of origin (as found in the three tables given above). The lower end in dark blue refers to editions insofar as they have made (or claimed to make) a significant contribution to the establishment of the text in question.

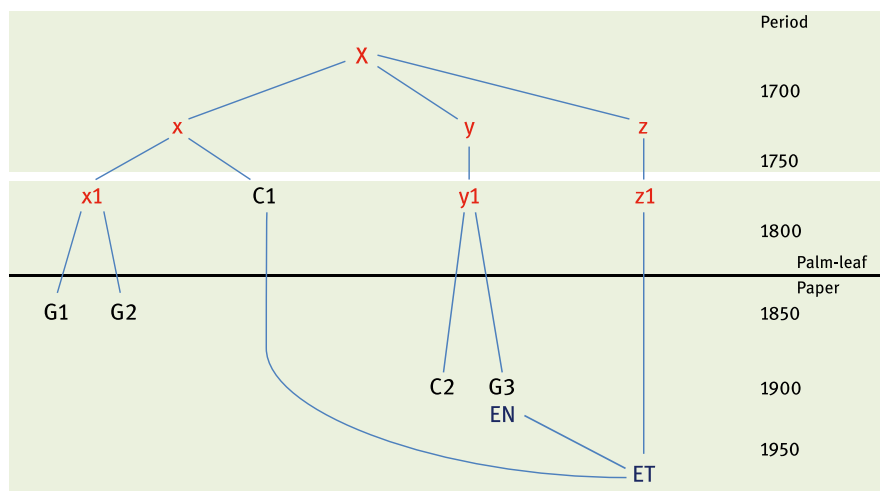


Figure 3: Stemma for the *Narriṇai*

For the *Narriṇai*, we do not even have a basis for speculation, not to mention for forming a reasonable hypothesis. Today's printed editions, the standard edition EN (Nārāyaṇacāmi Aiyar 1915) and the fresh attempt ET (Turaicāmi Pīḷḷai 1966+68), have no surviving manuscript predecessors except for a number of variants in ET, which indicate a perusal of C1 or a closely related manuscript,³⁵⁵ and two obviously late paper copies (C2 and G3), whose texts are nearly identical to that in EN. It is not even possible to say whether the two editions were created by synthesising two or more transmission strands. Of the manuscripts extant today, the two paper copies G1 and G2 clearly go back to a common source. This source must have been closely related to manuscript x1, the predecessor of the single

³⁵⁵ Matters are in fact slightly mysterious, because in the list of four additional manuscripts in the introduction to ET a copy from the GOML is mentioned. However, on a number of occasions G1 and G2 contain remarkable variants that are not reported by ET, while in some of these cases ET contains readings that are peculiar to C1. A rational interpretation for this seems to be that the GOML manuscript used by ET must have been G3 (a cognate of EN), while one of the other three unidentified manuscripts must have been close to C1.

extant palm-leaf C1, but with some deviation. We can propose a common ancestor to these two, C1 and the hypothetical sister, manuscript x. Together with the two generations of hypothetical ancestors to our two editions, this allows us to propose a threefold generation preceding that of C1: x, y and z. Their common ancestor X cannot even be called shadowy; it is a mere theoretical construct. The number of variants we are given at the edition level is not very large, for the simple reason that EN does not report any (the later Kaḷakam reprint has a select few) and ET's goal seems to have been to establish a text that is as different as possible from EN. Most of the variants noted in ET are either readings found in EN or in the palm-leaf strand, which means that the majority of surprising readings are found in ET's main text. The critical edition can be considered critical insofar as it reports the entire span of variations, including those in quotations. But it should probably be considered pragmatic in that it tries to create a text in which C1, EN and ET agree. Where that is not possible, precedence has been given to agreement between C1 and EN over ET, and in cases where there are three different readings, precedence is given to the palm-leaf (especially if it agrees with G1+G2) – unless of course it has been possible to form a reasonable hypothesis for the reading's genesis.

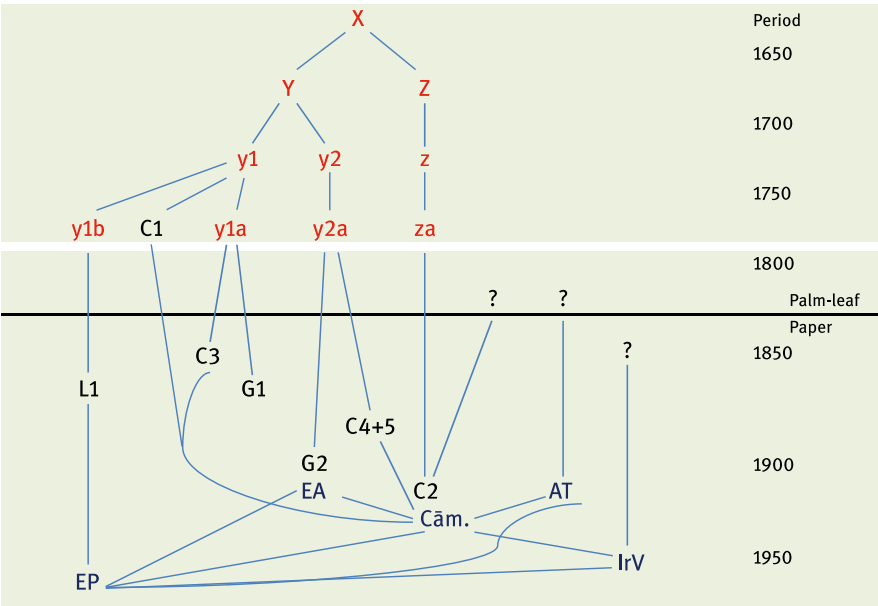


Figure 4: Stemma for the *Kuruntokai*

In the case of the *Kuṟuntokai*, matters are far more complicated, but only moderately more satisfactory. Again only one strand survives on palm-leaf, C1, although it is here a much broader and more diversified strand, attested in three paper manuscripts, L1, C3 and G1. To account for their variation from C1 we have to propose two sister manuscripts to C1: *y1b* as the ancestor of the London manuscript and *y1a* as the common ancestor of C3 and G1, which are close enough to go back to a common source. Due to both the extent of transmission and the surroundings in which it is found (serial *Eṭṭuttokai* ms.), this strand arguably represents the vulgate text, and it has not been followed by any early editor. The most direct source for the *editio princeps* EA (Cauriperumāl Araṅkam 1915) is the late paper copy G2, which may be based on a hypothetical palm-leaf *y2a*. On the whole, its text is closer to the palm-leaf strand than to the standard edition of Cām., which makes it plausible that before the palm-leaf the two parted ways in a hypothetical generation *y1* and *y2*, these going back to a common *Y*.

By far the broadest material basis was available to Cām. (Cāminātaiyar 1937). He presumably had access not only to two representatives from the first strand, C1 and C3, the earlier edition EA plus two more incomplete manuscripts related to the same strand C4+5, but also to a third strand which he followed closely and which survives only in the late paper copy C2. Some of the variants noted between the lines in C2 are not attested elsewhere (or only as variants also noted in C3). Some of them might represent another lost palm-leaf, and others probably Cāminātaiyar's own emendations (which he likely perceived as corrections). In terms of lineage, we have to postulate several generations of predecessors for C2, that is, *za*, *z* and *Z*, which in turn might have a common parent in the great and very far off *X*.

It is unclear where at least one paper manuscript, G1, has entered in the editing process. Given the amount of experiment and annotation it contains, it has certainly been used, but since it belongs to the palm-leaf strand and has no significant readings of its own, it is impossible to tell by whom. Possible candidates are EA and AT.

Following the development downwards, an additional source for Cām. is AT (Aruṇācala Tēcikar 1933), which contains some readings not attested elsewhere, but no record of its sources. IrV (Irākavaiyaṅkār 1946), then, had of course access to the editions that preceded him, but also to at least one manuscript that again has a number of unusual readings. And while EP (Caṇmukam Piḷḷai 1985), published nearly forty years later, relies mostly on the set of already established editions, some of the manuscript material these were based on was still available, most notably those held by the UVSL. Thus it is explained that for its editor, L1 came as a revelation, not as a paper copy of an inferior sister manuscript to C1.

Again options are few and not attractive for a critical editor, except as an opportunity of recording the entire conglomerate of possibilities. The first of three basic strategies would be to follow the palm-leaf strand – oldest in terms of sources, but often without meaning, which is probably why it was for the most part ignored by earlier editors – and try to restore the text that appears in corrupted form there. The second would be simply to follow majorities, but this would not be very satisfactory from either a textual or an intellectual point of view. The third strategy would be to follow Cāminātaiyar’s legible, well-known and beloved standard text unless a majority of counter-readings and text-critical arguments spoke against his choice. This was the strategy followed, with a heavy heart, in Kuṛuntokai, Wilden 2010.

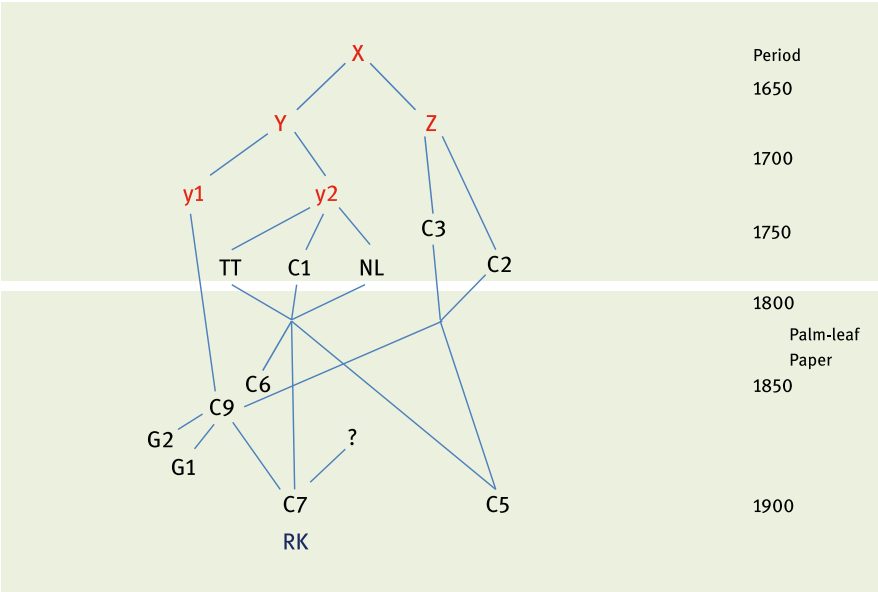


Figure 5: Stemma for the *Akanāṇūru*

Far more promising is the case of the *Akanāṇūru*, both in terms of explaining the hierarchy and genesis of sources and in terms of strategies for a prospective critical edition. Its two transmission strands are still extant in no less than five substantial palm-leaf copies, three of which I call the Śaiva vulgate, two the Vaiṣṇava version. Judging by script and general appearance, all five manuscripts seem more or less the same age, give or take a few years. Surprisingly, the one that is the best preserved and seems to be the youngest, C3, bears a colophon date of

1726 (if deciphered correctly). This leaves us the choice between postulating that the others are even older, which is unlikely, or deciding that C3 was prepared with more care and on better-quality palm-leaf (which indeed seems to be the case).

C2 and C3 clearly go back to a common ancestor Z, sharing not only a large number of unusual readings, but also lacunae and quite a lot of blank spaces. Moreover, the last fifty poems are missing in both. The other side of the stemma is slightly more complicated. TT, C1 and NL are certainly sister manuscripts copied from the same source y2. One of the early paper copies, C9, is close to them, but has enough independent variant readings to indicate the existence of a separate ancestor y1. These two source manuscripts, y1 and y2, would seem to go back to a common predecessor Y. It is very probable that both Y and Z already shared a number of lacunae, represented in part as incoherent passages in the Śaiva line manuscripts and as blank space in those of the Vaiṣṇava line. Their common ancestor X must have been a highly corrupt source, perhaps distorted by age, in which quite a large proportion of the text was no longer clearly decipherable and thus interpreted in different ways by Y and Z. Most of the variants transmitted in the AN are readings that differ by only a few graphemes.

What happens further down the line is also quite clear, although for the time being it is not possible to decide on which of the three cognates TT, C1 and NL the later paper copies are based; most probably their scribes had access to more than one of these three palm-leaf manuscripts.³⁵⁶ Two of the early paper copies are dead ends, C6 and the almost illegible C8, the latter not included in the stemma for the sake of readability. The dilemma that presents itself to a prospective editor is the following: the Śaiva strand, on the one hand, transmits a fairly complete text, with only one major gap of seven poems, but it is badly in disorder, its original ordering principle having been handed down in the form of a *Veṇṇpā* found in the colophon. Moreover it suffers from quite a number of incoherent passages. The Vaiṣṇava strand, on the other hand, is in good order, but incomplete, and its manuscripts contain quite a lot of blank space and end with AN 350. The only

356 The picture here has been simplified somewhat by several other manuscripts being omitted, namely C4a+c, C8 and G3. C8 is yet another early paper copy of the Śaiva strand, but lamination has made it so difficult to read that it had to be excluded from the collation. C4a is fragmentary and endowed with an old commentary; it might quite possibly represent the vestiges of a third strand. C4c is the basis of what was printed as old commentary for AN KV–90 by Irākavaiyaṅkāṛ, and, with a number of readings unattested elsewhere, definitely represents the vestiges of an independent strand. G3, much more recent, is also fragmentary and with a commentary, but here the space for the text itself is mostly left blank so one would have to reconstruct the poems' wording and their affiliations from the text of the commentary.

possible way of arriving at a complete and well-ordered text is to combine the two lines. The first example of this having been done can be found in the early paper copy C9. Here, the basic text is that of the vulgate, but the order has been corrected and the numerous interlinear variants clearly go back to C2 or C3, although in some portions of the text the order seems to have been vice versa. As already mentioned, it has a number of peculiar mistakes and gaps, which are faithfully copied down into the two late paper copies G1 and G2.

The two later paper copies C5 and C7 are clearly editor's copies. C7 is based on the information found in C9 and conflates the texts preserved in both strands. Where both readings are meaningful, it freely chooses between them, preserving the discarded reading as an interlinear variant. Other variants are also noted between the lines, of which some are not attested anywhere else, so it may have been based on unknown sources as well. The C7 manuscript is close enough to the *editio princeps* to allow one to conclude that it was prepared for or by Irākavaiyaṅkāra.

In C5 a slightly different editorial strategy is followed. Here the basic text tries to follow the more common Śaiva strand, which is emended where this strand does not make sense. Readings from the other strand are only used when it is unavoidable (as for example to restore the text's order). This manuscript, attributed by its printed colophon to the great scholar Piṇṇattūr A. Nārāyaṇacāmi Aiyar, did not have the good fortune to be published, nor is there any evidence to show that it ever found entry into the later editing processes.

The details of these three quite different transmission situations gives us a clearer picture of the options the early editors were faced with and the basic decisions they had to make. Of course we cannot recreate completely what they had to work with, since unquestionably they still disposed of a larger number of manuscripts than are extant today. While many or most of these lost manuscripts have left recognisable traces, today we can make claims for readings only on the basis of copies or those variants that have been noted. The early editors saw and handled actual physical objects, and they possibly also knew details about their origin. Nonetheless, a number of things can be stated with confidence.

As for Nārāyaṇacāmi Aiyar, it is possible that he did not have access to the manuscript material for the *Nārīṇai* that transmitted the readings of the strand later followed by Turaicāmi Piḷḷai. He may have had a number of sources that satisfactorily attested the line of transmission upon which the text he then printed was based, but still the fact remains that there was an often equally comprehensible and justifiable second strand (today's C1) that he neither included nor mentioned. In turn, Turaicāmi Piḷḷai also presents a one-sided picture in that he deviates as far as possible from the established text. Sadly his edition is now the only witness to his choices.

The case of the *Kuruntokai* is more complicated because at least three strands are distinguishable, and it seems that additional material continued to appear at different points in time. Cauriperumāl Araṅkam seems to have made a relatively arbitrary choice in following just one line. While his text is not always satisfactory, his was the first attempt at an edition and moreover, he also wrote the first complete commentary. Cāminātaiyar's partiality for a particular manuscript is difficult to understand on the basis of the remaining evidence, but he certainly produced a comprehensible text and preserved at least some of the other information he had available. After him, what was at stake with revisiting the *Kuruntokai*, special with its five other editions based on text-critical work, may have been less the text itself but rather a scholarly competition in the art of writing a commentary. For the later tradition, being able to explain a poem was valued much more highly than merely establishing the reading of a text. We will return to this issue presently.

The most instructive case with respect to editorial strategies is that of the *Akanāṇūru*, not only because here our material basis is broadest with respect to the number of surviving palm-leaf witnesses, but also because the paper copies, although they do not present us with essays spelling out the thought processes underlying the editorial work, sufficiently demonstrate their respective author's intentions. The *editio princeps* is based on a reconstruction of the full text, with its order based on the two available transmission strands. It chooses freely between the two in those cases where several meaningful readings are available, and preserves many alternatives as variants to the main text. The second nearly print-ready paper copy, never disseminated in a print version, is based on a slightly more subtle procedure. It attempts to follow the first of the two transmitted strands as far as possible with a text so corrupt, making a number of remarkable emendations that testify to the acumen and experience of the compiler.

We might never know exactly why this compiler's *Narriṇai* edition was printed, but not his *Akanāṇūru*. Once again this may have had something to do with the commentary. Nārāyaṇacāmi Aiyar wrote a first complete commentary on the *NA*, but nothing of the kind is found in his manuscript for the *AN*. In fact this seems to have been the primary drawback of this text, also in the edition that was finally published (which includes a commentary only for the first 90 poems, and in the reprint, for the first 160 poems). It may also be the reason why Irākavaiyaṅkāra did not have the honour of being considered the one who established the *AN*'s standard text. Later generations of Tamil scholars were much more concerned with using the texts that had been printed. They interpreted them as they were, instead of doing what certainly would have been perceived as re-opening Pandora's Box.

IV.5 Later *Caṅkam* Editions

The lack of interest in philological groundwork by later generations was in part political. When the anthologies were first published they were not only recognised by scholars of literature for their beauty and literary value, they were also avidly taken up by historians who wanted to reconstruct the life of “the Tamils eighteen hundred years ago”.³⁵⁷ Nascent Tamil nationalism made them a pawn in early Tamil identity politics. General public interest brought the early editors financial compensation and certainly accelerated the process of restoration. The rewriting of the Tamil literary canon was fast and drastic. A milestone was the founding in 1901 of the Maturai Tamil *Caṅkam*, named after the legendary Pāṇṭiya predecessors. Still in the 1950s people like T. V. Gopal Iyer took their pandit examinations at this institution of traditional Tamil learning and research;³⁵⁸ its journal *Centamiḷ* was published from 1903 to 1937. Various fractions struggled hastily to make sense of the suddenly inherited wealth, probably one reason why commentaries became such a decisive exegetical instrument.

To be sure, commentaries were a traditional feature of Tamil literature. In a language that had probably been diglossic as long as texts had been written, a work of literature was never self-explanatory with regard to its larger audience, or even with regard to professionals who spent their time reading, reciting and producing literary texts. Ebeling (2009a) has recently described the beginnings in the 19th-century of commentaries being reproduced and printed as well as the social context of this phenomenon. Along with the old commentaries, new ones had to be written, especially in cases where older ones were not available (either because they were lost or because they had never existed). It is highly likely that these neo-commentaries were not exclusively fashioned in the style of their medieval predecessors. Many manuscripts came with at least partial commentaries, of which many were probably premodern but more recent than the great early commentaries,³⁵⁹ nonetheless, a common aspect of these premodern works was

357 As the title of an epoch-making work on early Tamil history by V. Kanakasabhai, published in book form as early as 1904 and still being reprinted today (Kanakasabhai (1966 [1904])).

358 It was also famous for its manuscript collection, but not one of their *Caṅkam* manuscripts has survived.

359 Although I am afraid it is necessary to systematically rethink our whole approach to this matter. How indeed can we know that a text is an anonymous commentary from the 12th century, as is listed in Lehmann 2009? If we only have manuscripts from the last 300 years, and no author or period is mentioned, no quotation or reference is found in other texts, how can we arrive at this date? We have extensive manuscript evidence for two texts, the *Puraṇānūru* and the *Tirumurukārruppaṭai*. In the case of *PN*, there are still seven substantial palm-leaf manuscripts (currently being collated by G. Vijayavenugopal in preparation of a critical edition) that preserve

that they were insufficient for modern purposes. Many old, anonymous commentaries were too selective. They explained a word or a phrase here and there, but did not paraphrase and explain entire poems and their syntax, as had been done by the great medieval commentators. In turn, these early commentaries had the drawback that they were so highly literary that it often took as much or even more effort to understand them than the poems they were discussing.

This is why new commentaries were highly in demand. Soon even the neo-commentaries of the first generation, such as that of Nārāyaṇacāmi Aiyar for the *Narriṇai*, were perceived as too difficult to understand. They were also not explicit enough, paraphrasing poems but not always repeating the exact phrase being discussed. Gradually commentaries became more explicit and transparent. To be sure, they were also the place where alternatives and differences of understanding between scholars were discussed. A good illustration of this can be found in the *Kaḷakam* editions that were produced between the 1940s and 1960s. It is here that simplification first begins to affect the text. Gradually classical *sandhi* is modernised, with the consequence, for example, that *Caṅkam* Tamil suddenly abounds in locative forms with the suffix *-il*. This is simply because the older *sandhi* ending *-iṛ*, which was common to the oblique stem in *-iṇ* and the locative in *-il*, was reinterpreted as *-il*.³⁶⁰

A decisive new step was taken by the editions known as *Rājam*, prepared by a team of scholars under the aegis of Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai and published for the first time in 1957. This is the first set of editions to contain absolutely no commentary. Instead, to make the text transparent, a completely new style of presentation has been used. The text is not printed in metrical feet, but has a complete (or almost complete) word split. Syntax is indicated by European punctuation marks. Ambi-

what was then printed by Cāminātaiyar as an “old commentary” (*paḷavurai*). However, the text of this commentary is not identical in any two of these manuscripts. This begs the conclusion that a commentary which did not have an identified author was considered an exegetical tool rather than a fixed text. Any copyist who had something to add in the matter felt free to do so; thus what we see in our manuscripts is the fruit of the labour of generations of copyists. And since a commentary was regarded as a mere tool, in contrast to poetic texts, editors felt much freer to take or leave whatever they deemed useful. As the new *Kalittokai* edition of T. Rajeswari will show, even authored commentaries like that of Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar were subject to considerable fluctuation. A particularly promising candidate for a case study on the development of glosses and commentaries will be the *Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai*, presently being edited by Emmanuel Francis. In addition to the five commentaries that have been printed, its fifty-odd manuscripts contain a great deal of other exegetical material.

360 Statistics unequivocally show that in cases where the suffix was followed by a vowel and the consonant correspondingly did not change, the suffix *-il* is a rare exception, even in contexts in which the syntax demands a locative. The oblique in *-iṇ* covered the locative as well as the genitive, ablative and instrumental.

guities of reading are not retained. The text-critical stand taken by the team was that of a middle way between the former standard editions, such as those by Cāminātaiyar, and the sometimes radically different earlier work of Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai in the *Caṅka Ilakkiyam* edition of 1940. No variants are mentioned. This set of editions has become the modern point of reference insofar as it is the basis of all the available electronic versions as well as word indexes such as Lehmann/Malten 1992.

The epitome of popularisation is to be found in the pocket editions of Puliyūr Kēcikaṇ, which cover nearly the whole corpus with the exception of the *Pattuppāṭṭu*, as well as numerous other early Tamil works. These editions were produced between the late 1950s and 1970s and have been reprinted many times. Here each poem is presented together with a simple *teḷivurai*, an explicative paraphrase into simple modern Tamil prose meant to make the texts easily understandable to a non-academic public.³⁶¹ Since the second half of the 1980s, *Caṅkam* editions have cropped up so quickly it has become difficult to keep track, especially of course since Tamil has been declared a classical language. The few that do go back to primary sources have been listed above. Two recent publications might be mentioned here, namely, a volume of *Caṅka Ilakkiyam* edited by Ca.Vē. Cuppiramaṇiyaṇ in 2006, and *Cemmoḷittamiḷ. Ilakkaṇa Ilakkiyaṅkaḷ*, edited by Ma.Vē. Pacupati in 2010. Both contain the complete corpus in a single large volume. The former is part of a series that also includes a volume containing the grammatical treatises, another for the Śaiva canon, and so forth. The second, under the aegis of Cemmoḷi, not only contains the complete *Eṭṭuttokai* and *Pattuppāṭṭu*, but also the *Tolkāppiyam*, the *Iṟaiyaṇār Akapporuḷ*, and the Eighteen Minor Classics. This is in accord with the Cemmoḷi definition of the Classical corpus. The world is still waiting for the first of the “definitive editions” that were announced by Cemmoḷi in their first Newsletter (Narayana Singh/Ramasamy 2006: 7).

Appendix

A full 72 manuscripts contain exegetical material related to the *Caṅkam* anthologies; most of them, especially the commentaries, come with the text, but there are also a number of separate indexes of words or verses, as well as lists of difficult words and names. There is also an unpublished study (of the *Kalittokai*). Of these 72 manuscripts, 53 are commentaries in the stricter sense of the word,

³⁶¹ The effort that must be made to teach *Caṅkam* Tamil to students is illustrated by Manuel 2008: “Teaching Sangam Literature to a Modern Reader.”

most of them being the medieval author commentaries of Naccīṇārkkīṇiyar and Parimēlaḷakar, although, as usual, the *Tirumurukārruppaṭai* distorts the picture slightly with its very high number of commented copies (12 copies, for example, of Naccīṇārkkīṇiyar alone). But there are also 17 manuscripts that supposedly contain old, anonymous commentaries, many of them fragmentary. One version of these has been published with the respective texts (that is, *Akanāṇūru*, *Puṇanāṇūru*, *Aiṅkuṇūru* and *Patīruppattu*). Another 20 manuscripts contain material that has not been studied at all. No doubt some of these are fairly recent and document work done by the early editors. But there are also a number of palm-leaf manuscripts that predate the recovery era, as is also, of course, the case for the so-called anonymous commentaries. It is probable that this material bridges, at least to some extent, the last period from the late 17th century onwards, when information about the corpus began to trickle out. But this will have to be subject of a later study.

List of manuscripts with exegetical material concerning the *Caṅkam*:

GOML R.5758: verse index of *KT*, *NA*, *AN* not yet copied

UVSL 196: index of *Caṅkam* authors (*caṅkattār peyar akarāti*)

KT: UVSL 185+186 (C4+5): recent paper commentary on 41–153

GOML D.224 (G1): Tamil–English glossary for the letter *a*

GOML R.7159 (G3): comm. on KV-181 by Pavāṇantam Piḷḷai

NA: UVSL 504+505: index of difficult words (*arumpata akarāti*)

GOML R.5743: verse index (*ceyyuḷ akarāti*)

AN: UVSL 292 (C4a): old commentary on 4–170(?)

UVSL 297 (C4c): old commentary on KV–90

UVSL 394: glosses

GOML R7536 (G3): recent paper commentary on 1–40

PN: TAM 76 (TT): old comm. KV-97

UVSL 440 (C4): old comm. KV-160

UVSL 128 (C5): old. comm. KV-265

UVSL 96 (C6): old comm. KV-262

UVSL 576 (C7): old comm. KV-263

UVSL 35 (C8): old comm. KV-207

UVSL 549 (C9): old comm. KV-219

GOML D-284 (G2): old. comm. KV.2–197

AiN: UVSL 173 (C2): old comm. 29–470

Pati: UVSL 98a (C2): old comm. 11–90

UVSL 560 (C3): old comm. 54–90

UVSL 559 (C4): old comm. 11–90

UVSL 439 (C5): old comm. 11–53

- GOML D-114/TD-44 (G1): old comm. 11–90
 GOML D-115 (G2): old comm. 11–51
- Kali:* GOML R-5780: study of *Kalittokai* (*kaliyārāycci*)
 UVSL 511/224 (C1): Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar on KV-148 (gaps)
 UVSL 5/225 (C3): Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar on 6–120 plus verse index
 GOML D-210/TD-127 (G1): Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar on 6–148
 GOML R-5075/TR-2229 (G2): Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar on KV-34
 GOML R-5783/TR-1112 (G4): Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar on KV-36
 GOML R-6843/R-5784 (G5) Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar on KV-36 (copy of G4)
 GOML R-5754/TR-1075 (G6): Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar on 10–150
 GOML D-209/TD-59 (G7): Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar on 6–141
 GOML D-211/TD-60 (G8): Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar on 10–37
- Pari:* TAM 75 (TT) Parimēlaḷakar on 1c–19.38
 UVSL 247 (C1): Parimēlaḷakar on 2–22
 UVSL 1077 (C2): Parimēlaḷakar on end of 1+2 and notes/word list
- Pattuppāṭṭu:* UVSL 1074 (C1): Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar on Tirumuru.-Neṭunal.
 UVSL 579 (C3): Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar on Porun.-Malaip
- Tirum.:* UVSL 416 (C5), UVSL 813-A (C6), GOML 1236/TD-939 (G2), GOML R-1269/TR-964 (G6), GOML R-2865/TR-1635 (G8), GOML R-2806/TR-1588 (G10), ORIML 4108 (T2), ORIML 6389 (T3), IFP RE-47681a (I4), IFP RE-47752 (I5), BN Paris 67 (P1): Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar
 IFP RE-25365 (I2) Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar (after Ārumukaṇāvalar)
 UVSL 1072 (C11), BN Paris 66 (P1): Parimēlaḷakar
 GOML R-5184/TR-2303 (G11): Kavirācaṇ
 UVSL 704 (C8), GOML R-2688/TR-1506 (G9): unidentified comm.
 UVSL 892/195 (C7), UVSL 743/197 (C9): glosses
- Porun.:* GOML D-268 (G1): Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar
- Cīrup.:* GOML D-266 (G1): Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar
- Perump.:* UVSL 231c (C4): Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar
 UVSL 166 (C5): Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar
 GOML D-120? (G1b): Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar
- Mullaip:* GOML D-234 (G1): Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar
- Maturaik.:* UVSL 166-A (C4): Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar on 1–648
- Paṭṭiṇap.:* GOML D-232 (G1): Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar
- Malaip.:* GOML D-269 (G1): Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar

IV.6 Summary: Decipherment, Standardisation, Popularisation

The editorial history of the classical Tamil corpus is the most recent phase in its two-thousand-year-long transmission. By comparison it is the shortest, comprising a mere hundred and fifty years. This period involves a double media change as attested by the surviving manuscripts (currently 183, dated between the late 17th and the early 20th centuries), first from palm-leaf to paper, beginning in the second half of the 19th century, and then from paper to print, in the late 19th and early 20th century.

Most of the texts that have been examined more closely in the light of their extant handwritten witnesses (that is, five of nine) have been passed on in more or less closely related manuscript families of at least two distinct strands per text. In one case, that of the *Akanāṇūru*, it is possible to show the existence of a Śaivaite vulgate that stands out as distinct from a Vaiṣṇava version. The environment where this vulgate version is found, namely the serial, if incomplete manuscripts that form part of the hyper-anthology called *Eṭṭuttokai*, allows the hypothesis to be made that a vulgate of this type also existed for the other five texts. For at least two of them, the *Narriṇai* and *Kuṟuntokai*, there is some evidence of this. Over and above natural variation, what is common to all of these transmitted texts is the fact that the number of clear mistakes or even incoherent text exceeds what one would reasonably expect from a careful and continuous transmitting process. One explanation for this, disregarding the inevitable human failings of scribes, might be the neglect of the corpus seen in the literary and poetological tradition following the 17th century. Valuable information, including quite a number of entire poems, was lost in the thinning trickle of transmission. This then led to the situation of the late 19th century, when the corpus was officially re-discovered, becoming a pivotal element in the newly awakening Tamil national identity.

The situation of one text, the *Kalittokai*, whose critical edition is almost finished, is different in several respects. This work is not part of the oldest corpus, and evidence that it is associated with the other anthologies of the *Eṭṭuttokai* (with the exception of the *Paripāṭal*, the second youngest member of the collection, with which it is often referred to as a pair) is found only in the commentary period. This is mirrored in its transmission insofar as there is no evidence for a serial manuscript that also included these two latecomers. What might be more decisive in this context, however, is the fact that *Kalittokai* and *Paripāṭal* are the only ones among the eight anthologies that received not only brief and partial anonymous commentaries (whether still extant or not), but also highly literary medieval author commentaries containing full paraphrases and discussions of the poems. With regard to the *Kalittokai*, the transmission has been dominated by this medieval commentary's readings. On the one hand, many more copies

of the text contain the commentary than do not: of eleven manuscripts, only one contains only the *Kalittokai* text, and even here there is evidence that it was copied from a source with commentary, since some commentary phrases have inadvertently been copied along with the text.³⁶² While a number of variants are discussed by the commentator Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar, he nonetheless established the *Kalittokai*'s text in such a way that it is not possible to distinguish different strands of transmission. Also the total number of meaningful variants is far lower than for any of the other texts that have been critically re-edited.

A veritable explosion of textual variation goes hand in hand with the first directly attested media change, namely the shift from palm-leaf to paper. The reasons for this are obvious: the older form of Tamil script, with *scriptio continua*, no mark of consonant ligatures and imperfect vocalisation, was gradually replaced, on paper, by the unambiguous form of script still used for modern print (with the exception of a few letters that have changed since the 1980s). This process of disambiguation produced numerous variants. In short, the paper manuscripts, many of them witnesses of an early editing process, on the one hand contain the variants that were found in different strands of transmission and various manuscripts. On the other hand they often contain several suggestions for interpreting individual palm-leaf graphemes. Unlike the densely written palm-leaf, the medium of paper left room both for marginal and interlinear annotation. Much of such annotation consisted in the documentation of variants. The later generations of paper manuscripts begin to head towards editions, not only in layout, but also in that they represent editorial choices oriented towards creating a unified text.

Most of the early prints are testimony to the same tendency. While some of the early editions still provide a few variants (although they never mention a source), the goal is clearly to establish a stable text, not only free from mistakes, but also free from variation. The slightly later standard editions go one step further in normalising and standardising the transmitted text with respect to morphology, syntax and spelling. They do away not only with obvious alternative forms, but also with what probably goes back to regional variation. A special case is found in the popular editions, which simplify the texts even further and give each poem a simple modern Tamil paraphrase. These editions were originally meant for non-academic readers. The end point has not yet been reached, but is already in view in the form of a declaration of intention. Cemmaḷi, the Centre of Excellence for Classical Tamil, has announced that their team of scholars is

³⁶² Oral information by the editor T. Rajeswari presented at the First *Caikam* Workshop held at the EFEO Pondicherry in September 2011.

preparing “definitive editions”, the idea being that upon a revision of the available material (and it is not clear whether this material will include manuscripts or only printed books), a final text of the classics will be officially approved and sanctioned. Given the fact, however, that the general level of scholarship is as low as it ever was in Tamilnadu (a fact freely admitted by Cemmoli itself), the question is whether political authority will be enough to substitute scholarly expertise and the more old-fashioned type of authority resulting from it.

V Conclusion: The Restitution of a Canon

We have followed the transmission history of a literary corpus over a period of roughly two thousand years. Its fortunes have been variable in the extreme, ranging from its survival in stray collections of old verse, at some point declared to be the foundational poetry of the Tamil literary tradition, to being a mouldering and half-forgotten portion in the enormous piles of a literary legacy, a legacy that was thought to lack any spiritual content or relevance for the modern world. And then it returned to being hailed as the chief witness of former Tamil glory. One way to understand this is to see the process of transmission as a succession of media; to different degrees and in different ways, these media have had an impact on the stability of the texts. Three broad phases are evident in a great number of Indian literary traditions as such, namely periods of oral, manuscript and print transmission. But the details brought to light in this study allow our understanding of the Tamil literary tradition to be much more specific.

An analysis of the remaining manuscript witnesses that have been painstakingly brought together by the Pondicherry *Caṅkam* project in the course of the last decade shows that direct evidence for the corpus' fate is restricted to the last three hundred and fifty years. The earliest dated manuscript that has been found (*Kalittokai*, UVSL 511/224) goes back to the year 1675. Sadly, of 183 manuscripts = codicological units in the 126 objects analysed so far, only 22 are dated (the vast majority to the 19th and early 20th centuries), although it seems possible, on the basis of the material (palm-leaf or paper) and palaeography, to stratify the rest fairly convincingly. Little else about the provenance of these manuscripts can be determined with certainty, and perusing older catalogues and the descriptions of manuscripts found in the earliest editions tells us that quite a lot of material must have vanished in the course of the last century. Even identifying the extant manuscripts with those described by earlier generations is fraught with difficulties and in most cases very uncertain. In any case it is important to keep in mind that for the greater part of our two-thousand-year period of transmission, any evidence is indirect. It is found in the variations between the extant manuscripts, in colophons and quotations, in ancillary paratextual material such as mnemonic and invocatory stanzas as well as commentaries, and in references to these texts in the larger grammatical tradition.

Table 34: The *Caṅkam*-Corpus: Simplified model of its transmission history

Time axis		
0–500	Oral transmission of single poems throughout the Tamil-speaking area	regional and formulaic variation
500–600	First anthologisation = literarisation	KV: <i>KT</i>
600–700	First hyper-anthologisation: 6	6 KV: <i>KT, NA, NA, PN, AiN, [Pati]</i>
700–1100	Second hyper-anthologisation: 8+10 <i>Eṭṭuttokai + Pattuppāṭṭu</i>	palm-leaf transmission in Vaṭṭeḷuttu or Tamil(?)
1100–1500	Twofold commentary tradition	literary + poetological commentaries
1500–1850	Consolidation of transmission strands	Śaiva vulgate Vaiṣṇava deviation
1850–1920	Paper copies and disambiguation of script	transcript variants filling of lacunae
1895–1930	First set of editions	compilation correction
	Standard editions	Normalisation standardisation
1930–1960	Popular standard editions	modernisation of spelling and <i>sandhi</i>
1960–2000	Reprints Popular editions	invention of misprint vulgarisation
2000–2010	Critical editions	apparatus

Many formulaic elements testify to the oral origin of the tradition, which occurred around the beginning of the Common Era. This also explains a certain fluidity of the texts, since a conspicuous number of the found variants can be considered formulaic variants. It is also probable, though not provable, that a number of regional variants go back to this era, when poetic activity was spread over a huge region (including roughly the area of the modern federal states of Tamilnadu and Kerala) and presumably contained quite a lot of dialectal variety.³⁶³

An indication for a first wave of anthologisation, and with it, presumably, literarisation, is found in the first invocation stanza, available for only one of nine anthologies, the *Kuṟuntokai*. On the basis of stylistic comparison, it can be plausibly dated to the late 5th to early 6th centuries. Slightly later, most probably around the beginning of the 7th century, a set of five more invocation stanzas

³⁶³ Among the extant variants for words and word forms, some have been standardised into parallel possibilities in the course of the early editions and others have been expurgated by the early editors. It will perhaps never be possible to distinguish with certainty between former dialectal forms and the “scribal mistakes” of recent centuries.

from the hand of a single author attests to a first hyper-anthologisation of texts from different regions, namely, in addition to the *Kuruntokai*, the *Narriṇai*, *Akanānūru*, *Puṇānānūru* and *Aiṅkurunūru*. Common features place a sixth text, the *Paṭiṇruppattu*, in this group, although its invocation stanza has been lost. Epigraphy of this period shows a transition from one model of script, called *Vaṭṭeluttu*, to the predecessors of the modern Tamil script. It stands to reason that the corpus underwent a similar revision of encoding, a fact that might account for a number of today's variants, but this possibility has not yet been investigated. For all we know, the material basis for the written tradition was already palm-leaf, which is mentioned in literature from the 5th century onwards.

Beginning from the 10th century and peaking in about the 14th century, many quotations in the commentaries of the grammatical and poetological tradition attest, firstly, that our corpus was regarded as canonical literature and, secondly, that it was transmitted in the two hyper-anthologies still known today as *Eṭṭuttokai* and *Pattuppāṭṭu*. A number of texts received commentaries in this period. Judging by the state of the texts that have come down to us in the still extant manuscripts, those texts accompanied by a commentary were noticeably more stable and transmitted with less variants.

Commentary sources begin to thin after the 15th century, perhaps in part due to the political instability of that time. This also attests to the flagging popularity of the texts. While there is a brief flickering of renewed interest with the restorative grammars of the 17th century, the emphasis is different now, leaning towards the *Tirukuraḷ* and devotional literature. The former classical corpus seems first to be marginalised and then virtually forgotten. Nevertheless, the oldest surviving manuscripts testify to the existence of separate strands of transmission for a number of texts, which most probably were consolidated during this period. In at least one case where there are several palm-leaf survivors, the *Akanānūru*, it is possible to distinguish a Śaiva vulgate (found in two serial *Eṭṭuttokai* manuscripts, which makes it probable that this is not an isolated case) from a separate version apparently transmitted in Vaiṣṇava circles.

Roughly from the middle of the 19th century onwards, the first paper copies begin to testify to an awakening editorial interest. They contain ample material that demonstrates the difficulties of the undertaking. Copyists had to come to terms with the twofold complication of an ambiguous notation system and corrupt sources. To begin with, some sources had lacunae due to insect damage and general decay, while others were intact but contained numerous blank areas, which clearly showed that the problem of information loss was even older. Many passages had to be reassembled from various sources, which resulted in the transmission strands being contaminated before any idea of isolating them could even arise. The process, then, of transferring the customary *scriptio continua* into

lines and metrical units, and of making the palm-leaf notation unambiguous by gradually introducing the marks of modern Tamil script (*puḷḷi*, closed *kāl*, double *kompū*) covered three generations of paper manuscripts. This produced innumerable variants, which often cannot be clearly distinguished from the attempts at improving the texts on the part of these early editors.

The main task that fell on the first editions was the redaction and gradual reduction of the mountain of material that had been assembled, excluding altogether what was deemed erroneous, and reducing the number of variants to be considered as far as possible. The goal evidently was a cohesive text with a single reading. The early standard editions that followed, most eminent among them those of Cāminātaiyar (who in several cases produced revised versions of his own first editions), complete a process of normalising spelling, *sandhi*, morphology, and syntax, as well as standardising at the lexical level. Most of the later popular standard editions achieve this goal even more rigorously, doing away with variants altogether and, step by step, modernising *sandhi* and spelling based on the standard of modern literary Tamil.

Ironically, by the 1960s classical texts begin to look less homogenous again, for the simple reason that by then print culture had deteriorated so far that misprints crept in by the thousands, often exceeding the level of corruption that the most careless scribes of earlier generations had occasioned. Another problem is metre being considered, together with *sandhi*, to make texts incomprehensible to modern readers because it conceals the word boundaries. After the revolutionary step of the 1957 Rājam edition of printing poems with complete prosaic word split, various compromising solutions have been sought which dissolve the *sandhi* and split words, but at the same time offer metrical feet, thus giving the impression of progressive illiteracy by violating *sandhi* and metre at the same time. It is only with the turn of the millennium that editions have become again more reliable. Currently the camp is split into two basic attitudes as to what an editor should try to achieve: a definitive or a critical edition.

To summarise, it is possible to demonstrate that the medium, and not only medium in the sense of material, but also in the sense of script, had a vital influence on the variability of the texts. Just as important, however, is the amount of interest shown for transmitting a corpus, as well as the attitude the transmitters have towards their task: canonical texts are widely copied, but they also become uniform.

Parallel to the various layers of evidence for the texts themselves, we find legends of literary origins, as well as stories about the activities at the institution after which our textual tradition has been named – *Caṅkam*, the academy. We also have accounts of the lives and deeds of a number of poets who in one way or another were connected to this institution. While it is quite evident that none

of these sources can be considered as historical documents, nevertheless they tell us something about what people did with these texts and how they thought about them during the period from about the 8th to the 19th centuries. Only the first version of the legend comes from within the fold of the intellectual elite that at that time carried the courtly literary and grammatical tradition. And even this had a popular impact, as its many reproductions up to the current day make clear. The story of the three consecutive academies, two taken by the sea, and the third in Maturai bringing forth the oldest surviving poetry, has not only anchored Tamil literature in history but also provided the Tamil people with an origin: The lost homeland of the Pāṇṭiyas, today called Lemuria. A map of this lost continent can be found on the title page of the second fascicle of the Cemmaḷi Newsletter.³⁶⁴ Enveloping Lanka, its western border is Madagascar, and to the east it even has a land bridge to Australia.

The second major incarnation brings the academy into the realm of Śaiva devotional activities. It only preserves the poets and poetry that are amenable to the new purpose, namely, to praise the lord of creation who amuses himself by interfering with the course of the world. Here we see how cumbersome such an unwieldy body of old poetry can be. The mountain of palm-leaves has to be sorted by god himself; he decides what is worth keeping and what it is all supposed to mean. While the stories become ever more lively and elaborate, the literary corpus itself recedes into the background until finally only a single poem remains, a poem that is put into the mouth of the lord. That this academy has become a trans-regional phenomenon is shown not only by the sheer number of retellings, but also by the various languages that are used, namely, in addition to Tamil, also Sanskrit and even Telugu.

The death throes of the academy are then witnessed by a poet who enters as an outsider, Tiruvaḷḷuvar, the author of the *Tirukkuraḷ*, vanquisher of an institution that has outlived its usefulness and must be punished for arrogance. Almost nothing about it is reminiscent of its original function as a place of learning and presentation, and next to no knowledge about the old literature is still alive other than a small number of stray verses with very restricted circulation and a few lists of work titles, most of them in the form of anonymous stanzas. It is possible to pinpoint the moment when a tiny trickle of that impoverished tradition, in the form of a manuscript that combines the Śaiva stories of the *Tiruvīlaiyāṭal Purāṇam* with the Tiruvaḷḷuvar appendix, enters the official stream of colonial historiography in English and Tamil.

364 Cf. Narayana Singh/Ramasamy 2007.

Only in the last quarter of the 19th century did a joint effort of copyists and prospective editors begin to gather the loose threads of this torn fabric – stray verses, legends, quotations, references, disintegrating bundles of palm-leaves and more often than not, scattered single leaves. It is them that began to reweave the tapestry that was to become the pride of the nascent Tamil nation.

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